


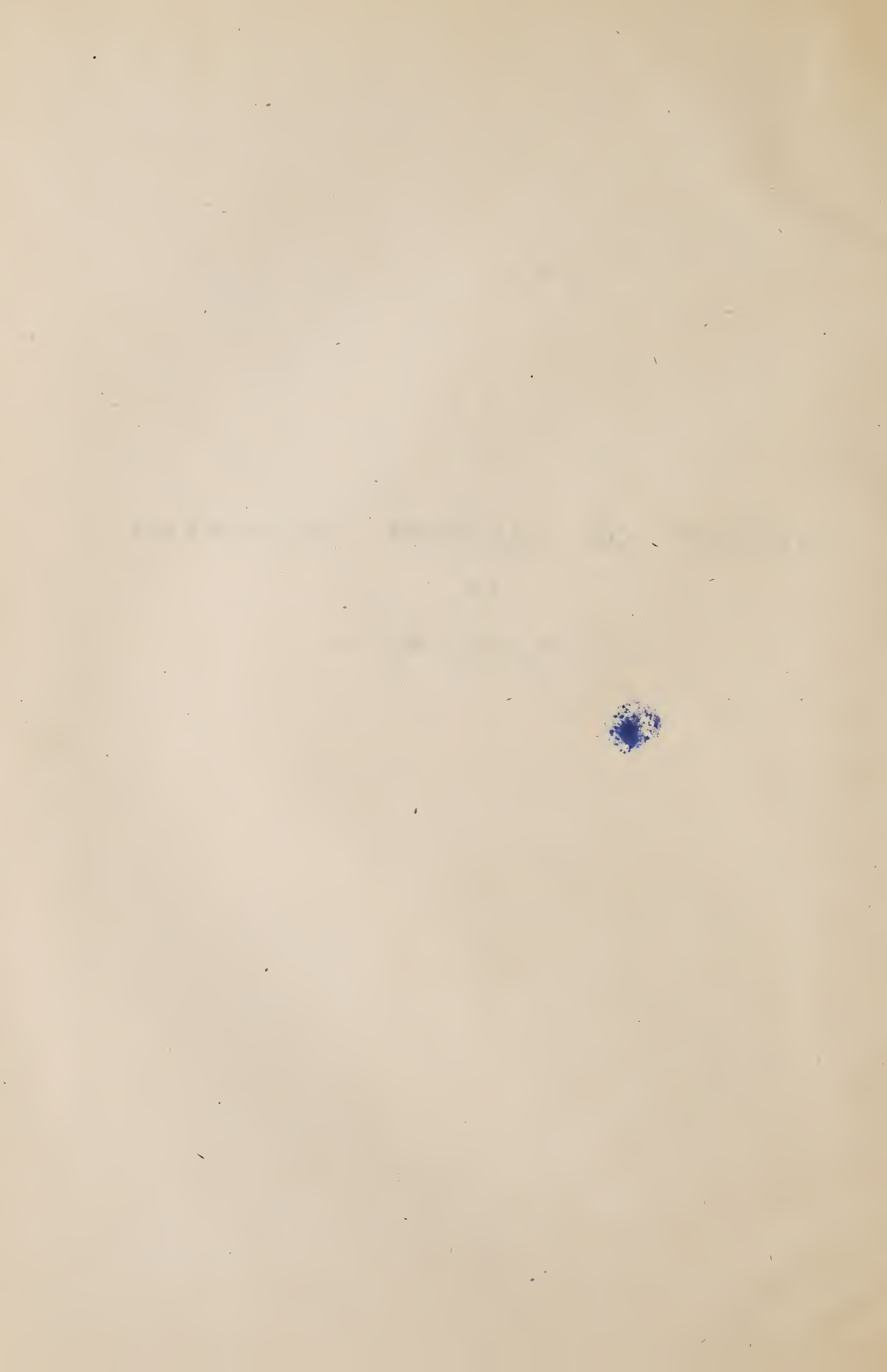
**HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT
IN
KARNATAKA**

Volume II



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IN
KARNATAKA**



HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA

Volume II

by

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LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

UNION CABINET MINISTER
NEW DELHI

18th April, 1964.

FOREWORD

The struggle for freedom in India has been unique. It is essential that the future generation fully knows and understands the role of the Indian National Congress under the inspiring and supreme leadership of Mahatma Gandhi resulting in the eventual attainment of Purna Swaraj. Every State played its own part and the whole country was knit into one. It was the people's movement and saw a new technique being given to the world for fighting injustice and unfair play. It could not be different in the State of Mysore which is so politically conscious. In the historic struggle for freedom the people of Karnataka played a prominent role and this volume presents an objective record of events and phases in the memorable struggle.

The history of the national movement in India as a whole is being written in Delhi and it will present a connected picture of how the whole country bravely battled against all odds and went ahead. It is essential that this coordinated picture and the brightest chapter of our history should be placed before the country. However, Mysore is perhaps one of the first States to bring out a book of this nature which is of great importance as it gives in much greater detail how this remarkable struggle was conducted and carried to its fulfilment by the people of Karnataka.

Though primarily intended to give an account of the freedom struggle in Karnataka, I find that the book contains also some interesting background material of all-India importance. Apart from an analysis of the freedom struggle in all its aspects, the book includes memoirs and reminiscences which, along with the inclusion of some of the patriotic songs of the region which had inspired the soldiers of freedom, make for a refreshing variety of material for study.

I would like to convey my sincere appreciation of this volume to the Government of Mysore under the leadership of Shri Nijalingappa. The book has no doubt been ably edited by Prof. G.S. Halappa, Head of the Department of Political Science, Karnataka University, Dharwar.

Lal Bahadur

(Lal Bahadur)
18: 4: 64



INTRODUCTION

I am very happy that the Second Volume of HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA is being released by Shri K. Kamaraj Nadar, one of our foremost freedom fighters under the distinguished presidentship of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. It is very kind of them to associate themselves with this publication. Shastriji has also written a precious foreword to this book and has thereby enhanced its value. I am exceedingly grateful to both of them and thank them on behalf of myself and the Government of Mysore.

Writing about the French Revolution, Wordsworth observed : “ Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, But to be young was very Heaven.”

These words equally apply to the Indian Independence Movement also—which was revolutionary in character but moral in content. To those who have had the privilege of participating in that Movement it is a perennial source of inspiration.

But unfortunately a full and well-documented account of this unforgettable Movement covering each region had not been compiled and therefore the announcement by the Union Government that comprehensive history of the Freedom Movement in India and in each State would be got compiled and published, was widely welcomed all over India.

There is always a gap between announcement and achievement and promise and fulfilment. The Union Government has published the first volume of the History of the Indian Freedom Movement and subsequent volumes are awaited. In many of the Indian States the work has either not yet commenced or it is still incomplete. It is gratifying that in this State the promise given has become promise fulfilled with the publication of the second volume of the HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA. The first volume was released in 1962 and it is really remarkable that the second volume has been compiled and published within a short period of about 2 years.

The second volume starts from where the first volume had ended *i.e.*, 1857, the year of India's first War of Independence and concludes with the attainment of independence in 1947.

Certain special features have made this second volume a publication of outstanding merit and significance. The rare back-

ground material of all-India importance included in the volume, the section on "A Few Memoirs and Reminiscences" highlighting the contributions of leading personalities in various fields of thought and action, the exhaustive analysis of the vast literature of the freedom struggle ranging in time from 1857 to 1947, English renderings of some patriotic Kannada poems and songs which swayed Kannadigas in the freedom struggle, the account of the emancipation of the people of the former Hyderabad State from autocracy and feudalism, the graphic description of the tragic happenings at Ramdurg, Issore etc., and the chapter on "The Liberation of Goa", the memory of which is still fresh in our minds and similar other features have made this volume informative and inspiring both to the scholar and the common man.

The Editor of this volume, Prof. G. S. Halappa of the Karnatak University deserves our full compliments on producing this work of lasting value based on voluminous source material culled out from various authentic and hitherto unexploited sources such as Police Records, Court proceedings, contemporary newspapers, official correspondence etc. I have known him since his boyhood and as a Congress volunteer. I have watched with keen interest his rise to eminence as an author ever since I had the pleasure of releasing his first book "Whither Awakened India?" in 1946. The expectations that he had raised in that thought-provoking book have mostly been fulfilled by his subsequent publications, notable among which are "Reflections", "The Changing Map of India", "We and the State", "Outlines of Social Science", "What shape Mysore Constitution should take?", "Are Linguistic Provinces necessary", "The future of Indian States", "The Morning Star of Indian Freedom", "Basava, the Social Reformer" and "Principles of Politics" etc. Apart from these and other original works, he has published a number of research papers in well-known journals and periodicals and also edited such monumental works as "Hardekar Commemoration Volume", "Studies in Education and Culture", "Studies in State Administration" etc. His recent book on the first General Elections in Goa has thrown interesting new light on the past history and current problems of Goa.

I hope that this book will be read with interest and profit not only in Karnataka but all over the country and will inspire the coming generations to deeds of greatness and glory. The first and the second volumes covering some 1500 pages are an excellent contribution to literature on Indian Nationalism and I

am sure will remain as authoritative and authentic sources of information on our epic struggle for national liberation. The Government will also be releasing as early as possible the Kannada version of these two volumes so that every literate Kannadiga may get an opportunity to acquaint himself with the story of Freedom Fight. I congratulate all those who have directly and indirectly assisted in the compilation and publication of this volume. The Department of Literary and Cultural Development has brought out popular classical works like Mahabharata and critical editions of Tagore, its publications numbering over 18. The two volumes on Freedom Movement are really monumental works of which the Department can be proud.

Bangalore,
20-4-1964.

S. NIJALINGAPPA,
Chief Minister.

A FEW WORDS

I feel happy that we have successfully completed the task of bringing out a full history of freedom struggle in Karnataka. The first volume was published in 1962.

The second volume, compiled by Prof. G. S. Halappa, consists of four parts and contains valuable material on the Freedom Struggle. The first part of the Volume commencing with the chapter on Western Impact deals with the main stream of the National movement, the second part covering the auxiliaries of the national movement. In these two parts Prof. Halappa has given not only a good account of the history of the Freedom Movement but also a critical and objective estimate. Part three adds to the variety of the writing since it presents memoirs and reminiscences by different persons written from different angles. For the first time a lot of unpublished rare material has been brought to light in this volume. English translations of some Kannada poems and songs on Freedom Fight, rare photos and illustrations are some of the unique features of the volume. The Appendix material printed in Part four contains valuable information supplementing the original writing. The Volume on the whole is an impressive work of scholarship and Prof. G. S. Halappa, who has already about 25 books to his credit, by writing this volume, has made a noteworthy contribution to the subject of the History of Freedom Movement in India.

It is not for me to write about the value of this book. The book speaks for itself. The writing of a complete history of freedom movement in Karnataka involves some special difficulties since till 1956 parts of the present State were distributed among former British Provinces and the princely States. Considering the difficulties involved in gathering material etc., the volume gives a fairly good and clear picture of the fight for freedom in Karnataka as a whole. I, therefore, congratulate Prof. G. S. Halappa on this excellent work.

It is gratifying that this volume is blessed with a thought-provoking foreword kindly written by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister without portfolio, Government of India. It is equally gratifying that this book which narrates the story of our freedom struggle is being inaugurated by Shri K. Kamaraj Nadar who played an eminent part in the freedom struggle of our country.

I have great pleasure in commending this volume and hope

it will be read with enthusiasm and interest by all, by students in particular who, no doubt, will find it to be a source of inspiration.

In conclusion I must express my appreciation of the efforts put forth by several officers particularly Shri T. R. Jayaraman, Secretary to Government, Education Department, Shri T. Vasudevaiya, Director of Public Instruction, Shri K. S. Dharanendraiyya, Special Officer, Literary and Cultural Development, Shri M. A. Shri Rama, Director, Government Press in bringing out this volume in time and in such an attractive manner.

Bangalore,

1st May 1964.

S. R. KANTHI,

Minister for Education.

P R E F A C E

I must confess to a sense of great relief that this work has at long last been completed, and I may add, within the time target initially set for it. The first volume, which took the story of the freedom struggle in Karnataka to 1857, was published in 1962, and this, the second volume, seeks to span the history of some hundred years, from 1857 to 1947, thus bringing the narrative up-to-date. When the writing of this work was first proposed, the Government had in mind only a single volume. But the material available ruled out the possibility of covering it in a single volume, even if it were all compressed to the extent of giving an account of the main events only. However, the Government were good enough to agree to the proposal for bringing out a second volume.

This work has consistently kept in view an all-India framework and perspective, while giving a detailed picture of the freedom struggle in Karnataka. It should be noted that the material gathered was so vast that this work had had to leave out many details. As a matter of fact the source material is large enough to feed a few more volumes. The main emphasis in this volume has been on events and forces, not individual personalities. This volume highlights the most important aspects of India's national struggle, and gives an account of the contribution of Karnataka to that great historical upsurge in its proper perspective. Hence it may serve both as a general history of the Indian struggle for freedom and as a detailed history of Karnataka's role in it.

The Editor had to face considerable difficulty in his task of collecting source material, sifting it, interpreting it and presenting it as a historical narrative. At all times he has endeavoured his utmost to keep close to facts, and to keep clear of local, regional or other biases. His has been an objective and academic approach to his task.

As already hinted, the source material collected both from official and private sources, has been formidable. The main sources may be listed as official records including correspondence, confidential police records, extracts from Court proceedings, newspapers, the official publications of the Indian National Congress and other organisations, private papers including correspondence, and personal interviews with individuals.

Thankful acknowledgements are due to the National Archives, New Delhi ; the Records Office, Madras ; the Hyderabad Archives ; the Goa Archives, Panjim ; the Libraries of the Universities of Karnatak and Mysore ; and the Registrar, High Court of Mysore. Among private individuals, mention may be made of Shri Marularadhya Sastri of Gadag. Thanks are also due to the editors and proprietors of the various newspapers from which extracts have been taken, and to the many authors and writers who have co-operated by contributing personal memoirs. I take this opportunity of placing on record my deep appreciation of the steady, unfailing and active interest evinced by the Government of Mysore during its writing. It may not be out of place here to mention that Mysore is the only Southern State to have brought out volumes on the freedom struggle, since the Reorganization of the States in 1956. I must make particular reference to the kind encouragement and prompt help given by Shri S. Nijalingappa, the Chief Minister, Shri S. R. Kanthi, the Education Minister, and Shri T. R. Jayaraman, I.A.S., the Secretary, Education Department. They have, in the midst of their administrative pre-occupations, found time for scholarly interests, especially with regard to the present volume. I should like to thank Shri K. S. Dharanendraiya, Special Officer, Literary and Cultural Development, Government of Mysore, who continued to evince the same interest and extend hearty co-operation as before. The Editor is deeply grateful to the Vice-Chancellor of Karnataka University, Shri D. C. Pavate, for his kind permission to undertake the work and his continued sympathetic attitude and encouragement. I must express my grateful appreciation of the cooperation received from many quarters. My sincere thanks are due to the resourceful translators who rendered into English original Kannada poems, and to Shri K. Raghavendra Rao who helped me in the selection of Kannada poems for translation and also in the collection of material for the volume. I should make special mention here of Shri A. Mylar Rao, the Research Assistant, and Shri J. S. Hampannavar, the Typist-cum-Clerk, without whose devoted co-operation, this work would not have been completed so well and seen the light of day in time. I am under deep obligation to Mylar Rao who discharged his work with enthusiasm and efficiency and assisted me in the editorial work. I am also indebted to my colleagues and friends with whom I discussed some problems dealt with in the volume. Lastly I sincerely thank Mr. Philip Spratt of MYSINDIA, who went through the proofs and gave valuable suggestions.

The first volume was received well and enthusiastically by the general public as well as scholars. I hope that this volume will be equally fortunate.

Dharwar,
15-4-1964.

G. S. HALAPPA,
University Professor of Political Science,
Karnatak University.

ABOUT THE PUBLICATION

The first volume of the History of Freedom Movement in Karnataka was inaugurated in 1962. We are now releasing the second volume which covers about a hundred years of national struggle. The two volumes comprising a little over 1500 pages contain a comprehensive and vivid account of the different phases of the Freedom Movement of our country and will serve as an authentic history of the Freedom Movement. The first volume, jointly edited by Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao and Prof. G. S. Halappa, was well received by the scholars and the general public, as can be judged by the opinions of a few reviewers printed elsewhere in this volume.

This second volume, running to about 900 pages, narrates the story of Karnataka's contribution to Indian Freedom Movement. The book is divided into four parts. The first part shows how the long labours of India's freedom struggle bore fruit at last. In the remaining parts several factors which influenced the different phases of the national struggle are magnificently depicted.

Many persons have helped in bringing out this volume. We are deeply indebted to Shri S. Nijalingappa, Chief Minister, and Shri S. R. Kanthi, Minister for Education, who evinced keen interest in the publication. I would be failing in my duty if I did not mention here the active support and encouragement received from Shri T. R. Jayaraman, I.A.S., Secretary to Government, Education Department. I am thankful to Shri T. Vasudevaiya, the Director of Public Instruction, and Shri M. A. Sri Rama, the Director, Government Press, for their kind co-operation. Our thanks are also due to Shri Kulkarni, photographer of Bijapur, and others who supplied some rare photographs. Many persons such as Shri Marularadhya Sastri of Gadag, the proprietors of Sharada Press, Mangalore, helped us with valuable material. Messrs. Hosali Press, Bangalore, who had printed the first volume gladly came forward to print this volume also and executed the printing work efficiently and in a short period. To these and many others who co-operated and assisted in our publication work, I offer sincere thanks. The Kannada version of these two volumes will also be published shortly. It is hoped that these publications would be welcomed by the public.

Bangalore,
April 20, 1964.

K. S. DHARANENDRAIYA,
Special Officer, Literary and
Cultural Development.
(Department of Public Instruction).

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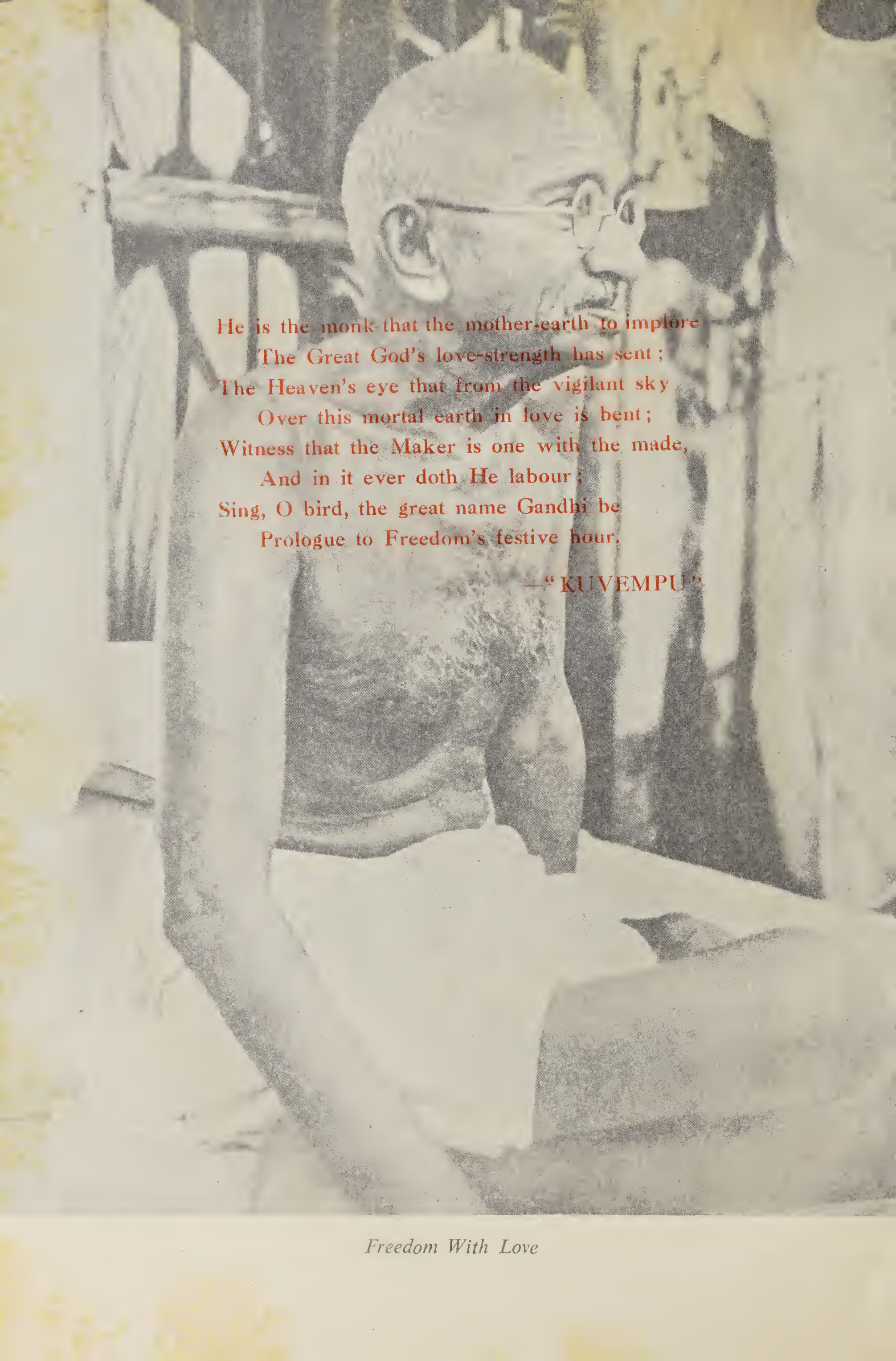
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Part One

HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT
IN KARNATAKA —
THE MAIN STREAM





He is the monk that the mother-earth to implore
The Great God's love-strength has sent ;
The Heaven's eye that from the vigilant sky
Over this mortal earth in love is bent ;
Witness that the Maker is one with the made,
And in it ever doth He labour ;
Sing, O bird, the great name Gandhi be
Prologue to Freedom's festive hour.

—“KUVEMPU”

WESTERN IMPACT

Pre-British Period

In spite of the geographical isolation of India, with lofty mountains in the north, north-west and north-east and broad seas on other sides, there has been Indian contact with the West to an appreciable extent from the earliest times. Karnataka with its long coastline maintained communication with the countries of Western Asia, Africa and even Europe from the time of the palmy days of the Egyptian Empire. An early Egyptian inscription mentions cinnamon, which is to be found only in the mountainous regions of India's western sea-coast ; and this indicates the existence of trade relations between Karnataka and Egypt in very early times. Karnataka was exporting cotton cloth, gold, sandalwood, peacocks and some other articles to Israel long before the Christian era. It is said that King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon used Indian teak for building his palace. This contact, however, did not make a cultural impact on Karnataka to any appreciable extent. From the time of Mohammad the Prophet, India's contact with the countries of Western Asia became closer, but the cultural and social impact of the Muslim countries on India was inconsiderable. There were maritime connections between Karnataka and the Arab countries, but the nascent Muslim civilization did not have much influence on the older and more stable cultural and social life of Karnataka. Later, the Muslims conquered the country and established their political dominion, and even converted some Hindus to Islam by force. Still the basic foundations of Hindu culture remained unshaken by the Muslim impact.

It was with the coming of the people of the maritime countries of Western Europe that the impact of the West on India came to be felt. The spread of the Islamic empire all over Western Asia practically closed the land routes of commerce between India and Europe, and led to the discovery of the sea-route to India. This discovery was an event of momentous importance in the relations between India and the West. Before this, foreigners from the West had entered India mainly across the north-western passes. The Muslims who at first came by this route settled down in the country, making it their home, and ceased to be aliens. But the Europeans who came by the sea-route remained aliens till the last. There was little possibility of any understanding or sympathy between them and the Indians, for

they considered themselves a superior race. Their object in coming to India was at first trade, and later, when they found that conditions were favourable, colonisation and conquest. They tried to exploit the confused and chaotic situation of India to their advantage, and they did so without any scruple, for India was a foreign country to them. This total absence of any identity of interest between the European nations and India was at the root of all the evils that followed.

The Portuguese

The Portuguese were the first among the maritime adventurers of Western Europe. Initially their object was only trade. But they soon realised that, without the liquidation of the Arab naval power and influence, they could not hope to survive ; and the only effective way of destroying the power of the Arabs was by building up military strongholds along the Arabian Sea coast and by allying themselves with one or other of the Indian rulers, who were indulging in internecine rivalries and quarrels. When in this way the Portuguese were able to establish themselves in India, they thought of conquest, for the political situation of South India was favourable to them. Being a small country and short of man-power, they enlisted Indians for their armies ; they encouraged the Portuguese to marry Indian women, in the belief that their offspring would be loyal to Portugal. In this they were mistaken ; for these halfbreeds, children of the lowest social strata, became distinguished only for their unscrupulousness and depravity. Thus were made the beginnings of a new class of people who, having no cultural bearings, served to swell the ranks of those who constituted a social menace. But the most pronounced aspect of the impact of the Portuguese lay in the conversions to Christianity which they carried out, mostly by force and with the help of the Inquisition which they introduced into their Indian territories. Indians, who had for thousands of years been accustomed to charity and tolerance in matters of religion and faith, detested these forced conversions and the horrors of the Inquisition ; and this was perhaps the chief reason for the detestation with which the Indians regarded the Portuguese.

Another effect of the impact of the Portuguese, an impact insidious but nonetheless important, needs mention. In all walks of life and in every department of human relations, Indians were accustomed to conform to the principle of Dharma, which only means unswerving adherence to the time-honoured moral and

spiritual values of life in all fields of activity. As the result of the rise of a mixed race of people sprung mostly from the dregs of society, there was a lowering of moral standards, and venality and corruption became the order of the day. The Portuguese introduced into the lands they conquered new standards of conduct based on self-interest as the highest value of life. Says a writer : " From the first Portuguese enterprise was a state enterprise, and hence private and state interests clashed, the former predominating and the state having no means of safeguarding them. Men like Alemeida and Albuquerque were few and far between ; the majority of the officials were selfish and corrupt who hoarded fortunes to the detriment of the state. The old character and honesty disappeared, and men were busy collecting gold by whatever means possible, fair or foul. Portugal lacked the necessary man-power. Outlaws and criminals were pardoned and sent out to India where they mated with the lowest of society and added to the corruption that prevailed. The Portuguese wife was generally mixed or Indian and was of the lowest breed. The offspring were destitute and depraved." The values which Indians had cherished for millenniums were toppled over by this cult of unscrupulous self-aggrandisement introduced by the European nations. The coastal regions of Karnataka experienced these effects of the Portuguese impact to some extent.

Other European Nations : Rivalries

Portugal declined rapidly after its conquest by Spain in 1580, and the seventeenth century was a period of Dutch predominance. But the Dutch turned all their attention to the East Indies and did not think seriously of the Indian trade. Karnataka (and India as a whole) was not in any way influenced by the Dutch. In the 18th century the British and the French, who had established trading centres at the end of the seventeenth century, became rivals for the Indian trade ; and by the end of the 18th century the British had eliminated the French as a rival power and established their supremacy in India. Tippoo Sultan of Mysore tried hard to win the help of the French in his fight with the British ; but the Revolution and the subsequent developments in France made it impossible for the Government of France to render any effective help. The British took advantage of the political confusion in India after the disaster of the third battle of Panipat to conquer large slices of Indian territory one by one and to consolidate their power. By the beginning of

the 19th century it was clear that they would soon be masters of the entire country.

The British

The impact of the British on Karnataka was seriously felt after the fall of Tippoo Sultan. In the first half of the nineteenth century the small kingdoms of North Karnataka and the coastlands of the west were conquered and annexed, and the disintegration of the once powerful Karnataka, which had extended from the Godavari to the Cauvery and which had built up its own distinctive culture, commenced. The northern districts became a part of the Bombay Presidency directly governed by the British ; the people of these parts came under the influence of the aggressive Maharashtrians, and began to lose their distinctiveness. The districts of the north-east were given away to the Nizam, so that the domineering Muslim rule and the imposition of Urdu on the Kannadigas had the same effect, perhaps worse. Some southern parts of Karnataka like South Kanara were given away to the Madras Presidency, where they had to learn Tamil or Telugu. It was as if the Kannadigas had no language or culture of their own and did not deserve a province for themselves. No other linguistic unit of India had been subjected to such disintegration. Political or military expediency was no justification for the dismemberment of a unit like Karnataka, and the evil effects of this shortsighted and unwise policy can be seen even today, fifteen years after the achievement of Indian independence and five years after the formation of a united Karnataka. For the people of Karnataka this constitutes perhaps the most deplorable effect of the political impact of the British. For some years after the failure of the great war of independence of 1857-58, the Kannadigas lay stunned and prostrate, for they had fought as desperate a fight as the people of the North with far less man-power and resources. But the feeling of the injustice which had been done against them by the British rankled in their hearts, and this expressed itself openly in newspapers, books and new institutions whose object was to bring to the Kannadigas a clear and keen awareness of what they had lost as a people with a glorious past.

The New Knowledge

Every selfish act, or every act of injustice, defeats itself ultimately and recoils on the perpetrator in the long run, howso-

ever camouflaged it may be under an alluring cover of good professions. The people of Karnataka became aware of the injustice done to them firstly as the result of the education which the British gave them. Indians have to be grateful to Macaulay for this. In spite of his colossal ignorance of Indian history and culture, and his contemptuous reference to seas of treacle and seas of butter in Indian mythology, he rendered an invaluable service to India by enabling the Indians to learn English and obtain access to Western ideas and Western thought. In Karnataka, schools for imparting Western education were first established by the Christian missions, especially the Basel Mission, which was financed by the new rich of the West. The object of these people helping this missionary work was of course primarily proselytisation and conversion ; they did not know that a tremendous vitality lay hidden behind the placid and inert surface of Indian life. The history of the great fights for freedom from political bondage by the people of England, the United States, France, Greece, Germany and Italy was an object-lesson to the Indians, who saw the utter insincerity of the statesmen of England who said at home that good government could never be a substitute for self-government, but exploited the people in their colonies by keeping them in political subjection. Indians imbibed with avidity the high thoughts and aspirations of Western poets, philosophers and political thinkers ; and saw to their dismay how these same people, as rulers, thought it fair and proper to drain India of its wealth and resources, and to keep them in political subjection in order to prevent them from offering an effective opposition. Their Government was conducted by two opposing sets of values, one for the home country and the other for their colonies. The education which was given to the people created a class of intellectuals, who clearly saw the intentions behind the platitudinous assertions of the British rulers.

Conversion

This realisation of the real object of the foreign rulers was reinforced when the people saw the work of conversion to Christianity carried on by the missionaries, not only in Karnataka, but all over India. Indeed, as the conquest of the different parts of India proceeded, missionary work followed in its wake, and the socially detested and downtrodden among the people were the first to be induced to embrace Christianity with the offer of socially equitable treatment and appointment in Government service. It

was the Portuguese who first adopted conversion as a political necessity, and the British followed their example ; but while the Portuguese mode of proselytisation and conversion was crude, vulgar, and open, the English method was designing, subtle and shrewd. Mr. Mangles, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the East India Company, openly declared in the House of Commons :

“ Providence has entrusted the extensive Empire of Hindustan to England in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to the other. Everyone must exert all his strength that there may be no dilatoriness on any account in continuing in the country the grand work of making all India Christian.”

A Churchman, the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, wrote about this “ grand work ” :

“ Whatever misfortunes come on us, as long as our Empire in India continues, so long let us not forget that our chief work is the propagation of Christianity in the land until Hindustan from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas embraces the religion of Christ ; and until it condemns the Hindu and Muslim religions, our efforts must continue persistently.”

The ranks of the native army were a convenient ground for the propagation of Christianity. Writes the author of *The Causes of the Indian Revolt by a Hindu of Bengal* :

“ They began preaching and distributing tracts and translations among the Hindu and Mohammedan officers and soldiers. In the beginning they were tolerated sometimes with disgust, sometimes with indifference. When, however, the thing continued, when the evangelizing endeavours became more serious and troublesome day by day, the Sepoys of either persuasion felt alarmed In the meantime the ‘ missionary colonels ’ and ‘ Padre lieutenants ’, as these curious militaries were called, were not inactive. Emboldened by the toleration of the Sepoy, they grew more violent than ever. They were warmer in their exhortations to the unbelievers to substitute the worship of the one true God in his son Jesus, for the thirty-three millions of their hideous deities. . . . By

and by the proselytising colonels tempted the Sepoys to Christianity with bribes and offered promotions and other rewards to converts. They unblushingly used their influence of officers in this unholy affair. The Sepoys protested and their officers promised to make every Sepoy who forsook his religion a Havaladar, every Havaladar a Subedar Major, and so on. Great discontent was the consequence."

Reaction : Ram Mohan Roy

The work of conversion was carried on on an impressive scale in Karnataka, the southern and coastal parts being most affected. A few of the missionaries who established educational institutions for the Indians were actuated more by the desire to give the people the benefits of Western education than by the desire to make them Christians. In any case, the people of Karnataka on the whole reacted to this in a way which was quite the reverse of what the missionaries anticipated. The indignity of the conversion to an alien faith of large numbers of people by the offer of rewards and promises of social amelioration, rankled in the minds of the intellectuals, while the "full-throated abuse" of the Hindu and Moslem religions by missionaries who knew nothing of those religions, the assistance directly and indirectly given to missionary work by Government, who even appropriated religious endowments and sought to suppress the time-honoured Hindu and Muslim educational institutions which had for centuries kept the torch of indigenous culture burning, and the ridicule and contempt with which all Indians were treated, naturally mortified a people who were proud of their cultural inheritance, and resulted in social movements whose object was to protect Hinduism and Islam from being swamped by the tide of conversions. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth, there were movements of religious and social revival, to counter the imposition of Western religion and Western materialist thought. While the numerous invasions of earlier times had been unable to do any appreciable damage to the Hindu religion and way of life, the British carried their inroads to the very bases of Hindu culture; this caused a revival of all the latent strength and vitality of Hinduism, which, while not being aggressive in itself, had absorbed all the foreign elements, except Islam. In the first half of the nineteenth century alone, the recovery of Hinduism had been initiated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who, with his great learning and clear understanding of the

factors that had thrown Indian society into the slough of despond, realised the need for radical social reform, and founded the Brahmo Samaj with the object of rooting out the evil traditions and practices which had exposed Indian society to ridicule. He also tried to induce the British Government to impart a liberal and humanistic touch to their rule in India. His was verily a unique personality, which combined in itself all the fire, energy, intellectual refinement and humanism of the best in Hinduism. He realised that the Hindu culture had no hope of survival unless it tried to absorb the best elements of the Western civilisation, without breaking away from its ancient spiritual moorings. It is testimony to the intrinsic worth of the ancient Indian culture as well as to the firm hold it had on the masses that, in spite of the decadence discernible in all aspects of Hindu life, there still lay a dormant vitality among the Hindus, who could be roused to regeneration and reform, and not allow themselves to be swept off their feet by the glamour and glitter of Western materialist and utilitarian civilisation. It was this latent strength of Hinduism which Ram Mohan Roy sought to harness in the cause of national regeneration. O'Malley thus writes about Ram Mohan Roy and his work (*Modern India and the West*, p. 67) :

“ Raja Ram Mohan Roy, while acknowledging the value of the ethical doctrines of Christianity, clung to Hinduism as a religion, and, so far from abandoning it, made it his object to reform it and for this purpose founded the Brahmo Samaj. Like Luther, who appealed to the Bible as an authority against medieval corruptions, he took his stand on the Vedas, the earliest Hindu scriptures, in which he found a form of pure Hinduism, of which the basis was a belief in one God, which was not vitiated by idolatry, and which gave no sanction to distinctions of caste or such practices as *Suttee*. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his successors in the Brahmo Samaj, Debendranath Tagore and Keshub Chandra Sen, all exhibited the interaction of India and Western influences. Ram Mohan Roy was attracted to monotheism by contact with the Muslims ; he was strongly affected by the ethical teachings of Christ and believed that asceticism is not necessary for a religious life, which can be lived in social surroundings, but his beliefs were still rooted in Hinduism. Debendranath Tagore spent three years in solitary contemplation in the Himalayas, chanted the poetry of Persian Sufis, and shared in their mysticism ; but he also studied the works of

Hume, Fichte, and Victor Cousin, and was well acquainted with the principles of rationalistic philosophy. Keshub Chandra Sen, who was familiar with the doctrines of writers like Sir William Hamilton, Victor Cousin, Emerson and Theodore Parker, said that it was the purpose of his life to preach the union of Eastern and Western Theism, the reconciliation of Europe and Asia, and that half his heart was in sympathy with Europe and the other half with Asia. Their followers were strong, not in numbers, but in rank, influence and intellectual attainments. The tenets of the Samaj were too refined and eclectic to be popular; it was widely separated from Hinduism by its denial of the doctrine of metempsychosis and incarnations and never became a Hindu sect. It also never became a Church, but rather represented a movement, which spread spiritualizing ideas among the Hindus, and, by its liberal views in regard to the caste system, child marriages, and the position and education of women, gradually leavened and changed the ideas of the Hindu intelligentsia. Its influence extended to Madras, where the theistic society was started in 1864 under the name of the Veda Samaj, which was changed later to the Brahmo Samaj of South India. A similar theistic movement in Bombay resulted in the foundation of the Prarthana Samaj, meaning the Society of Prayer, which held enlightened views in regard to social usages, particularly child marriage, and was joined by some of the leaders of thought in Western India such as Mr. Justice Ranade and Mr. G. K. Gokhale." While the influence of the Prarthana Samaj was to be seen in North Karnataka, the Brahmo Samaj of South India had its votaries in Southern Karnataka.

Another quotation is necessary to bring out the unique personality and dynamism of Ram Mohan Roy, whose almost revolutionary ideas swept across India like a storm and roused the people from their intellectual lethargy, just as he had been influenced to formulate his ideas by the Western impact :

" Ram Mohan Roy's interests and inquiries ranged from the rights of women and the freedom of the press to English education, the revenue and judicial systems in India, religious toleration and the plight of the Indian peasantry. He wanted India to become a new and modern country and the Indians to become a virile new people—not, of course, by cutting off

our moorings from the past, but by achieving a new integration of our traditional strength with the new scientific disciplines from the West The main aim of his dedicated endeavours was the total regeneration of India, comprising economic progress, political education, cultural renaissance and spiritual awakening.” (K. R. Srinivas Iyengar : *Indian Writing in English*, p. 32).

The Prarthana Samaj

The Brahmo Samaj had an influence in the Deccan, but the Maharashtrians and the people of North Karnataka, impressionable and often vehement, took up the idea of the establishment of the Prarthana Samaj, which preached the oneness of God and adopted social reform as its activity. While the Brahmo Samaj conceived itself in some respects as being distinct from Hinduism, the Prarthana Samaj regarded itself as only a reforming organisation of Hinduism. The Prarthana Samajists tried to keep to the religious tradition of saints like Ramdas, Tukaram and Namdev, and directed their activities to the removal of the distinctions of caste, the abolition of child marriage, etc. The first moving spirit in this attack on the evils of Hindu society was Mahadev Govind Ranade, who devoted all his energies to the furtherance of the objects of the Prarthana Samaj. He believed that social amelioration was inseparable from political freedom :

“ You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights : nor can you be fit to exercise political rights unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economical system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideas are low and grovelling you cannot succeed in social, economical and political spheres. This interdependence is not an accident but it is the law of our nature.”

The West tried to impose its way of thought and social usages on the Indians ; Hinduism, with its resistance and toughness, reacted to the imposition by revitalizing itself with the elimination of all those elements which had in the course of history sapped its vitality, and by adapting itself to the new ways of life. If Hinduism had been just a mass of creeds and practices, it would probably have been overwhelmed by the Western impact ; but being a way of life guided by eternal principles which are to be

found in all great cultures, it was receptive to new impacts, for, as Radhakrishnan says, "It insists not on religious uniformity but on a spiritual and ethical outlook of life. It is a fellowship of all who accept the law of right and earnestly seek for the truth."

The Theosophists

The Theosophical movement was another reaction to the Western impact, and its influence was felt prominently in the Madras Presidency and Karnataka. Established initially in the United States of America in 1875 by Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott for investigating the physical powers of man and laws of nature, and studying the major religions of the world for the ultimate establishment of a world brotherhood, it soon spread to England and other countries. The founders came to India and made Adyar their headquarters in 1886. Mrs. Annie Besant was responsible for spreading the ideas of Theosophy in India. Here the Theosophists were attracted by the principles and tenets of Hinduism to such an extent that they declared that Hinduism could well become a world religion, since it could satisfactorily meet all the spiritual needs of men. At a time when educated Indian youth were being led into blind acceptance of Western ideas and admiration for Western ways of life, with a corresponding disparagement of the ancient Aryan culture, Mrs. Besant stimulated a study of the Indian classics and established educational institutions, the chief of which was the Central Hindu High School at Varanasi, which became the Hindu University in 1915. She was also an ardent supporter of social reform and the Congress movement for Home Rule.

The Arya Samaj

While the Brahmo Samajists tried to reform the Hindu way of life by eliminating its evils and bringing it into conformity with Western ways, men like Dayanand Saraswati tried to revive all that was best in the India of Vedic times. The Arya Samaj stood not only for the resuscitation of the pristine purity and glow of the ancient Vedic past, but also for resistance to the aggressiveness of Christianity and Islam.

Dayanand argued that India could be free from the soul-killing sophistry and materialism of the West only when she reverted to the purity and simplicity of Vedic times, eliminating the evils that had crept into Hindu society as the result of historical and

other causes. The Arya Samaj which he established was almost militant in its attitude, for Dayanand was uncompromising in his revival of Vedic Hinduism and refused to have anything to do with Islam, Christianity or any other religion. Indeed he maintained that even the scientific inventions of the Western countries were nothing new, but were known to the ancient Hindus. His was indeed a sweeping reaction to the impact of the aggressive and domineering West which was insidiously and often blatantly trying to impose its culture and way of life on India. It made Indians shed their depression and feeling of inferiority, and think themselves superior to the Westerners ; it gave them confidence in their own merit and paved the way for the mission of Swami Vivekananda. Aurobindo thus writes about Dayanand :

“ It is as if one were to walk for a long time amid a range of hills rising to a greater or lesser altitude, but all with sweeping contours, green-clad, flattering the eye even in their most bold and striking elevation. But amidst them all, one hill stands apart, piled up in sheer strength, a mass of bare and puissant granite, with verdure on its summit, a solitary pine jutting out into the blue, a great cascade of pure, vigorous and fertilizing water gushing out from its strength as a very fountain of life and health to the valley.”

Lala Hansraj, Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Shraddhanand were the foremost of those who carried on the mission of Dayanand. Shraddhanand intensified the “Suddhi” movement of re-converting those who had abandoned the Hindu fold for Christianity or Islam.

Dayanand Saraswati was more an ardent than a critical scholar, with less eclecticism in him than the other reformers of the nineteenth century. It was for this reason that his teaching possessed far greater intensity and appeal than the teaching of any other reformer, except of course Swami Vivekananda, and the Arya Samaj which he established succeeded in turning the people's mind away from the superficial glamour of the West. While many other reforming institutions started in the nineteenth century, like the Brahmo Samaj, have had their days of utility and declined, the Arya Samaj is still living and serving the nation. In spite of its tenacious attachment to the superiority of the ancient Vedic culture, the Arya Samaj has seen the necessity of Western education for Indians ; in the Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore, a curriculum which fosters an understanding of and love for Hindu

Vedic thought is combined with a teaching of the analytical and deductive learning of the West, while at the Gurukula School at Hardwar, amidst natural surroundings of idyllic loveliness and charm, teaching is imparted on the ancient Gurukul lines, though even here the need for a curriculum of Western standards has not been neglected. Woman during Vedic times was not merely the gentle and submissive wife and mother as she became later, but was also man's associate, participating in all his activities on a level of equality, with no diminution of her grace and tenderness. The Arya Samajists established girls' schools wherein they sought to train girls who while receiving modern education might still conform to Vedic standards of womanhood. In addition, the Arya Samajists were in no way indifferent to the political problems that agitated India and often took an active part in political activities, as Lala Lajpat Rai and Shradhdhanandji did ; for they realised that a cultural revival would be possible only in a free India. The impact of the West on India came with relentless pressure on Indian ways of life and thought, and seemed to overwhelm them as it had politically subjugated the country ; and India through the Arya Samaj reacted to it with equal force and vehemence. The dormant vitality of the age-old Hindu culture came out to resist the new attack of the West.

Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Vivekananda

While the lure of the West was not lacking in the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj sought a complete return to the Vedas. The Prarthana Samaj and various other reform organisations sought to bring about social reform without breaking with the past. All these movements represented the reanimated vitality of Hinduism as a natural reaction to the cultural onslaught of the West. But the movement which best carried the offensive to the enemy's camp and made the complacent and pompous West see its own shortcomings was the Ramakrishna Mission. It was offensive while the other movements were mainly defensive in their attitude ; it was broad-based and comprehensive in its outlook and exposed the silliness of people imposing their own ideas and beliefs on others. Many of the other movements were more or less sectarian, while the Ramakrishna Mission's chief feature was a robust universality. The saint of Dakshineswar, unlearned, unknown beyond his province, queer and eccentric in his ways, just a temple " Poojari ", not only transformed the learned, free-thinking, irreligious and almost pugnacious Narendranath into a

docile and pliant pupil, but also galvanized him into the “cyclo-nic Hindu”, as the amazed Americans called him later. The refreshing catholicity of thought which saw in every religious system elements which elevate and ennoble life, the intense, stormy religious fervour which Bhagavan Ramakrishna possessed in such a remarkable degree, and the deep mysticism which was evident behind his devotional ecstasy—all these were transferred to Narendranath as if by a magic touch, and the young disciple was prepared to carry out the mission of teaching Indians to shed fear and face the world with confidence, as also to tell the complacent and vainglorious West that their worship of Mammon and physical might would lead them to an inglorious if not a calamitous end.

It was as if all the reforming zeal and energy of the other movements were concentrated and directed to the fulfilment of a Great Purpose in Vivekananda. His robust confidence in the righteousness of the cause he represented and the mission he carried inspired his countrymen and gave them the hope and assurance they needed. He boldly proclaimed in America that the Vedanta can be the religion for the whole world; there was not a trace of an apologetic note in what he told them. He showed the West how the Vedanta was in complete harmony with modern rationalistic scientific thought as well as being spiritual. He wanted that “the abstract Vedanta must become living—poetic—in everyday life; out of hopelessly intricate mythology must come concrete moral forms; and out of bewildering Yogi-ism must come the most scientific and practical psychology.”

How he inspired his own countrymen with a sense of their own cultural superiority and confidence in their strength can be seen in these words, taken from an address he delivered at Colombo on his return from the West :

“Before I left India I thought that this was *Punya Bhumi*, the land of Karma. Today I stand here to say, with conviction, that it is so, that if there is any land on this earth that can lay claim above all others to be the blessed *Punya Bhumi*, the land to which all must sooner or later come to account for their Karma, the land to which every soul wending its way Godward must come to attain its perfection, the land where humanity has developed farthest towards gentleness, generosity, purity and calm, the land above all of introspection and spirituality, it is India. Here, from most ancient times, have been born the founders of religion, deluging

the earth again and again with the pure and perennial waters of spiritual truth. Here have begun those tidal waves of philosophy that have traversed oceans, East and West, North and South ; and now here again must rise that wave which is to spiritualize the material civilization of the modern world. Here are the life-giving waters with which shall be quenched the burning fire of materialism that is consuming the hearts of millions in other lands. Believe me, my friends, this is yet to be

“ The great principles underlying all this wonderful, infinite, ennobling, expansive view of man, and God, and the world, have been produced in India, and in India alone man did not stand up and fight for a little tribal God. ‘ My God is true and yours is not true ; let us have a good fight over it.’ It was only here that such ideas did not occur. These great underlying principles being based on the eternal nature of man are as potent today for the working out of the good of the human race as they were thousands of years ago, and they will remain so long as this earth remains, so long as the Law of Karma remains, so long as we are born as individuals and have to work out our own destiny by our individual power.”

What some writers call the new Vedantism of the closing years of the 19th century found its ablest exponent in Vivekananda, who realised that a spiritual awakening would inevitably produce nationalism of a virile, confident type. Says Bepin Chandra Pal in *The Spirit of Indian Nationalism* : “ Neo-Vedantism demands a social, an economic and a political reconstruction such as will be helpful to the spiritual life of every individual member of the community. The spiritual note of the present nationalist movement is entirely derived from this Vedantic thought.” The rousing appeal from the ancient text, which called upon the Hindus to “ arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached ”, was repeated again and again in his lectures to his countrymen.

But at the same time Vivekananda was intensely human and saw the plight of his countrymen with agony in his heart. Cheer, comfort and hope for these suffering millions of his countrymen could come, he realised, only from Indians themselves, who should eradicate poverty and the consequent depression and inertia by persistent, unwearied efforts to improve their condition. “ I do not believe in a religion that cannot wipe away the widow’s tear or bring a piece of bread to the orphan’s mouth,”

he declared. Elsewhere he said, "I consider the great national sin is the neglect of the masses, and that is one of the causes of our downfall."

Effects on Karnataka

Karnataka, always responsive to new influences, was early affected by these movements of reform. North Karnataka came under the influence of the Prarthana Samaj to a large extent, while the other parts were affected by the Brahmo Samaj. It was at about the turn of the century that a branch of the Brahmo Samaj was established in the Civil Station of Bangalore, whose moving spirit was Veeresalingam Pantulu of revered memory. Measures of social reform like the abolition of child marriage, remarriage of widows, encouragement of education for girls as well as boys, were taken up. Books in Kannada dealing with the life and work of Ram Mohan Roy and explaining his message were published and became popular. The Ram Mohan Roy Middle School in Cottonpet, and the Vanitha Samaj of Bangalore, the Anathalaya of Mysore and many institutions of this type were due to the inspiration of the Brahmo Samaj. Shri Radhakrishnan, writing about the life of his father, the late B. Puttiah, says that his grandfather and Veeresalingam Pantulu were close friends and that they were active members of the Brahmo Samaj. The names of Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen and Mahatma Devendranath Tagore were household words in many families, and prayer meetings were regularly conducted according to Brahmo Samaj rites.

Far more profound and widespread was the influence of Swami Vivekananda on the people of Mysore. The Swamiji came to Mysore in the month of October, 1892. An account of the visit in *Mysore and the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement* (pp XII and XIII) is given below :

"After finishing the Northern Tirthas (places of pilgrimage) the Swami passed through the Mysore State about the middle of October 1892 and was the guest of His Highness the late Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, G. C. S. I., the Maharaja of Mysore, at Mysore, and that of his illustrious Prime Minister, the late Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, K. C. S. I., at Bangalore. Soon he became the centre of attention, so much so that he was sought after not only by all classes of his co-religionists but by other faiths and creeds.

“ During his stay at the palace he was introduced to a celebrated Austrian musician with whom a learned discussion on European music was held. It was a surprise to all to see Swamiji possessed such a wonderful knowledge of the European as well as the Indian systems of music.

“ An electrician of national repute who was engaged for lighting the palace with electricity talked with Swamiji who proved himself more than a match for the man who was a specialist in that subject.

“ Under the Presidentship of the Dewan, the Swamiji was invited to speak before a great assembly of pandits who discussed severally, in Sanskrit, the various theories of Vedanta in its many complex aspects without coming to any agreement. The Swamiji, in telling language, reconciled the various ideas of the Vedanta and its practical side, discarding the bookworm methods in the explanations.

“ The Pandits with one voice acclaimed him as a remarkable Vedic scholar of supreme realisation. The Dewan spoke of him as gifted beyond description and said he must have been a born “ Brahmagyani ” (knower of Brahman), for at such a comparatively young age, how could he have gained all this knowledge and insight even with his mastery of the Vedas and Vedanta ?

“ Such brilliancy of thought, such charm of personality, such wide learning, and such penetrating religious insight won the admiration of His Highness for the Swamiji, and when he spoke of departing, His Highness was so distressed that for a remembrance of his personality, he took a phonographic record of his voice

“ After a stay of about a month in Mysore, he left for Cape Comorin *via* Cochin, Trivandrum and Rameshwaram.”

In a letter which Swami Vivekananda wrote to His Highness the Maharaja on 23-6-1894, he stated that the one thing that distressed him most was the destitution of his countrymen, which would be eliminated only by giving them, not financial or such other relief, but proper education and enlightenment to enable them to earn their living with self-respect and dignity. He concluded that letter with an impassioned exhortation to His Highness to do his best to bring enlightenment to his countrymen who were steeped in ignorance. Ramakrishna Mutts were established and schools were started in many places. A great impetus was given to the study of Sanskrit also.

Another reformist movement which had influence over the people of Mysore was the Theosophical Society. Mrs. Annie Besant's personality and her moving appeals for social reform had a tremendous effect. She told the people that India in ancient days could achieve distinction in all fields of life chiefly because she had Maitreyis as well as Yagnavalkyas, and her regeneration would come only when Hindu women would occupy the position of respect and dignity which they held in ancient times. Not only the chief cities of Bangalore and Mysore but also the smaller towns had Theosophical centres. A Theosophical High School was started at Bangalore in the second decade of this century, and this institution has grown into the National College of today.

In many foreign countries, as in Mexico and Peru, the West overwhelmed and destroyed the ancient indigenous civilisations by its impact ; but in India it could only arouse a spirit of reaction which brought reform and regeneration, in addition to assimilation of what was worthwhile in the West.

British Rule : Effects

British rule of India for about a century and a half had profound effects. There were some rulers who administered the country with a genuine love for the people and according to the best British liberal traditions. The occidental attitude towards the East was essentially the cult of selfishness, greed, and narrow nationalism ; but a few rulers and administrators rose above these considerations and had a genuine regard for the people. Even in England, the voice of men like Burke and Bright rang out in behalf of justice and fairplay towards the Indians : and in India itself, rulers like Ripon tried to administer the country liberally. But they were far too few and could not influence the general trend of government to any appreciable extent. The contrast between the policy of this small number of Britishers and the policy of the majority of the rulers only strengthened the conviction in the minds of educated Indians that foreign rule was essentially evil and must be liquidated.

Historical Scholarship

What has been described above constitutes the indirect result of the impact of the West. In one direction, however, there was a direct and beneficial impact. Historical scholarship in the nine-

teenth century in Europe was guided by a genuine desire to know the past correctly and accurately, and this desire was brought to bear on the study of Indian history and Indian thought by a galaxy of devoted Western scholars and thinkers. Not much was known by historians about Indian history previous to the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi, for the epigraphic and other sources had not been unearthed and studied. It was in 1837 that the patient and painstaking efforts of James Prinsep to discover the clue to the inscriptions of Asoka were rewarded with success, and the life and work of one of the most remarkable and illustrious rulers in world history were brought to light. Soon a number of scholars took up the search for historical records and inscriptions. Slowly but steadily, thanks to the efforts of these Western scholars, the early history of India was written, and the world came to know that India could boast of a long and illustrious past. Indians themselves learnt for the first time the greatness of their past. But the knowledge of the richness of their cultural heritage came to them when Western scholars like William Jones, Max Muller, Monier Williams, revealed to the world the marvellous flights of thought of the Indian seers who, thousands of years ago, tried to solve the riddle of the universe and human life in it. Indians were thrilled by this knowledge of their own greatness in the intellectual and spiritual fields; and it was this knowledge primarily that brought about the renaissance of Indian learning in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. Indians cannot adequately be thankful to these Western pioneer scholars.

Intellectual Impact on Karnataka

The effect of all this discovery on Karnatak was profound. Karnataka forms the most ancient land mass of India; and it was there that the first march towards a civilized life began. Again it was in Karnataka, on the plateau region of South India, that the Aryan and Dravidian cultures met, to coalesce into the great Indian culture. This knowledge led a number of Western scholars like Mackenzie, Wurth, Fleet, Wilks, Kittel, Zeigler, Stokes, Rice, to study not only the historical material but also the literature of Karnataka. The accuracy and comprehensiveness of Western historical scholarship were brought to bear upon records, inscriptions and other material by these devoted scholars, and the result was that an enormous mass of source material was unearthed and a connected account of the history and litera-

ture of Karnataka could be written up. The painstaking efforts of men like Fleet, Wilks and Lewis Rice set the pace for work on the history of Karnataka. F. Kittel, a profound scholar of Kannada, not only edited *Chandombudhi* and *Sabdamanidarpana*, but also wrote a Kannada-English Dictionary and a Kannada Grammar. W. Reeve prepared a Kannada-English and an English-Kannada Dictionary. Moegling, Weigle and many others worked on Kannada language and literature. It is impossible to overestimate the value of the contribution made by these pioneers to the cause of historical and literary scholarship. Though the Portuguese had a longer contact with Karnataka and mixed with the Indians, their impact was little felt in these fields, except for the introduction of a few Portuguese words into the local languages, as for instance 'janal', a corrupt form of the Portuguese for window. The word 'Kannada' was corrupted into Kanara, a word which still remains in the names North Kanara and South Kanara. The intolerable word 'Canarese', long current in Karnataka, is now being given up.

The New Way of Life

Until about 1920, the Government of India concerned itself chiefly with maintaining peace in the country and collecting revenue. It did little for the growth of Indian industry and trade and did nothing in the way of measures for popular welfare. Even with regard to agriculture, which is the chief occupation of the people, little was done, and famines took a heavy toll of lives. With the introduction of modern means of communication like the railway, telegraph, etc., and with the spread of the knowledge of Western thought and Western ways of life, Indians were made aware of a higher standard of living, but the government did little to raise that standard among Indians. The old Indian way of life, placid and temperate, had survived in the midst of all the shocks received from invaders and conquerors, and even the Muslims could not disturb its even tenor; but the impact of the European nations threatened to undermine the very foundations of Indian life. Indians came under the spell of the Western mode of living, but could not live that life. They had become too poor to maintain even their old standard of life, for their agriculture had been neglected, their industries had been crippled to serve the interests of British manufacturers, their religion had been scorned and condemned, and the way had been prepared for a process of denationalisation. Even educated

Indians, with inadequate income, thought it 'high style' to ape the manners, dress, behaviour and style of living of the British, and impoverished themselves still further in the process. Western education gave them an insight into the intellectual treasures of the West, and they were fascinated by the achievements of a Napoleon, a Lincoln or a Gladstone, but their knowledge of king Asoka or Chandragupta Vikramaditya, of Basaveswara or Vivekananda, or of any of the illustrious men and women who have profoundly influenced Indian life, was very little indeed. The education given to the youth of India was Western education pure and simple—Western classics, Western philosophy, European history and even Western art. The study of Indian thought, Indian culture and Indian history by Indian students languished. Educated Indians acquired a veneer of Western civilization without imbibing the qualities and intellectual traits which made the European nations so affluent and dominant.

The New Education

It was indeed in the field of education that the West exercised its most profound and significant influence. From the earliest times, India maintained a pattern of education based upon the belief that education was a perfectly harmonized and integrated development of the body, intellect, morals and emotions of the individual, leading to the acquisition of spiritual power which also could help the true fulfilment of the life-purpose. This conception of education as not only the development of the intellect leading to economic and social advance, but also the supreme end of life, lay behind all the systems of training in vogue in ancient days. But with the advance of time there was a distinct deterioration in objects and methods, partly as the result of the political vicissitudes to which the country was repeatedly exposed, and the economic backwardness which resulted therefrom. It is wrong to suppose that education was backward or unscientific in the early days. Indian intellect had reached amazing heights in abstract speculative thought more than two millenniums ago, and it is incorrect to say, as Macaulay did, that unmitigated superstition was the only feature of Indian culture. Moreover, any society or any culture, if it is to retain stability and survive in the face of violent political shocks, as India did, must possess economic cohesion, and this presupposes a certain degree of technical knowledge also. Acquisitiveness at the expense of others, which is a prominent feature of modern indus-

trial life, was never looked upon as a virtue by Indians in those days, for it violated the moral values which they cherished. This partly explains why there was no scientific or technical advance in India in the early periods. But a fatal defect in Indian education was that it was opposed to the spirit of free inquiry, which alone can lead to scientific advancement.

The West brought into India its system of education, which had momentous and far-reaching effects on the country. Along with the Government, the Christian missions and some enlightened Indians helped the spread of education on Western lines. The chief motive behind Government's decision to impart Western education, was to secure Indians to man the lower rungs of the administrative services, since even at the beginning of the 19th century the whole of the country had come under the British rule ; though a few British statesmen were prompted by a genuine desire to help India to advance through education. The curriculum was such as to help the educated youth to become clerks, accountants and lawyers.

But the British statesmen were surprised to see Indians take to learning as fish to water. In a short time many Indians acquired mastery over the English language and acquainted themselves with the progressive and democratic movements of Western nations. The ideas of national freedom, human equality, democratic government where the will of the people was sovereign, the right of self-determination—all these had a profound effect on the newly educated Indian youth, who saw the incongruity of the British profession of liberalism at home and practice of reactionary rule in the colonies. To the learned and enlightened Indian, the superior airs and insufferable snobbery of many British officers, whose superiority lay only in the salary they received, were intolerable and created a revulsion of feeling against them. Some educated Indians, however, developed a sneaking, subservient way of behaviour towards them which, while gratifying the vanity of the Englishmen, only disgusted self-respecting Indians. The missionaries, some of whom did yeoman service to India by studying various Indian languages, digging out old texts and helping in their interpretation, writing their grammar, etc., like Kittel, Zeigler and Rice in Karnataka, established schools for the education of the common people. These schools were properly organised and well-conducted, most of the instructors evincing commendable zeal and industry in their work ; but this spirit of benevolent altruism was not un-mixed with the desire to wean the students away from their

religion and induce them to embrace Christianity. There is nothing inherently wrong in proselytism : one should be allowed to approach God in one's own way. But these missionaries, instead of confining themselves to explaining the merits of the message of Jesus, indulged in outright condemnation of Hinduism and Islam ; to people who were accustomed to observe charity and tolerance towards other faiths, such religious zealotry was repugnant.

The result of all this was the establishment of national institutions of cultural revival as early as 1900, wherein efforts were made to inculcate a love of indigenous culture among the students. A number of these schools imparted education with a distinct national bias, harnessing the new educational knowledge gained from the West to serve nationalist ends, and providing inspiration for Indian regeneration from Western history and Western thought. To those among the Englishmen who had been complacently thinking of the day when India having turned irrevocably from its past and acquired European education would become a devoted Christian dependency of England, this determined and vehement reaction was a rude shock. There were agitations against compulsory Christian religious instruction in mission schools ; against missionaries pouring out virulent tirades against Hinduism and Islam in public squares and street corners ; against the attempt to inculcate a blind loyalty to the British crown in place of a robust devotion to the motherland and her time-honoured culture ; and later, when India's past culture and glory were dug out of oblivion by the laudable efforts of devoted Western scholars and their work was carried on by Indian scholars, against the attempt to show, in school text-books, that benighted India was particularly fortunate in having the blessings of British rule.

Some Unhealthy Reactions

There were, as is natural and inevitable in all revolutionary social changes, some unhealthy reactions. Some of the newly educated Indians, freed from the taboos and inhibitions of ancient social customs and usages and dazzled by the Western liberal way of thinking, tried to break away from their cultural moorings and became social misfits in nascent India. This was fortunately a temporary phase ; and they were pulled up and sternly warned by reformers like Swami Vivekananda, who set Indian youth thinking in the right direction. The exotic education gave little

scope for a correct understanding and appreciation of national problems by the students, and the English-educated youth became a class apart, with few things in common with the rural masses. In a country where the people are predominantly rural, such cleavage between the educated few and the masses had an unhappy result. Even today this cleavage has not completely disappeared and stands in the way of full social harmony and understanding.

One Language

But Western education, with English as the medium of instruction, not only opened up to the Indian mind the treasures of Western democratic ideas, but also contributed to hasten the unification of the country by providing a common language medium. This unification, in other words the growth of a sense of national unity and of understanding among the people of different parts of the country, would have been delayed at least by some decades if the English language had not been taken up as the medium of communication. Thanks to the new education, the Indian giant arose from his slumber, shook off his torpor, and stood up to regain what he had lost and to work out his destiny for himself. Those who had hoped to convert India into a subservient dependency, preferably a Christian dependency, through English education, were astounded when they saw how quickly Indians assimilated all the elements of their teaching and revealed a cultural vitality which they had not foreseen. It was English education which was chiefly responsible for helping India to come into her own. Of course, as stated above, the educational impact led a few youths into accepting much that was undesirable in Western culture and into rejecting the best elements of their own culture. Lala Lajpat Rai was the first to show to his countrymen this fatal drift of Indian youth towards decadence and to place before his countrymen a plan of national education. Soon some other leaders took up this matter in all seriousness, and tried to establish national schools where they imparted an education suitable to Indians, and national institutions in which an attempt was made to revive all that was great in Indian culture. With commendable zeal they pursued their objective in spite of the unhelpful, and sometimes positively antagonistic attitude of the Government. The Theosophical Society developed by Annie Besant, a sincere admirer of Indian thought and culture, contributed in no small measure to the

revival of all that was best in India's past. Novelists like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee wrote novels in which they not only made some of the great personages in Indian history live again in their pages, but also portrayed the deplorable condition to which the Western impact had brought the Indians. Bankim's great song, 'Vande Mataram', sung by a band of patriots who had dedicated their lives to the service of the motherland (see his novel *Anandamatha*), thrilled the whole of India from end to end and aroused in thousands of hearts a passionate devotion to the motherland.

Karnataka was influenced by this national reaction as strongly as any other part of India, and promptly responded to the nationalist call. A large number of political institutions for public education and for social service were established. The Lingayat Education Association of Dharwar, established in 1893, the Karnatak Vidyavardhaka Sangha of Dharwar, established in 1890, the Basaveshwara Vidya Vardhak Sangha of Bagalkot, established in 1906, the Kannada Sahitya Parishat of Bangalore, established in 1915, the Karnatak Liberal Education Society of Belgaum, established in 1916, are only a few of the large number of educational institutions started all over Karnataka to impart education in which there was a distinct bias towards Sanskrit and other Indian languages. But the work done by the various Mutts or religious institutions in Karnataka was remarkable, for all of them worked for the revival of indigenous learning; and of these religious institutions the Lingayat Mutts were outstanding, for they aimed also at the eradication of the many evils which had crept into Hindu society. There was also a remarkable outburst of literary activity in Kannada, many writers placing before the people the pitiable condition of dismembered Karnataka and describing its glorious past. The disintegration which the British had brought about in Karnataka now produced its reaction, and Kannadigas never slackened their efforts till they secured integration. A host of talented and earnest writers arose, impelled by the single purpose of revealing to the common people the ancient glories of Karnataka, and making them realise what they had lost.

One of the earliest writers to picturize the heroic past in the form of novels was Galaganatha. In a language which the common man could easily understand, he opened out in his writings the historical and cultural treasures of our past and provided the inspiration needed for a national awakening. Another great figure whose speeches and writings profoundly influenced the people was Hardikar Manjappa. His was a life dedicated to

the national cause; tremendously earnest and transparently sincere, he appealed to the people, in a language which could touch their hearts, to place the interests of the country before all other considerations. As abstemious as Gandhiji himself in his habits, he provided a shining example to all Kannadigas of a life of cultured serenity and noble purpose. B. Venkatachar of Mysore translated the stirring novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee into Kannada; there were few in Karnataka who did not know the story of *Anandamatha* and were not inspired by its 'Vande Mataram'. There was indeed an enormous output of national literature, which has been treated in greater detail in another chapter.

The Non-Brahmin movement, which attained considerable proportions in South India, especially in Madras and Karnataka, was a natural and inevitable result of the social and political awakening brought about by the impact of the West. It arose as a part of the struggle for sharing power and privileges under the British, and attained considerable importance in the political life of the South. It had little or no connection with religious issues, and was concerned with "spoils and percentages, seats and favours." The communal question was in general a struggle between various sections of the professional classes belonging to different faiths. In the initial stages, the Non-Brahmin movement was not anti-Brahmin. In his address to the South Indian Non-Brahmin Federation in its session on the 5th of October, 1929, Rao Bahadur B. Muniswami Naidu said: "I need hardly state that the South Indian Liberal Federation was not started as an anti-Brahmin movement, but its main aim was . . . the improvement of non-Brahmin communities and the securing of equal opportunities to all communities in the governance of the country and the administration of all activities thereof paid or honorary."

But however much the two communal groups might try to maintain an attitude of friendly rivalry towards each other, it was inevitable that the intolerant elements in both should harbour feelings of rancour and malice towards each other. In employment in Government services, in securing scholarships and such other concessions in schools and colleges, and in obtaining financial help and social amenities from the Government, the have-nots had to deprive the haves of the chances of getting them. This inevitably brought about a serious social rift, and tended to divert popular attention from the primary question of national unity, upon which depended the success of the national struggle.

This communal cleavage with all its attendant evils was most pronounced in Madras and States like Mysore and Kolhapur, especially in the second, third and fourth decades of this century.

The people of Karnataka came into close contact with Gandhiji at the Belgaum Congress and were able to imbibe his social ideas. Gandhiji knew that divisions do exist in every society, howsoever advanced it may be—divisions fostered by economic and political interests if not by customs or religious sanction. But he showed the way to rise above these unimportant and denationalising considerations and to see the paramount necessity for placing the interests of the nation above all others. Karnataka came under the influence of Gandhian ideology and thought after the Belgaum Congress in a greater measure than ever before, and was able to play a role second to none in the fight for freedom. The tendency to social discord and dissension generated by the Brahmin-non-Brahmin problem in Karnataka was to a large extent mitigated by Gandhian ideas, and a sense of national unity grew. The non-Brahmin intelligentsia turned their attention to nationalist issues. Indeed, the Belgaum Congress can be said to form a turning-point in Karnataka's struggle for freedom, for almost all the people rallied round the Congress.

That the nationalist ideas of the Congress spread among the people of Karnataka and led to new thinking by the intelligentsia can be seen in the presidential address delivered by S. K. Hosmani, who later became the President of the Karnataka Pradesh Congress, at the Karnataka Non-Brahmin Conference held at Belgaum on the 11th of May, 1930 :

“ In the first place the British Parliament is not going to offer Dominion rule to India immediately or in the near future. The statement of Lord Russell, the Under-Secretary of State for India, and the speech of the Viceroy in the Assembly, not to speak of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's letter to Mr. Baldwin as well as the views of the imperialistic section of the British Press, warrant this statement. Ten years ago, we thought that we would have Swarajya in 1930. But we now find that it is as far off as ever, nay, it is even further off. Year in and year out the helpless Rayat is progressively deteriorating materially and morally. Every day of delay leads him nearer to starvation. Granting for the sake of argument that we shall get full Dominion status immediately or within a decade or two, the case for British connection with a place in the British Empire is by no means

strong. We should never fail to note that on every occasion, when the British introduced reforms in India, we are made to pay a very heavy price for the same. Strict limitations and hard conditions are imposed on the part of the Government, which is responsible to the people. Now, do you think that India under Dominion rule will have the power to reduce the heavy expenditure of the Civil Services or of the Military Department? Do you think, in short, that the Dominion of India will have a constitution based on the eleven demands of Mahatma Gandhi? I do not think you have any reason to think so. It is believed by those in favour of British connection that Dominion status is virtual independence. Would it were so. But the truth is that Dominion status is as far from freedom as independence is from subjection.

“ Let us not therefore yield to the temptation of wasting our energy on the proposed Round Table Conference. Let us not either be optimistic about the Simon Commission's Report. We can easily anticipate their recommendations. It may be proposed to make the provinces autonomous in form but irresponsible in reality. The principle of dyarchy or something of the same sort may be introduced in the Central Government. The Simon reforms will be as unworkable as were those of 1919. We made a mistake then. Let us not repeat it now

“ It gives me profound pain to note that some of the leaders of the Depressed Classes are misleading their people by advising them to dissociate themselves from national activities. I humbly invite their attention to the fact that if the so-called untouchables are Pariahs within the Hindu community, all Indians by reason of their colour and nationality are the Pariahs of the British Empire, nay of the whole white world. The removal of untouchability within the Hindu community will be the logical conclusion of the removal of the wider untouchability of Indians by attaining freedom. I earnestly appeal to the Depressed Classes and other minority communities like the Muslims, Sikhs and the rest to cooperate with the Congress, which by universal consent is the only all-India political organisation that can be called national in the true sense. Independent India will attend to the interests and rights of the minorities far better than the British Government has ever done.”

Such fervent appeals from the leaders did not go in vain. It was soon realised by all classes that the communal bickerings and jealousies—fostered by interested British administrators for political ends—would permanently damage the prospects of national unity and demoralise the people. The Brahmin-Non-Brahmin problem remained, but not in such a manner as to injure the cause of national unity. It remained only as a question of raising the more unfortunate of the people to the level of the fortunate.

Revivalist activity in Karnataka was taken up on an extensive scale by a few earnest souls among Lingayats, Vokkaligas and other communities soon after the turn of the century. Even earlier, in 1886, braving the rigours of social ostracism, Raja Lakhama Gowda, Sardesai of Vantmuri (a principality in Belgaum District), went to England to qualify for the Bar and returned two years later. Realising the need for education among his people, he gave large donations for starting schools and colleges. In 1887 Shri Gilganchi and Shri Artal Rudra Gowda collected Rs. 15,294 in 24 days from Navalgund and Gadag Talukas and sent Shri Sivalingappa Hosali to appear for the I.C.S. The problems of education and social uplift in Karnataka were, however, taken up systematically after 1900. The Vokkaligara Sangha was established at Bangalore to improve the social and economic condition of Vokkaligas through education. Hostels were established for the students of that community in many places, and soon these hostels became centres of social and cultural activity also. Other communities soon followed this lead.

But these were all communal institutions ; and this communal approach to social amelioration caused concern in the minds of some leaders, who feared that it would lead to exclusiveness of the different social groups and cause unhealthy rivalries and bickerings among them, to the detriment of national unity. The answer given to this apprehension by Lingaraj of Sirsangi in his address as President of the Veerasaiva Mahasabha held at Dharwar in 1904 is noteworthy :

“ Some friends educated on Western lines and some Congress patriots have expressed misgivings that communal conferences of this type will lead to communal hatred. Their contention is that, such conferences, in our country where communities are so many, will endanger the attainment of national unity. This contention does not stand to reason.

If each family, and each community, should endeavour to improve its own condition, the progress of the country is assured. A number of families constitute a community, and a country is the sum-total of many communities. If the progress and unity of a country are sought to be secured after the elimination of communal differences, the country has to wait for a long time for that achievement and the effort is tremendous. On the other hand, if each community should attempt to achieve its own progress, the effort it entails is less and the unity of the country can be achieved sooner.

“ Let Brahmins, Jains and Muslims and all other communities organize their own mahasabhas. There will be no harm done to the national cause. With no malice or jealousy towards those who are more progressive, let the communities which are backward tread the path in which they have gone and achieve progress. For the solution of problems common to all communities, let them all join for a united attempt. There should be no element of selfishness or unfairness in these things. Those communities which are more advanced should treat the less fortunate communities with sympathy and consideration. All should guard against harming the unity of the country, which is of paramount importance. These are the ideas and motives which have prompted the formation of this Mahasabha ; and we have no desire to quarrel with other communities or to blame them. Let my co-religionists always bear this in mind.” (Translated from his speech in Kannada).

Among the communities which worked for social and economic progress, the most outstanding was the Lingayat community. From 1904, when the Veerasaiva Mahasabha was started, the Lingayats have forged ahead with many-sided measures of reform for their people and made an appreciable contribution to the cultural advance of Karnataka. The cause of education received substantial monetary support from philanthropists like Lingaraj of Sirsangi, and a large number of schools and colleges were set up in many parts of North Karnataka. The Lingayat Mutts contributed in no small measure to the spread of learning among all classes. The celebration of Basava Jayanti, started in 1913 on an extensive scale on the lines of the Ganesha and Shivaji festivals in Maharashtra, was a great force in rousing the people to work for social uplift and in bringing about cultural awakening. The Sivayoga Mandira, initially started near Badami as

an institution for imparting Sanskrit knowledge to bands of select pupils, extended its programme to training the pupils in Yogic exercises and social service. These trainees had to devote their lives to carrying on the objects of the Sivayoga Mandira by establishing smaller institutions in different parts of the country. These activities created a new atmosphere of confidence and hope among the people. A host of leaders arose to teach and guide the people. The founder of this institution was Hangal Kumaraswami, a leader of exceptional ability and dynamism.

The chief source of inspiration to Kannadigas was Vachana Sahitya, poems in prose composed by a galaxy of saints and social reformers in language of remarkable simplicity but yet of unmatched clarity and power. Among literary productions which have profoundly influenced the hearts of millions and given them spiritual solace and comfort, the Vachanas occupy a unique position ; their popularity has increased with the passage of time. At the present time there is not a man or woman in Karnataka who does not know at least a few of the Vachanas, for their appeal is universal, like that of the Upanishads. Set to music and sung by musicians, they move the hearts of the hearers as profoundly as the Abhangs of the Maharashtra saints or the songs of the Haridasas. Kumaraswami laboured life-long to retrieve this Vachana Sahitya from the obscurity of private collections in remote places. His work was taken up by devoted scholars like P. G. Halakatti, and the work of editing and interpreting them began. This led to scientific literary research with regard to other poets—research which had been initiated by earnest Western scholars. Western methods of research and Western scholarship found ardent and able pupils in Karnataka, and Kannadigas were amazed at the high quality and exuberance of their own literary inheritance. This knowledge of the rich heritage of Karnataka filled the people with pride in their past, confidence in the present and hope for the future. Books like *Karnataka Gatha Vaibhava* were written, which later inspired fighters for freedom. The author, Shri Alur Venkata Rao, was among the earliest to give an inspiring account of the greatness of Karnataka's past and what it ought to signify to every Kannadiga. This writing was able to create a sense of cultural solidarity as few other works have done.

Princely Mysore, in some respects more fortunate than other parts of Karnataka owing to a long line of benevolent rulers and able Dewans, was affected by the Western impact in a greater measure. Beginnings of people's participation in Government

were made soon after the Rendition and measures of economic progress of the State were taken up. Colleges were established at Bangalore and Mysore, the former to teach the positive sciences and the latter devoted to the humanities. Schools were established all over the State and there was a rapid spread of education among the people. Western scientific knowledge was used for the State's industrial and economic advancement; huge reservoirs for irrigation, generating stations for electricity, big factories, were a testimony to the Government's foresight and ability. Among a long line of very able and patriotic Dewans who served the State with distinction, one name stands out pre-eminently, that of M. Visvesvaraya. He it was who set the pace for the economic and industrial advancement of the State, by adopting Western scientific methods, and his ideas of economic planning on a national scale were later adopted by the Planning Commission after independence.

There is yet to be considered another important aspect of the impact of the West on Karnataka, as on the whole of India. Till the nineteenth century Indian society was mainly feudal in character, the king standing at the apex of a hierarchy of classes. The nobility enjoyed power and privilege, while the vast agricultural population were immersed in their work in the fields, dragging out a hard and dreary existence. The impact of the West on the latter had little effect, but the ruling and aristocratic classes were carried off their feet by the glamour and enticement of the West. This class, with adequate means at their disposal, having enormous powers over their subjects, and sheltering behind the British might against popular insurrections, lived as they pleased, impervious to the liberal and democratic ideas that were spreading all over the country. The Western impact failed to make them better rulers; they were reactionary and retrograde, and the British kept them so in order to maintain a permanent cleavage between princely India and British India.

The impact of the West was fully felt by the middle classes, the upper part of which, having the means, was able to imbibe the new ideas and become educated. It is this class which now filled the administrative posts and joined the army. Those classes of the earlier feudal hierarchy who possessed a monopoly of these occupations lost that monopoly. Thus as a result of the Western impact there came about a horizontal division of society, and this tended to weaken the hold of class distinctions and to remove the conservative ideas of social exclusiveness of any one class. If we study the lives of the great Indian political leaders, social refor-

mers, industrialists and important men in other professions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we find that a large majority of them belonged to the upper middle class. Thus the impact of the West on India helped to obliterate, at least partly, the monopoly of some professions and occupations by a few classes and helped the democratic process to some extent. The princely class failed to adjust itself to this natural and inevitable process, and were swept out of existence after the attainment of independence.

In Karnataka Western democratic ideas succeeded with comparative ease. While the people, considering the king as the ideal man who alone can rule over them, regarded him as God manifest, the conception of kingship as solely the service of the people made some thinkers say that for a king his people are his God. It is perhaps this notion of the relations between a king and his subjects that made the kings of Mysore less autocratic than many other Indian princes and more amenable to democratic ideas. When the people of Mysore demanded constitutional kingship for their state, they had before them the ideal of the British sovereign—a sovereign who reigns but does not rule.

Perhaps the most notable and outstanding effect on India of the impact of the West is the unification of the country. The idea of the oneness of the country from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin was there no doubt, fostered by the great melas or festivals which were attended by people from the remote corners of the country. But this idea had been almost forgotten as the result of the vicissitudes to which the country had been subjected and the introduction of the Islamic element, which never blended with the Hindu element. Thus with the coming of the Muslims into India, the sense of unity receded still further, and the country came to be thought of as comprising two nations divided on the basis of religion. Even among these there were numerous kings and chieftains always at rivalry among themselves. The efforts of the Mogul emperors and later of the Marathas to bring about the unification of the country by establishing an all-India empire foundered on the field of Panipat in 1761, and what remained after this disaster was chaos.

The British, within a hundred years of their becoming a ruling power, made themselves undisputed masters of the whole country. By the middle of the nineteenth century they had brought about a political unity of India. Railways, telegraphs and such scientific innovations diminished the distances which had separated different parts of the country. When Sanskrit

was no longer a spoken language for the whole of India and when a large number of regional dialects had developed to perpetuate disunion and discord, English as a common official language for all parts of the country including the princely states served as a unifying force, despite the deliberate attempts of the British rulers to perpetuate divisions in order to weaken the opposition to their rule. A common language is one of the most potent forces of unification in a country, and it brought the people of different parts together on the intellectual plane and served to promote understanding of each other. British officials and educationists saw with what ease and facility Indians mastered the English language and entered into the spirit of English literature, and many Englishmen developed a sincere admiration of the Indian intellect. It was through books in English by Western scholars that Indians were first made alive to the glory and greatness of India's past, and came to have a pride in their own cultural inheritance. This brought to the people of the different parts of the country the consciousness of national kinship, which was one of the chief driving forces in the fight for freedom. Karnataka's achievements in art were revealed to mankind initially by Western scholars like Fergusson and Havell, and the world gaped with admiration and wonder when it became acquainted with the architecture and sculpture, music and painting of this part of India. These great Western scholars helped the growth among the people of pride in their own heritage. As a result of this, despondency gave place to self-confidence, and the Kannadigas played a great and memorable part in the fight for freedom.

Macaulay's Penal Code brought an element of confidence and security to the course of criminal justice, which became applicable to the whole of the country. One can detect some flaws in it, but it was a monumental work of criminal jurisprudence. It removed, once for all, the invidious distinctions that were practised in the matter of criminal justice, by holding that all, whether prince or mendicant, were equal in the eyes of the law. Indirectly it tended also to the obliteration of social discrimination and thus helped the democratic process. The acquisition of Western knowledge by Indians enabled the more enterprising of them to develop large-scale industries, in spite of the impediments placed in their way by the British business interests. And this led to further decay of the old Indian village industries, and to a progressive urbanisation of the population. The stabilized and systematized rural economy of the

countryside was disturbed, this change resulting in a disruption of the entire social system—a process which is still going on.

Viewed in a broad perspective, the intellectual and moral ferment which began in Karnataka along with the rest of the country, as a result of the impact of the West, led to far-reaching changes in the life of the people, and in the second quarter of this century to that unique experiment by Gandhiji of winning freedom for the country through love and sacrifice. Democracy, which has definitely come to stay in India, is unquestionably an importation ; it is adopted by us in a form which is in harmony with the time-honoured Indian values and modern economic and political needs. Social and political equality is inseparable from democracy, and this has tended to demolish the baneful barriers which had grown up in Indian society, creating unnatural distinctions among the people and hindering national unity. The idea of the equality of all the people in the country, rich and poor, prince and peasant, before the law, the inherent right of every man to try to live in comfort so long as he does not impinge on the rights of others, and the availability of opportunity for every man in the state to rise to the highest position—these came to India as the result of the impact of the West. Indeed, we can say that many of the features of the republican constitution which Indians have built for themselves are due to the ideas and methods which they have adopted from the West. Sri K. M. Panikkar thus sums up the results of the Western impact on India, and his words apply to Karnataka also :

“ The economic transformation which we are witnessing grew out of the small beginnings of industrialisation in the second half of the nineteenth century. The intellectual ferment which fills our schools, colleges and technical institutions is part of the intellectual revolution which the Sadler Commission on Education noted in 1918. The political structure we have erected and under the protection of which we live and have our being is the outcome of the ideas acclimatised in India during the period. The doctrines of equality, liberty, fraternity and social justice on which our constitution is based were assimilated into Indian thinking in the nineteenth century and became a part of our heritage. . . . Thus viewed, it will be seen that the new life which has transformed our ancient society into a vigorous new and forward-looking nation is the outcome of the impact of the 19th century, undoubtedly

one of the most decisive and determining periods of our long history.”

The sum total of this reaction found expression in a song which has become immortal. A few words about this song are relevant in this connection.

Bengal was the first province of India to be conquered by the British. Perhaps the richest part of India, it had enjoyed through centuries unbroken prosperity and cultural advancement. And it was the first to experience to the full extent the evil effects of British conquest—economic exploitation and consequent impoverishment. It was natural, therefore, that the nationalist upsurge of the second half of the nineteenth century should be initiated in Bengal, and that leaders like Ram-mohan Roy and Vivekananda should come from Bengal to give to the depressed nation their messages of hope, inspiration and courage. In the early years of this century, when the whole of India was shaken to its depths by the partition of Bengal, the call for resistance to the foreign yoke and sacrifice for the glory of the motherland came from many sources, but one of the most potent of these was the song ‘Vande Mataram’ of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. His novel *Anandamatha*, which described the Sanyasi rebellion of the time of Warren Hastings, and in which this noble song is said to have roused the patriots to the utmost limits of sacrifice, contains an account of the beauty and richness of the motherland, which is invested with divine attributes. Sung to the appropriate tune, it stirred the hearts of the hearers as nothing else could do. The novel was translated into the other Indian languages, and ‘Vande Mataram’ with its inspiring appeal did more than anything else to keep the flame of patriotism burning in every Indian heart. People are living who describe the thrilling effect of the song on the hearers wherever it was sung. This single song did more than many outbursts of patriotic eloquence to instil devotion to the motherland in the hearts of Indians.

It can now be seen that profound and significant changes in Indian life followed the impact of the West. The Muslim impact also had pronounced effects on the general pattern of Indian life. But there was an important difference between the two. Though the Muslims ultimately adopted the country as their motherland, the Western impact had more important results on Indian life. The Muslim rule in India was predominantly political and military in character. A few zealots indulged in

forcible conversion of Hindus to Islam, but the Turkish Sultans and the Mogul Emperors allowed the Hindu social and religious institutions to continue so long as the Hindus remained loyal. Imposition of their own religion and culture was not an established policy of the Muslim rulers. But the Western rulers made it their declared policy, especially in the early stages, to impose their religion, manners and customs on the Indians, superciliously believing that the latter were an utterly uncivilized people steeped in dark ignorance and barbarous superstition and it was their Christian duty to save the heathen soul from hell-fire. They were thus more aggressive and intolerant ; but this attempt at the imposition of the Western religion and Western ways of life had the effect, directly or indirectly, of rousing the national consciousness of Indians. The education imparted in English forged national unity ; the importance of this factor in contributing to national unity cannot be overestimated, for in the absence of a common language making communication and exchange of ideas possible among the people of the subcontinent, the result of a fight for freedom might have been the balkanisation of the country, even if freedom had been won. English welded the different parts of the country into a nation, impelled by the urge to win freedom ; the study of nationalist movements in Europe and elsewhere provided examples of fighting imperialism ; ideas of democracy, self-government, self-determination, the sovereignty of the people, filled the minds of educated Indians, who studied and absorbed with astonishing avidity the liberal political thought of nineteenth-century Europe ; these educated Indians clearly saw how imperialist ambitions and selfish interests had demoralised the essentially reasonable and considerate British statesmen into being imperialistic in their dependencies despite their democracy at home. The literature and philosophy of Greece, Rome, England and other countries opened out to the naturally serene and contemplative Indian mind new vistas of beauty and intellectual speculation ; the study of the Western positive sciences spurred Indians on to enter new fields of industrial and commercial enterprise ; patterns of democratic government, where the will of the people is the sovereign authority, were studied, and this knowledge helped the Indian Constituent Assembly to devise a constitution which contains many features of the Western democracies. Without a knowledge of English, all these achievements would at least have been considerably delayed and the struggle for Indian freedom would have been much more protracted.

LIBERAL IDEAS OF EARLY BRITISH RAJ

Nationalism is a concept which has been defined or explained in different ways by political thinkers. Behind all these varying views, there are certain fundamental ideas which may be said to constitute the basic factors of nationalism. Perhaps the most important of these basic ideas is the consciousness of kinship or of a common cultural heritage among the people, giving rise to the feeling of a distinctive destiny before them. The geographical factor is equally important, for it promotes a clear objective understanding of what constitutes a nation. It is said by some thinkers and writers that India is not a nation, since it never had a common government for the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, it was divided up into a number of countries often at war among themselves, it remains even to-day a medley of people speaking different languages, having different types of culture, and possessing varying social patterns.

But these differences, which stand out prominently before the superficial observer, are due chiefly to many extraneous historical factors, and the superficial historical factors have not been able to suppress the fundamental unity behind all this diversity. For centuries Hindus have been reminded of this unity, in the slokas that they recite during their daily prayer when the seven great rivers of the north and south are called to mind as objects of devotion, in commonly-known aphorisms like “janani janmabhoomischa swargadapi gariyasi”, placing the mother and the motherland as more vital than even heaven; in the Sanskrit language which is the mother of almost all the chief Indian languages; in social customs like pilgrimages, and gatherings like the Kumbhamela at Prayag, when people even from remote parts congregated; in the works of great leaders like Shankaracharya who established his mutts in the four corners of India, and in the universal spread of Buddhism and Jainism from the north to the south of the country, the former especially during the time of Asoka, the great Emperor of righteousness.

The idea of a motherland stretching from the Himalaya to the Indian Ocean has persisted in the Indian mind down the ages, but what hindered the proper growth of this ideal were the geographical factor of long distances, which made communication difficult, and historical factors like the political domination of aliens and the consequent economic depression. Freedom is an

inherent urge of all life : even an animal of the forest longs to be free to live as it likes. It is ingrained in man. When this desire for freedom becomes a common protest of a whole people against the rule of an outsider it becomes patriotism in action. The dormant feeling of an all-India nationhood had a chance of being aroused to assert itself when Indians were given a political unity and a period of peace by the British government, when the greatness of their cultural inheritance was brought home to them by scholars, great leaders, and writers ; and when at last Gandhiji came to canalize the urge to national freedom along lines which conformed to the basic ideas and values of Indian life.

Nationalism is the desire of the people of a geographical area to live as a separate entity, politically, socially and economically, so that they may be able to advance their welfare without hindrance. In India, where the consciousness of unity had been almost suppressed by the political vicissitudes to which the country had been exposed since the coming of the Muslims in the eleventh century, the first expression of the nationalist spirit took the form of resistance to the foreigner and attempts to oust him from the country, however feeble these attempts might be. The Muslim conquerors made India their home, and ceased to be foreigners, at least from the sixteenth century, and there was no question of considering them as aliens. With the conquest of the country by the British, however, things took a different turn ; for the British never tried to identify their own interests with those of the people ; their attitude was one of conquerors towards a slave people ; their policy was the policy of exploiters towards the exploited, and they not only drained the country of its vast resources, but also considered it as a fertile source for their enrichment. What was most galling to Indians, the British, who had not emerged from the state of barbarism when the empires of Chandragupta and Asoka flourished in India, began to treat Indians as if they were a backward, benighted and ill-bred people. The British rulers thus remained as foreigners in India, with no contact with what was Indian and unable to see and appreciate what was true and great in Indian culture.

The result was that Indians tried to make themselves free from this foreign yoke. But their attempts were sporadic, clumsy and futile. The first Indian ruler to see the paramount necessity of driving the British out of India was Haider Ali of Karnataka, and he made repeated attempts to organize a concerted attack on the foreign power. The chaotic political condition of India in the second half of the eighteenth century frustrated his attempts.

His son Tippoo followed the same policy as his father, and gave up his life in the attempt. In the first half of the nineteenth century also there were attempts, notably in Karnataka, where the rulers tried to win freedom from British control. These attempts culminated in the outburst of 1857, which also inevitably failed. Indians had yet to develop the spirit of political nationalism in the modern sense, for they had always been accustomed to despotic kingship, howsoever benevolent and progressive it might be.

So far the opposition to the British had come from the feudal remnants of India and it had not the popular support which alone can successfully resist a foreign aggressor. Sir William Russell says, " Yet it must be admitted that, with all their courage, they (the English) would have been quite exterminated if the natives had been all and altogether hostile to them. The desperate defences made by the garrisons were no doubt heroic, but the natives shared their glory ; and they by their aid and presence rendered the defence possible. Our siege of Delhi would have been quite impossible if the Rajas of Patiala and Jhind had not been our friends and if the Sikhs had not recruited in our battalions and remained quiet in the Punjab. The Sikhs at Lucknow did good service and in all cases our garrisons were helped, fed and served by the natives, as our armies were attended and strengthened by them in the field " (*My Diary in India*). The people of India had to be roused to a sense of their helplessness and humiliating condition, and were to be made to feel that sporadic and unorganized opposition to the British would be of no avail.

The failure of the attempt at freedom from British rule in 1857-58 brought a sense of frustration to the Indian mind ; a gloom born of depression and hopelessness descended upon the country. It looked as if the fearful retaliatory actions of the British had stunned the people into a despairing inertness. The statesmen of England, however, realized the danger to their stability in India and promptly adopted measures which inaugurated a new epoch in the history of the country. The East India Company disappeared, unwept, unhonoured and unsung. The government of India passed to the hands of the British Parliament and the Queen of England assumed the trappings of sovereign power over India. To the Indian mind, which had been accustomed for ages to the concentration of sovereign authority in a single person, this change appeared to be a definite improvement upon the Company rule. The policy of steady liquidation of

the native princely families, initiated by Dalhousie, was renounced, and the Indian Princes heaved a sigh of relief when the Queen proclaimed that adoption in the royal families would be permitted. The people in general, credulous to a degree, were taken in by this statement in the proclamation.

“When by the blessings of providence internal tranquility shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate peaceful industry, to promote works of public utility and improvement and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward”.

The people hoped that a new era of peace and prosperity would dawn upon the country. They could not understand the danger that lay behind this perpetuation of Indian rulerships : that the progressive course of national integration had been shrewdly halted, and that the princely states, protected by the British power from assault from within and without, would remain as unassailable strongholds of political reaction, blocking all chances of national unification and the spread of democratic ideas. Karl Marx wrote about this : “The conditions under which they (the native states) are allowed to retain their apparent independence are, at the same time, the conditions of a permanent decay, and of an utter inability of improvement. Organic weakness is the constitutional law of their existence, as of all existences living upon sufferances. The native princes are the strongholds of the present abominable English system and the greatest obstacle to Indian progress.” This was a bleak and disheartening aspect but it was realised by the Indians only when Western education spread among them. Canning went round the country holding Durbars, wherein he not only held out assurances to the people and the princes with regard to the genuineness of British intentions, but also impressed on all, by the ostentatious pageantry and solemnity displayed therein, the irresistible might of the British empire.

The Queen's Proclamation, coming immediately after the transfer of power from the Company to Parliament, acted as a soothing balm, but it could never become a healing remedy. The wound caused in the body of India was too recent and too deep to be healed by a finely worded announcement. The fearful revenge that was taken by Englishmen on all those who had revolted against their authority still rankled in the hearts of thousands of Indians, who had perforce to keep their heartburning

to themselves, knowing the utter futility of any resistance. Indications too were not wanting to throw doubt upon the sincerity of British assurances. After the Mutiny the Government gave up their progressive measures of social reform, on the plea that their policy would be non-interference in social and religious matters ; thus, while in the earlier period reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy were able to bring about social reform with the sympathetic support of the Government, now they had to contend alone against the forces of conservative social reaction, which were often powerful enough to frustrate their attempts.

While the extension of British authority throughout the country and the spread of English education helped to impart a sense of " Indianness " among the more intelligent of the people, the railways, the telegraph and such other amenities served to bring the people together. The revival of the glories of ancient Indian culture, initially by Western scholars and later by Indian, imparted a feeling of patriotic admiration for things Indian. Though at first this was confined to the higher and middle classes, it became the starting-point for a truly momentous national awakening. Newspapers played a laudable part in this process, for there were newspapers in the vernaculars as well as in English. By 1870 " there were some 644 newspapers in British India, of which more than 400 were in vernaculars, and Muzumdar tells us that congregations of dozens of illiterate listeners to a single reader of these papers at a stationery stall or a grocer's shop became a common sight." Quite a large number of these papers discussed social and political problems and some of them expressed even trenchant criticism of Governmental policies and measures. In a land where the government lay in the hands of autocratic monarchs and their even more autocratic subordinates, the attempt in 1857-58 of the feudal elements to make themselves free from the foreign yoke resulted in the suppression of the old order and the spread of the ideas of nationhood, freedom and democracy among the lower classes, though the process was inevitably slow on account of the want of governmental interest in the spread of these ideas. It has been aptly said that the revolt of 1857-58 was the swan-song of the effete Indian feudal order.

But the British did not want to remove altogether the feudal elements in India. They allowed the princely houses to remain all over the country to serve as a check to the process of national unity. They knew that a united India, aware of its strength, could easily terminate the foreign rule. When India was acquiring an awareness of its own strength and dignity, the British

knew that their hold on the country depended chiefly on the perpetuation of the conservative and reactionary elements in the country.

The history of the freedom movement in Karnataka in the second half of the nineteenth century must be studied against this background if the part played by Karnataka in the fight for Indian freedom is to be properly understood. Karnataka had played a vital part in the history of India from ancient times and often stood up against the foreign power in the first half of the nineteenth century also, as we have already seen. After 1858 there was all over Karnataka a feeling of frustration which made the people accept the inevitable. Armed resistance to the British might was out of the question, especially in view of the fact that parts of Karnataka had been handed over to different governments—the Bombay Presidency, the Nizam's State and the Madras Government, while Kodagu was separately administered by a Commissioner. The State of Mysore had been handed over to the old royal family after the death of Tippoo, but it had been taken over by the British in 1831 for maladministration and was ruled by Commissioners. Prince Krishnaraja Wadiyar, who had been forced into retirement, was making desperate efforts to make the gods at Whitehall see the injustice that was done to him by some over-zealous and prejudiced British administrators. The break-up of Karnataka, which brought the Kannadigas under Maharashtrian influence in the north, under Muslim influence in the north-east and under Dravidian influence in the east and south, produced a sense of frustration among the people.

Still, the people of Karnataka could not forget their past : neither the glorious centuries in the remote past when the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas, the Hoysalas and the rulers of Vijayanagar had built up the edifice of Karnataka glory and made a distinctive contribution to Indian culture, nor the immediate past when rulers like Channamma of Kittur and Venkatappa Naik of Surpur, fighters like Sangolli Rayanna and Mundargi Bheema Rao had stood up against the might of the British on behalf of the freedom of their land. Memories of the latter were still fresh in the minds of many, who could not acquiesce in the new dispensation brought about by the Queen's Proclamation with all its glittering promises of a welfare administration and a new era of justice, peace and plenty to the people and the transfer of government from the Company to the Crown. There were happenings in places around Karnataka which had their effect on the minds of the people of Karnataka also. As early

as 1860 the merchants and people of Surat, Poona and Thana opposed the imposition of the new income-tax by hartals and demonstrations, and the police had to be called in large numbers. As usual the Government took a high-handed and dictatorial attitude towards such opposition to their measures. The *Bombay Times* report on the occasion illustrates this. It wrote :

“ For our part we believe conciliation and fair words to be of no use with people who have got the notion in their heads that they can frighten the Government into doing whatever they wish. Had we had a Ravenscraft at Poona when the amiable native inhabitants of that delightful city were deliberating, in riotous meeting assembled, whether or no they should burn the Collector's Assistant, in addition to tearing up their income-tax papers, we should have heard no more of popular indignation, popular rights, etc., etc. But the weakness of our high civil servants has allowed affairs to go from bad to worse, till they had very nearly come to such a pass that it would have required something more forcible than policemen's whips to maintain public order. Luckily there was a man at Surat fit for this work. Our civil servants are often placed in situations, demanding the exercise of great courage and generalship, and they are sometimes equal to the occasion, but even in the trying year 1857, there was no act of firmness and wisdom more worthy to be recorded than this suppression of popular disaffection at Surat.

“ In truth the only way to deal with these natives who resist the tax is to treat them as Sir Hugh Rose treated the 5th Europeans. The simple question at issue is, are we or are we not, masters of the country? The foolish talk in the newspapers had made these people actually believe that the English Government will do anything to bring back the goodwill of the natives, and that, since the mutinies, the dread of another insurrection is always present to the minds of the rulers to prevent anything being accomplished that runs the risk of unpopularity. It is full time that this absurdity was exploded. The natives must be made to feel that, while the Government will invariably treat them with justice and even with kindness, it will not suffer its decrees to be questioned or its demands to be slighted.” (*History of the Freedom Movement in India*, from Bombay Records, Vol 1. pp. 21-22).

There were also attempts by the Wahabi sect of Muslims, who had taken part in the great struggle of 1857-58, who continued their attempts till 1870 to end British rule. It was only in 1871 that the Wahabi movement was suppressed. The Native

Newspapers Report of 1868-69, for the week ending 14th August 1869, says : "The Danger of a Rebellion in Southern India. It has been heard from all quarters, says the writer, that southern India shows the signs of a second great rebellion. The Mahomedan population of that part is said to be getting more and more discontented with the British rule ; and those who apprehend an insurrection, warn the authorities that if they do not take timely precautions, and if they remain careless, as they did at the time of the last mutinies, they will soon find the disaffection of the southern Mahomedans assuming a very frightful form. It has been heard from more than one quarter that the Mullas of the Wahabi sect move about in Mysore and the neighbouring country, making exciting speeches to ignorant Mahomedans in mosques and other places. Those who shrewdly read the signs of the times gravely point to the recent disturbance at Vellore, in Madras. Setting aside the question whether or not there was any real intention of raising a rebellion at Vellore, the subsequent enquiries incontestably prove that the native regiments of Madras contain a great many Wahabis and that the men in those regiments are dissatisfied with the British Government." (Source Material of the History of the Freedom Movement in India, collected from Bombay Government Records, Vol. 1, p, 355.)

The chief cause for the failure of such attempts at insurrection was the absence of any great leader to be the rallying-point for the fighters.

In spite of the fine assurances and promises made in the Queen's Proclamation to the Indians about justice and fair play, the Government was carried on as before with scant regard for the desires and feelings of the people. The new awakening in the country had opened the eyes of the people to the great disparity between the Government's professions and execution, and it was clearly reflected in some of the newspapers of the day. About the enormous increase in Governmental expenditure, we find the following in the Native Newspapers Report of 1870-71, for the week ending 10th September 1870.

"The Rast Goftar (36) of the 4th September heartily endorses the resolution of the East India Association to move the Parliament to appoint select committees to enquire into the administration of India to ascertain what results have been produced by the direct assumption of government by her Majesty. This demand of the Association is just and opportune, since the country is declaiming against new and heavy taxation, and the state treasury is in an insolvent condition. For these reasons it

seems probable that the Secretary for India and the Parliament would accede to the prayer, and good results follow from the concession. Since 1832 almost every year the state revenues have been increasing. In that year they amounted to 16 crores, and have now reached 53. And yet they do not suffice for the expenses of the state. The country is disturbed by no internal feuds. No hereditary wars are prosecuted with unruly and revengeful neighbours, nor is there any apprehension of a foreign invasion. No dire and sweeping famines are threatening the country. On the other hand, profound peace and abundance and prosperity reign in the realm, and yet we see that the ample revenues, amounting to no less a sum than half a thousand millions, are not sufficient to satisfy the wants of the ever-hungry stomach of Government. This state of things at once shows that everything is not right with the financial system of the country, and that there is a great necessity for reducing the present lavish expenditure."

With the passing of the Regulating Act of 1774 which inaugurated the office of Governor-General with a Council and the establishment of a Board of Control over the Court of Directors of the Company, Parliament began to take increasing interest and responsibility in the government of the British territories in India. The Acts of 1785, 1813, 1833, and 1853 followed, showing the concern of Parliament in the better government of India. In the Act of 1833 it was stated :

"No native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company." The Court of Directors confirmed their approval of this policy in the following words : —

"The Court conceive this section to mean that there shall be no governing caste in British India, that whatever other tests of qualification may be adopted, distinction of race or religion shall not be of the number, that no subject of the king, whether of Indian or British or mixed descent, shall be excluded from the posts usually conferred on uncovenanted servants in India, or from the covenanted service itself, provided he be otherwise eligible."

The Queen's Proclamation assured the Indian people that there would be no deviation from this policy. But, as Lytton remarked later, the Government adopted "every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had

uttered to the ear". The Proclamation was perhaps the last of the declarations of a generous and fair governmental policy couched in considerate words. All higher offices were reserved for members of the covenanted civil service, who were recruited in England by means of an open competitive examination. Disregarding the hardships of going to England for the examination, some Indians went and came out successful in the examination, demonstrating to the British that Indian talent was in no way inferior to the British. This was galling to the bureaucratic rulers, who wanted to retain the Indian Civil Service exclusively for themselves as a close preserve. In order to prevent Indian youths from competing, the age limit was reduced from 22 in 1860 to 21 in 1861, and in 1879 to 19. To the Indian youth who had become conscious of their abilities as the result of the new awakening, this policy of deliberate exclusion from all important posts in the government of their own country was irritating in the extreme.

The people of Karnataka were becoming aware of all these trends. The division of their land among different provinces speaking different languages and with different social and cultural patterns had a depressing effect for some time, but this feeling did not remain long. Full awareness of their condition came to the people of North Karnataka by about 1860. These southern districts of the Bombay Presidency were given a new name, "the Southern Mahratta country", as if the name "Karnataka" was of no account. When schools were established, they came to be called "Southern Mahratta" schools, and the medium of instruction was the Marathi language. An alien language came to be imposed upon the Kannadigas of North Karnataka. Though it was in 1823 that the Department of Education was established in Bombay, it was only in 1856 that schools were started in North Karnataka. Even official correspondence was carried on mainly in Marathi. It is an astonishing fact, and eloquent of the utter indifference of the authorities towards North Karnataka, that it was only nine years after the starting of schools in North Karnataka that the authorities discovered that the language spoken by the people of these parts was Kannada. In his report on the administration of his department, Russell, Director of Education, writes as follows :

"The Deputy Inspectors and English masters in this Division are none of them Kanarese, and there are very few Kanarese men even among the vernacular schoolmasters in the Districts. The Kanarese language has never been taught or cultivated in this

Division as the Gujarati or Marathi in theirs.” So, “The indifference of the Kanarese people in general to schools in which the books and teachers are mostly Marathi can hardly be wondered at.”

There were people, however, who saw how Kannada was being swamped by Marathi, and realised the danger of the Kannadigas losing their individuality. Venkata Rango Katti, one of the pioneers in the revival of Kannada, writes as follows: “Before Mr. Russell’s appointment the Division possessed no Kanarese books of its own except the first three reading books of questionable utility. . . . A translation exhibitionership was transferred from Poona to this Division at the time of Major Waddington, and it was held at the time of Mr. Russell’s arrival by a Mahratta man who was to prepare Kanarese books for Government schools.”

Thus the books that existed were in Kannada of “questionable utility” while the management of translation work had been entrusted to a person who knew little Kannada. It was Russell who first made serious attempts to set this state of things right. He secured people who knew Kannada, and was able to establish a Kannada press in 1869. It was however Venkata Rango Katti whose untiring endeavours helped in the starting of the Press. The names of patriotic Kannadigas like Deputy Channabasappa and his associates must be remembered in this connection, for it was they who insisted on the starting of Karnataka schools in what had come to be called “Southern Mahratta” districts. But for their efforts perhaps Kannada would have been extinct in these parts. The precondition of political awakening, the spread of education in one’s own language, was thus with difficulty achieved in North Karnataka.

In South Kanara, things were more favourable for the spread of Kannada. It was the Christian missionaries who took up the work of spreading education there, with the avowed object of disseminating Christian religious ideas among the people. Missionaries of the Basel Mission arrived at Mangalore in 1834, and with the purpose of imparting religious instruction to the Indian Christians of the place in their mother-tongue and spreading education, they printed school-books in Kannada. This work began as early as 1842. In 1856 a fully equipped printing press was established and a fortnightly paper called *Kannada Varthika* was started. In other districts also efforts were made to enlighten the people in social and political matters. As early as 1842 the *Kannada Samachara* of Bellary and *Mangalore Samachara* of Mangalore were carrying on the work of disseminating knowledge

as their contribution to the new awakening which was rousing the people from their torpor. In Mysore the Raja's School was established in 1833 in response to the suggestion of General Fraser, the Resident. Its progress was slow and halting for the first two decades, but later it developed into an important educational institution. New plans were made and innovations were introduced to spread education among the people. The Education Despatch of 1854 stressed the need for spreading education not only among the higher classes of the people, but also among the lower classes. Of course the ideal of universal literacy was absent from the scheme, and it helped the Government and the missionaries more than it helped the people; for it gave to the former efficient clerks and the latter state-aid for conducting proselytism together with the rudiments of education. This learning was totally unsuited for people with a millennium-old culture and noble traditions. These lines of Sir Alfred Lyall bring out the inadequacy and unsuitability of the new education.

“ Look ”, says the school Feringhee,
 “ What a silly old man you be ;
 You can't read, write nor cypher —
 And your grandsons do all three.
 They will total the shopman's figures,
 And reckon the tenant's corn ;
 And read good books about London,
 And the world afore you were born.”
 “ Well, I may be old or foolish,
 For I have seventy years well told ;
 And the English have ruled me forty,
 So my heart and my hand's got cold.
 Good boys they are, my grandsons,
 I know, but they'll never be men,
 Such as I was at twenty,
 When the sword was king of the pen,
 When I rode a Deccani charger,
 With a saddle-cloth gold-laced ;
 And a Persian sword, a twelve-foot spear,
 And a pistol at my waist.
 My son keeps a pony
 And I grin to see him astride ;
 Jogging away to the market,
 And swaying from side to side.”
 (Quoted in Rivett-Carnac ; *Many Memories*).

There were, of course, special schools for English and Anglo-Indian boys where the curriculum and methods of teaching were in conformity with those of Cambridge University. This distinction between Indians and Europeans, carrying the insinuation that the former were intellectually inferior, was a piece of brazen impudence which the percipient class of Indians, now being shaken out of their lassitude by the new awakening, could not tolerate. The hatred engendered by the holocaust of 1857-58, while it generated a simmering resentment among Indians against their rulers, had at the same time filled the majority of Englishmen with a rancorous vindictiveness which removed all chance of understanding between the rulers and the ruled.

In the first half of the nineteenth century many farsighted Englishmen had visualised the happy day when England would surrender her sovereignty over India to Indians with good grace. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was Governor of Bombay between 1819 and 1827, had written : " A time of separation must come ; and it is for our interest to have an early separation from a civilised people rather than a violent rupture with a barbarous nation. " Even earlier, in 1818, Lord Hastings wrote in his private journal : " A time, not very remote, will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. At that hour, it would be the proudest boast, and most delightful reflection, that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain, with probity, towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest." Sir Thomas Munro said in 1824 : " Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn." Even Macaulay, who had a woefully poor notion of the culture of India and the intellectual capacity of Indians, said in one of his perorations in 1833 : " The destinies of our Indian empire are covered in thick darkness. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system ; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government ; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in a future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, we know not. But never will I attempt to avert it or to

retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history."

But "the shock of 1857 had dried up the fountain of trust and sterilized the seeds of statesmanship". The rapid expansion of British industry and trade, with the need for markets which it created, made the control of India by Britain indispensable; while justification for the perpetuation of this control was provided by the philosophy of utilitarianism which gripped British minds dazzled by their fast-growing economic empire. The cult of selfishness ruled the minds of the Westerners, and gone were the righteous thoughts which animated the policy of many British statesmen in the first half of the nineteenth century.

But the Indian mind of the intellectual class, instructed in British traditions of liberty and representative institutions, and growing more and more conscious of the millennium-old heritage to which it was heir, could not contemplate with equanimity and resignation the loss of liberty and the intrusion of the alien civilisation into the country. A new consciousness of power had entered the Indian mind, and the fast-spreading means of communication, and the use of the English language all over the country by the educated class had fostered a sense of national unity, though the awareness of a compelling national purpose had to come later through the inspiring messages of Swami Vivekananda, and the irresistible call to the country for concerted action by the Lokamanya, and the stirring speeches of leaders like Lajpat Rai and Surendranath Banerjea. British Liberalism, with its ideas of equality and justice to all and its absence of racial arrogance, held the political field in England in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and educated Indians thought that the principles and ideals of the Liberals would be made applicable to India.

In the hope, therefore, that England could be induced to deal fairly with their country, Indians of the time did not entertain any ideas of political separation. They believed that the fortunes of India could well be linked with England, and that England would one day apply her Liberal tradition to the governance of India. But a succession of disastrous famines which broke out between 1861 and 1899 crippled the already impoverished country still further, and the rural population lay prostrate under the loss and suffering. Famine commissions were appointed, and measures were taken by the Government, of course. Relief was rushed to the famine areas from the surplus provinces through the railway; but the peasants were groaning under the burden of increased land revenue and rent.

“ THE THOUGHT OF THEM HAUNTS ME STILL ”

It is pertinent to refer, in speaking of the factors that roused a section of the Congress to a more aggressive opposition to the British rule as against the mild and “ mendicant ” attitude of the moderate section, to a factor which contributed to this attitude. This factor is the famines that ravaged many parts of India in the second half of the 19th century. Especially, the famines of 1897 and 1898, and 1900 and 1901, took a heavy toll of human lives in many parts of the country and caused unbearable suffering to the people.

Indian agriculture being, as it has been aptly said, a gamble in rain, occasions when rains have failed and caused famines are not rare in Indian history. But there was a difference between the effect of the famines of the earlier centuries and those under British rule. The earlier famines were in most cases overcome because in those days the agriculturist was able to store grain for a rainy day, and most of the rulers took personal care in the matter of providing relief to the people. That the suffering of the people was mitigated to a large extent by the personal concern of the Moghul Emperors can be seen in this extract from *Badshah-nama* of the Muslim historian Abdul Hamid Lahori :

“ The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials of Burhanpur, Ahmedabad and the country of Surat, to establish soup-kitchens, or alms houses, such as are called ‘ langer ’ in the language of Hindustani, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained in Burhanpur 5,000 Rupees should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday. . . . Thus on 20 Mondays one lakh of Rupees was given away in charity. Ahmedabad had suffered more than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 Rupees among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and dearness of grain had caused distress in many other districts. So, under the direction of the wise and generous Emperor, taxes amounting to nearly 70 lakhs of Rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly 8 crores of Dams, amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue. When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceiv-

ed how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held jagirs and mansabs." A policy of benevolence of this type and the scope that the ryots had for storing foodgrains lessened to a large extent the suffering of the people from famine and drought.

By about the sixties of the 18th century Clive inaugurated in Bengal the British era of loot and illegal extraction from the people. Within about a quarter of a century quite a large part of the wealth of the flourishing province of Bengal had been carried away to England. Even before Clive cut his own throat to terminate his inglorious career in 1774, a great famine, one of the worst in Indian history, had devastated Bengal. This was in 1770. About a third of the population of Bengal perished. Still the British extracted the revenue for the year "almost in full, and added ten percent for 1771". A purely trading concern like the East India Company had become ruler of a vast country, and the strange paradox of a body of merchants whose chief objective was gain holding vast possessions and ruling over large areas has rarely been seen in the history of any country. As the British hold on India slowly extended to all the provinces, and when the native states also came under the iron control of the Governors-General, the economic condition of the people degenerated still further in spite of the efforts of a few well-meaning high administrators to consult the welfare of the people also.

The great awakening in India in the second half of the 19th century as the result of the impact of the West in the fields of education, science and democratic government enabled Indians to see the contrast between the liberal professions of British statesmen and their activities in their dependencies. The feeling of dissatisfaction and unrest in India rapidly grew, and this period brought a number of famines to increase the misery of the people and drive them almost to desperation. British administrators by commercializing agriculture made matters worse for the famine-stricken country. The Indian ryot now produced not for home consumption, but for the world market. He had to compete with the big agricultural combines of America, Europe and Australia. He came more and more under the control of merchant-middlemen, who took full advantage of his impoverished condition and left him very little for himself. In the second half of the 19th century, it is estimated that there were 18 famines on a large scale, and the loss of life is estimated in millions. Famine brought in its train diseases which carried away large numbers of people.

During this period the Government of the Viceroys attem-

pted to provide relief in times of famine and to prevent their recurrence. But this was totally inadequate to the needs of a large country like India. The real fact was that there was no human touch between the rulers and the ruled, and the former being foreigners and keeping themselves in bureaucratic aloofness were, in spite of their best intentions, unable to understand the real needs of the latter. India realized the truth of John Stuart Mill's statement : " The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as government of one people by another does not, and cannot, exist. One people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm for the profit of its own inhabitants."

For over fifteen years the Indian National Congress, composed of distinguished liberal statesmen of India, tried its best to bring to the notice of Englishmen the great disparity between their liberal professions and the illiberal conduct of British administrators in India. But nothing would move the hearts of the bureaucrats, to whom the interest of Britain came first. The two famines of the closing years of the 19th century aroused the great Dadabhai Naoroji to speak in this strain when he addressed a meeting of the United Methodist Free Church at Walthamstow in England on the first of July, 1900 : " I will make bold to speak fully and heartily, in order that you may know the truth. I will take as a text the following true words : ' As India must be bled '. These words were delivered by a Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury, himself. I don't mention them as any complaint against Lord Salisbury. On the contrary, I give him credit for saying the truth. I want to impress upon you what these important words mean. Let us clearly understand what is meant by bleeding a nation. It is perfectly true that when government is carried on people must pay taxes. But there is a great difference between taxing a people and bleeding a people. You in England pay something like fifty shillings, or more now, of taxes per head per annum. We in India pay only three or four shillings per head per annum. From this you may conclude that we must be the most lightly taxed people in the world. That is not the case, however ; our burden is nearly twice as heavy as yours. The taxes you pay in this country go from the hands of the tax-payers into the hands of the Government, from which they flow back into the country again in various shapes, fertilising trade and returning to the people themselves. There is no diminution of your wealth ; your taxes simply change hands. Whatever you give out you must get back.

Any deficit means so much loss of strength. Supposing you pay a hundred million pounds every year, and the Government uses that money in such a way that part only returns to you, the other part going out of the country. In that case, you are being bled, part of your life is going away. Suppose out of the hundred million pounds only eighty million pounds return to you in the shape of salaries, commerce or manufactures. You will have lost twenty million pounds. Next year you will be so much the weaker; and so on each year. This is the difference between taxing people and bleeding people. Suppose a body of Frenchmen were your rulers, and that out of the hundred million pounds of taxes they took ten to twenty million pounds each year; you would then be said to be bleeding. The nation would then be losing a portion of its life. How is India bled? I supposed your own case with Frenchmen as your rulers. We Indians are governed by you. You manage our expenditure and our taxes in such a way that while we pay a hundred million pounds of taxation this hundred million never returns to us intact. Only about eighty million returns to us. There is a continual bleeding of about twenty millions annually from the revenues. Ever since you obtained territorial jurisdiction and power in India, in the middle of the last century, Englishmen and other Europeans that went to India have treated that country in the most oppressive way. I will quote a few words of the Court of Directors at the time to show this. 'The vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by the most oppressive conduct that ever was known in any country or age.' The most oppressive means were adopted in order to bring away from the country enormous quantities of wealth. How was the Indian Empire obtained by you? It has been generally said that you have won it by the sword, and that you will keep it by the sword. The people who say this do not know what they are talking about. They also forget that you may lose it by force. You have not won the Indian Empire by the sword. During these hundred and fifty years you have carried on wars by which this great empire has been built up. It has cost hundreds of millions of money. Have you paid a single farthing to it? You have made the Indians pay every farthing. You have formed this great British Empire at our expense, and you will hear what reward we have received from you. The European army in India at any time was comparatively insignificant. In the time of the Indian Mutiny you had only forty thousand troops there. It was the two hundred thousand Indian troops that shed their blood and

fought your battles and that gave you this magnificent empire. It is at India's cost and blood that this empire has been formed and maintained up to the present day. It is in consequence of the tremendous cost of these wars and because of the millions on millions you draw from us year by year that India is so completely exhausted and bled. It is no wonder that the time has come when India is bleeding to death. You have brought India to this condition by the constant drain upon the wealth of that country. I ask any one of you whether it is possible for any nation on the face of the earth to live under these conditions. Take your own nation. If you were subjected to such a process of exhaustion for years, you would come down yourselves to the condition in which India now finds herself. How then is this drain made? You impose upon us an immense European military and civil service, you draw from us heavy taxation. But in the disbursement and the disposal of that taxation we have not the slightest voice. . . . During the whole century Englishmen and statesmen of conscience and thought have time after time declared the same thing, that India is being exhausted and drained, and that India must ultimately die. Our misery is owing to this exhaustion. You are drawing year by year thirty millions of our wealth from us in various ways. The Government of India can put any tax it chooses on the people. Is it too much to ask that when we are reduced by famine and plague you should pay for these dire calamities? You are bound in justice and in common duty to humanity to pay the cost of these dire calamities with which we are afflicted. I will conclude with Lord Salisbury's other true words: 'Injustice will bring down the mightiest to ruin'." (Great applause).

Even a moderate statesman like Dadabhai Naoroji speaking in this strain before a British audience in England indicates the depth of feeling aroused among Indians as the result of British policy in India. A century and a half of British rule had given India peace, but not the plenty and the prosperity which Indians expected from it. The famines following upon the awakening among Indians served to emphasize and intensify the belief that India's welfare and progress would commence only on the day when Indians began to rule their country themselves. The slow accommodating methods of the moderates were felt by a large number of Congressmen of the new school to be totally inadequate for achieving their objective. The series of famines that visited India in the second half of the 19th century served to rouse the people to desperation and to adopt a more radical atti-

tude in their opposition to the Government. Thus the suffering of the people from the famines contributed largely to the growth of the radical wing of the Congress under Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

As a result of the British rule economic conditions deteriorated. Rural industries and handicrafts had been crippled to serve the interests of British manufacturers. Large numbers of people could not carry on their former industries, and there was excessive pressure on agriculture. And a series of famines aggravated the misery of the people. Between 1861 and 1899 there were six major famines and quite a large number of droughts. W. S. Lilly thus describes the famine that ravaged large parts of South India including Karnataka in 1877 :

“ In one year alone—the year when Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, assumed the title of Empress—5,000,000 of the people of Southern India were starved to death. In the District of Bellary, with which I am personally acquainted, a region twice the size of Wales, one-fourth of the whole population perished in the famine of 1876–77. I shall never forget my own famine experience ; how, as I rode out on horseback, morning after morning, I passed crowds of wandering skeletons, and saw human corpses by the roadside, unburied, uncared for, half devoured by dogs and vultures ; and how, still sadder sight, children, ‘ the joy of the world ’ as the old Greeks deemed them, had become its ineffable sorrow there, forsaken even by their mothers, their feverish eyes shining from their hollow sockets, their flesh utterly wasted away, only gristle and sinew and cold shivering skin remaining, their heads mere skulls, their puny frames full of loathsome diseases engendered by the starvation in which they had been conceived and born and nurtured. The sight, the thought of them haunts me still.”

This was the country about which Megasthenes wrote three centuries before Christ, “ Famine has never visited India, and there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. The inhabitants having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water.” This country had been reduced, as the result of the political vicissitudes of centuries and economic exploitation under the foreigners in the 18th and 19th centuries, to a condition which made G. K. Gokhale exclaim, “ From 60 percent to 70 percent of the people of India do not know what it is to have their hunger satisfied even once in a year.”

The condition of the Indian agriculturist had been made unbearable by governmental measures like the periodical revision of assessment and the Forest Laws. The latter struck at the root of the stability of rural life. Dr. Annie Besant gives the following extract from Sir Auckland Colvin with regard to this :

“ There is the same amount of water in the pot, but there are now six holes through which it runs out, when before there was but one.

“ We had our cattle in plenty, lots of grazing free and salt to keep them healthy ; now the land is all taken up by the Forest Department and we have no grazing ground, and if the starving herds stray where there is food, they are run into the pound and we are fined.

“ We had plenty of wood for our houses, for our ploughs, and for every agricultural purpose ; now it is all under the lock and key of the Forest Department, and if we touch it without leave we are run in and if we want a stick we have a week's running about from one official to another before we get it, and we have to pay, pay, pay.

“ We had arms, and we could shoot or destroy the wild beasts that ravage our crops, but now we have an Arms Act that allows a basketful of arms to every Negro rascal who lands on our shores, but takes good care that we poor cultivators, who need them to protect our subsistence from wild animals, are practically debarred from any.”

The new Indian intelligentsia could easily see how under the British the country was being steadily impoverished, and as a consequence emasculated. Platitudinous assertions of the Government in justification of the policy it pursued could not now deceive the educated Indian mind about the drift of events. John Bright declared : “ If a country be found possessing a most fertile soil and capable of bearing every variety of production, yet notwithstanding, the people are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering, the chances are there is some fundamental error in the government of that country.” Relief measures were undertaken by the Government, of course, but they were often belated, halting and inadequate. As H. G. Rawlinson remarks : “ The calamity was greatly aggravated by lack of prevision on the part of the local government which failed to foresee the onset of the famine, or to take proper measures to cope with it when it occurred.” When South India was in the grip of a dire famine, Lord

Lytton, the arch-imperialist Viceroy, held a costly and imposing Durbar to celebrate Victoria's assumption of the title of Empress of India and spent large sums of money. This vainglorious Durbar, costing some millions, could well have been diverted to provide relief to the suffering people in famine areas, but Lytton was bent upon carrying out the flamboyant project of Disraeli, who was Britain's Prime Minister at the time.

LIBERALISM THROWN TO THE WINDS

The Vernacular Press Act muzzled the Indian press, while the English newspapers, even when hostile to the Government, were treated with leniency. Lord Ripon, the truest representative of the highest liberal tradition among all the Viceroys, who assumed office in 1880, attempted to mitigate the evils introduced in Lytton's time, but was prevented by his own official hierarchy from carrying out his liberal measures. He tried to shape his policy and administrative measures by Burke's noble doctrine that "what is morally wrong cannot be politically right", but met with official intransigence at every step, as in the case of the Ilbert Bill. In his letter to Sir Erskine Perry, Member of the India Council, Sir John Lawrence stated :

"The difficulty in the way of the Government of India acting fairly in these matters is immense. If anything is done or attempted to be done to help the natives a general howl is raised, which reverberates in England, and finds sympathy and support there. I feel quite bewildered sometimes what to do. Everyone is, in the abstract, for justice, moderation and such like excellent qualities ; but when one comes to apply such principles so as to affect anybody's interests, then a change comes over them."

Thus, while the bureaucratic high-handedness of Lord Lytton generated among the people an exasperation which found vent in overt or concealed defiance of authority, the liberal policy of Lord Ripon provided by contrast an example of what Indians were losing by the British policy of placing England's interests before India's welfare. Lytton and Ripon between them were to a large extent responsible for the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's account of the circumstances leading to the birth of the great national organisation is worth quoting :

"It will probably be news to many that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in reality the work of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava when that nobleman was Governor-General of India. Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., had in 1884, con-

ceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country if leading Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss social matters and be upon a friendly footing with one another. He did not desire that politics should form part of their discussion, for there were recognized political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of India, and he thought that these bodies might suffer in importance if, when Indian politicians from different parts of the country came together, they discussed politics. His idea further was that the Governor of the province where the politicians met should be asked to preside over their deliberations, and that thereby great cordiality should be established between the official classes and the non-official Indian politicians. Full of these ideas he saw the noble Marquis when he went to Simla early in 1885, after Lord Dufferin had in the December previous assumed the Viceroyalty of India. Lord Dufferin took great interest in the matter and after considering over it for some time he sent for Mr. Hume and told him that, in his opinion, Mr. Hume's project would not be of much use. He said there was no body of persons in this country who performed the functions which Her Majesty's opposition did in England. The newspapers, even if they really represented the views of the people, were not reliable, and as the English were necessarily ignorant of what was thought of them and their policy in native circles, it would be very desirable in their interests as well as in the interests of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved, and he added that an assembly such as he proposed should not be presided over by the local Governor, for in his presence the people might not like to speak out their minds. Mr. Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments, and when he placed the two schemes, his own and Lord Dufferin's, before leading politicians in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme and proceeded to give effect to it. Lord Dufferin had made it a condition with Mr. Hume that his name in connection with the scheme of the Congress should not be divulged so long as he remained in the country, and this condition was faithfully maintained and none but the men consulted by Mr. Hume knew anything about the matter."

The one great blessing that the unification of India through the British rule had brought about was the rise and growth of a sense of national unity, however vague and uncertain it might have been in the initial stages ; and this conception was strengthened by the work of reform bodies like the Brahmo Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission (established by Swami Vivekananda), the Prarthana Samaj in Bombay (1867), the Arya Samaj in the Punjab (1875), the Theosophical Society in Madras (1882), and the Sarva-janik Sabha of Poona. Most of these movements aimed of course at the eradication of social abuses and unhealthy developments in religious practices. But this renaissance, especially in India where every aspect of life is infused by religious and moral purposes, was bound to lead to efforts at improvement in the political field also. The political revival of the Maratha and Sikh powers was preceded by religious movements, rousing the people to new endeavour.

The press and the new literature that grew up in the years previous to 1885 also indicated the disaffection that was steadily growing among the people. A Bengali drama, *Neela Darpan*, gave a harrowing account of the pitiable condition of the Indian workers in the indigo plantations, which were owned and managed by Europeans. The life and work of great European national liberators like Mazzini and Garibaldi were translated into Indian languages ; and their patriotic fervour and wonderful achievements provided inspiration for thousands of Indians, many of whom, especially in Bengal, took to underground revolutionary activities. Books like *History of India Gained in a Dream* placed before the minds of the educated youth the aims and objectives of the fight against the foreigner.

A. O. Hume was clearly aware of the temper of the people. “ Mr. Hume had unimpeachable evidence that the political discontent was growing underground. He came into possession of seven volumes containing reports of the seething revolt incubating in various districts, based upon the communications of the disciples of various Gurus to their religious heads. This was towards the end of Lord Lytton’s rule, the seventies of the last century. The reports were arranged according to districts, sub-districts, sub-divisions, and the cities, towns and villages included in these. Not that an organized mutiny was ahead, but that the people, pervaded with a sense of hopelessness, wanted to do something, by which it was merely meant, ‘ a sudden violent outbreak of sporadic crime, murders of obnoxious persons, robbery of banks and looting of bazars, acts really of lawlessness which by a

due coalescence of forces might any day develop into a National Revolt'." (Pattabhi Sitaramayya : *History of the Congress*, Vol. I, p. 8).

To Indians educated in the British liberal tradition, there was rude disillusionment when they saw that those liberal ideas and sense of justice and fair play were meant only for home consumption and were not applicable to dependencies like India. Discontent which had been only passive came to a head and developed into desperation in the incident connected with the appointment of Surendranath Banerjea to the Indian Civil Service. "Although he proved successful in the competitive examination, attempts were made to remove his name from the list. Ultimately the name was restored by a writ of Mandamus in the Queen's Bench, and Mr. Banerjea was appointed to the I.C.S., but he was soon dismissed on grounds which were now regarded as inadequate."

The man who was thus denied an opportunity to serve the British Government was destined to be the leader of the great national movement in India. He took to public life and in 1876 founded the Indian Association of Calcutta, which, to use the language of its founder, 'was to be the centre of an all-India movement,' based on 'the conception of a united India, derived from the inspiration of Mazzini'. It was an organization of the educated middle class with a view to creating public opinion by direct appeals to the people. Mr. Banerjea's great opportunity came when in 1877 the maximum age-limit for the Civil Service Examination was reduced from twenty-one to nineteen. This created a painful impression throughout India, and was regarded as a deliberate attempt to blast the prospects of Indian candidates for the Indian Civil Service. The Indian Association organized a national protest against the reactionary measure. A big public meeting was held in Calcutta and Mr. Banerjea led a whirlwind campaign, holding similar meetings at Agra, Lahore, Amritsar, Meerut, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Delhi, Lucknow, Aligarh and Benares. The nature and object of these meetings is thus described by Mr. Banerjea : "The agitation was the means ; the raising of the maximum limit of age for the open competitive examination and the holding of simultaneous examinations were among the ends ; but the underlying conception, and the true aim and purpose of the Civil Service agitation, was the awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India".

Surendranath Banerjea, by his fiery eloquence and transparent sincerity, roused the people to a high pitch of national en-

thusiasm. Then came the protest against the insulting Arms Act and the offensive Vernacular Press Act. "The agitation against these unpopular measures shaped the political life of India and made it conscious of its strength and potentialities. Soon it ceased to be a mere question of repealing these obnoxious measures. There was a steady development of national aspirations, and a higher ideal dazzled the vision of political India. It was not thought enough that Indians should have their full share of the higher offices. They must eventually bring the entire administration under popular control and therefore make a definite demand for representative institutions."

The Political Conference which was called at Calcutta in 1883 was a pioneer attempt at political organisation on a national scale. A. C. Mazumdar, in his book, *Indian National Revolution*, says from personal experience : "It was a unique spectacle of which the writer of these pages still retains a vivid impression, of immense enthusiasm and earnestness which throughout characterized the three days' session of the Conference, and at the end of which everyone present seemed to have received a new light and a novel inspiration." Similar Conferences were held in Bombay by the Bombay Presidency Association and in Madras by the Mahajana Sabha. Thus was the ground prepared for the building up of 'a national platform from which to create a New India'.

THE FIRST SPROUTS OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Among the achievements of Indians throughout their history one stands out prominently. They saw an infinite diversity in the phenomena around them, and their first desire was to find if there was any underlying unity behind all the apparent variety. They perceived a unity, but it was only in the fields of religion and metaphysics. The contact with the West in the nineteenth century turned the minds of educated Indians more and more to the secular field, and the realisation of a unity in the social and political fields also, as had been realised in Western countries, became the objective of all thinking men. The Deccan Education Society was started at Poona in 1885, the year of the establishment of the Indian National Congress. What one of the founders of the Society said on the occasion is illustrative of the new secular turn in Indian thought :

“ We have undertaken this work of popular education with the firmest conviction and belief that, of all agents of human civilisation, education is the only one that brings about material, moral and religious regeneration of fallen countries, and raises them up to the level of the most advanced nations, by slow and peaceful revolutions.”

This was the setting which ushered in the Indian National Congress.

In March 1885 the decision was taken to convene a meeting of representatives from different parts of the country at the ensuing Christmas. The circular that was issued to leaders in all parts of the country contained the following :

“ A Conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December, 1885. The Conference will be composed of delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language—from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras presidencies.

“ The direct object of the Conference will be (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other ; (2) to discuss and decide

upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

“Indirectly, this conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament, and if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona, or whether, following the precedent of the British Association, the Conference shall be held year by year at different important centres.”

Mrs. Besant's account of the first meeting is given below : “The first meeting did not, however, take place at Poona, for, only a few days before Christmas, some sporadic cases of cholera occurred, possibly presaging an outbreak, and it was thought wise to move the conference, now called the Congress, to Bombay. The Managers of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College and Boarding House placed the whole of their fine buildings at the disposal of the Congress, and all was ready by the morning of the 27th December for the reception of the representatives of the Indian nation. As we glance over the list of those who were present, how many we see who became famous in the annals of India's struggle for freedom. Among those who could not act as representatives we note the Reformer, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Rao, Deputy Collector of Madras, the Hon. Mr. Mahadev G. Ranade, then Member of the Legislative Council and Small Cause Court Judge of Poona, later to be a judge of the High Court of Bombay, and leader honoured and trusted ; Lala Baijnath of Agra was there, to be known as scholar and writer later on ; and professors K. Sundararaman and R. G. Bhandarkar. Among the representatives may be noted Editors of well-known Indian papers . . . How many names shine out, familiar and honoured : Mr. A. O. Hume is there from Simla ; W. C. Bonnerjee and Narendranath Sen from Calcutta ; W. S. Apte and G. G. Agarkar from Poona ; Gangaprasad Verma from Lucknow ; Dadabhai Naoroji, K. T. Telang, Phirozshaw M. Mehta—then, as now, leader of the Bombay Corporation, D. E. Wacha, B. M. Malabari, N. G. Chandavarkar, from Bombay ; P. Rangiah Naidu, President of the Mahajana Sabha, S. Subramania Iyer, P. Anandacharlu, G. Subrahmania Iyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, from Madras ; P. Kesava Pillai, from Anantapur. These are among the earliest who wrought for India's freedom, and those yet on earth are working for her still.”

Precisely at midday on the 28th of December 1885 the first

National Congress met. Mr. A. O. Hume proposed, and Mr. S. Subrahmania Iyer seconded, the election of W. C. Bonnerjee as President. "A solemn and historic moment was that in which the first of the long line of men thus honoured by the Motherland took his seat, to preside over her first National Assembly."

After alluding to the representative and weighty character of the Congress, he laid down under four heads the objects of the Congress :

"(a) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the various parts of the Empire.

"(b) The eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices among all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign.

"(c) The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

"(d) The determination of the lines upon and methods by which during the next twelve months it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interest."

By an unforeseen combination of circumstances, the Indian National Conference was held at Calcutta at the same time as the National Congress in Bombay. Those who organised the two assemblies were each ignorant of what the other was doing. The policy and programme adopted by the two bodies were almost identical. It is a testimony to the sense of national unity which obtained in the minds of educated Indians, that the Indian National Conference soon merged itself in the National Congress.

Only seventy-two delegates attended the National Congress of 1885. Surendranath Banerjea could not attend on account of the simultaneous session of the National Conference at Calcutta. Still the speeches of the movers and supporters of the resolutions were of a very high order, decorous, dignified, yet firm. A perusal of the resolutions passed at this Congress shows, as Besant has said :

"India had found her Voice. India was realising herself as a Nation. Strange and menacing was the portent in the eyes of some, splendid and full of hope in the eyes of others. The rosy fingers of the Dawn-Maidens had touched the Indian skies.

When would her Sun of Freedom rise to irradiate the Motherland ?”

The following were the Resolutions of the Congress :

(1) That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised enquiry into the working of Indian administration, here and in England, should be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England.

(2) That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms.

(3) That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the supreme and the existing local Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar councils for the N. W. Province and Oudh, and also for Punjab) essential ; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration ; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such councils against the exercise by the executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decision of such majorities.

(4) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the competitive examinations now held in England, for first appointments in various civil departments of the public service, should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office committee of 1860, be held simultaneously one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit, and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years.

(5) That in the opinion of this Congress the proposed increase in the military expenditure of the Empire is unnecessary,

and regard being had to the revenues of the Empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive.

(6) That in the opinion of this Congress, if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment, they ought to be met, firstly by the reimposition of the customs duties, and secondly by the extension of the license-tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, who are at present exempted from it, care being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained. And further, that this Congress is of opinion that Great Britain should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt.

(7) That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burma and considers that if the Government unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burma should be separated from the Indian viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct in all matters from the Government of this country as is Ceylon.

(8) That the resolution passed by this Congress be communicated to the political Associations in each province, and that these Associations be requested with the help of similar bodies and other agencies within their respective provinces to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions.

(9) That the Indian National Congress reassemble next year in Calcutta, and sit on Tuesday the 28th of December 1886, and the next succeeding days.

The first Congress was composed, as has been aptly remarked, of volunteers, and the session was dedicatory in nature. A careful study of the proceedings, the speeches made and the resolutions passed, shows that the educated class in India was keenly alive to the deplorable political and economic condition of the country, and was determined to set things right; that the prime essential for this was the fostering of a feeling of oneness among all classes; and that the leaders who met in this session (and subsequent sessions), steeped as they were in the liberal traditions of British public life, and being heirs to a culture whose predominant characteristic was charity and generosity, expressed their thoughts and feelings in language dignified and decorous, though firm. The first Congress was entirely loyalist in character, and at the conclusion of the session, Mr. A. O. Hume proposed cheers to Queen Victoria. Indians believed that the land of Burke, Mill, Bright, Gladstone, Ripon and Hume would, one day or

other, see the folly of not applying its own principles of democracy and justice to an ancient and loyal country such as their own, and that the innate probity of the true Englishman would not tolerate the perpetuation of injustice on a peace-loving people like themselves. It is ungenerous to characterise the attitude of the early Congresses as mendicancy, for their behaviour was in strict conformity to the genius of their ancient traditions—a firm faith in the moral integrity of human nature. The time of disillusionment was far away. Still, the path of national regeneration was made clear by these pioneers ; and the only difference between these Congresses of the first twenty years and the later Congresses lay in methods of approach, which depended entirely upon the changing circumstances.

It is interesting to read what the Bombay correspondent of the *Times* Weekly Edition, February 5th, 1886, wrote :

“ Bombay, December 31. The people of Bombay claim as the motto for their city ‘ *Urbs prima in Indis* ’, and it is really not without reason. When the agitation over the Ilbert Bill was at white heat, and in Calcutta not only race division, but even division between English and English rendered social intercourse almost impossible, still the natives in Bombay kept their heads cool and discussed the question at a great representative meeting in the Town Hall with a discretion and moderation that left nothing to be desired. At the time of Lord Ripon’s departure they showed themselves capable of organizing an ovation which not merely delighted the sympathisers with his recent benevolent rule, but still more startled the great mass of Anglo-Indians as the first proof that the natives of India are really capable of a national movement.

“ This last week the Bombay leaders have again given proof of their organizing power. They brought together a National Congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country. Seventy one met together ; 29 great districts sent spokesmen. The whole of India was represented, from Madras to Lahore, from Bombay to Calcutta. For the first time perhaps, since the world began, India as a nation met together. Its congeries of races, its diversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations

“ Every desire was concentrated on political advancement and an immense increase of the share at present given to the natives of India in the government of their own country. The question of their ability to govern themselves was

never even touched by the wisest of the speakers. The major premise of all the arguments seemed to be, 'Every Hindu is a born administrator. It is mere Western folly to think that representative government is an art which only comes by long political training in all the lower stages of a citizen's life and the patient selection of the fittest'. Much stress was laid on the need of a monster commission of inquiry into the whole existing administrative fabric. The vials of patriotic wrath were opened on the India Council, and a standing committee of the House of Commons was thought a panacea for all evils. But though there was much crude talk, much of that haste which only makes delay, and that ignorance which demands premature concessions, there was also much of most noble aspiration and a sense of patriotism and national unity which is a new departure in the races of the East."

The first Congress, so to say, performed the spadework in the field of national unity and regeneration. The nation woke up after the national body dispersed, and there was a more concerted and better organised effort to bring together a larger number of delegates and representatives of all classes. The result of all this effort was that the Congress which met in Calcutta during the last week of December 1886 contained about 500 delegates from all parts of India and represented all shades of opinion. The aim and object of the Congress was pin-pointed and the need for it pointed out in the address of welcome delivered by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, the noted scholar, when he said :

"We live, not under a National Government, but under a foreign bureaucracy ; our foreign rulers are foreigners by birth, religion, language, habits, by everything that divides humanity into different sections. They cannot possibly dive into our hearts ; they cannot ascertain our wants, our feelings, our aspirations. They may try their best, and I have no reason to doubt that many of our governors have tried hard to ascertain our feelings and our wants ; but owing to their peculiar position, they have failed to ascertain them."

Rightly has the official Report of the Congress Session of 1886 remarked, "The Congress of 1886. . . was the whole country's Congress." It continued : "The greatest advance lay, perhaps, in the total change in the character of the Congress. In the previous year people had to be pressed and entreated to come ; to the late Congress everybody wanted to come of their own accord. The Congress was created by the labour of a few who had to nurse carefully the young plant ; the second Congress burst into vigorous

growth on its own account, with a luxuriance that demanded careful pruning. From some provinces double, or more than double, the numbers actually delegated would have been sent, but for inter-provincial communications as to the numbers other provinces contemplated sending, and remonstrances against one province swamping the others."

Dadabhai Naoroji was proposed as President by Jaikisen Mukerji, an old and earnest patriot who, in the course of his speech, said that rightly had the Second Congress drawn men from all parts of the country, "when you find a blind old man like myself of 79 years of age, bending under the infirmities of age, taking a part in the deliberations". The demand of India was expressed in clearer terms and with greater assertiveness by the speakers, who, believing in the sense of justice of Englishmen, still denounced in no uncertain terms the policy of impoverishment and emasculation of Indians under the bureaucratic administration. Perhaps the most remarkable of the speeches was that of a young man making his maiden speech and thrilling the audience with his earnest eloquence. It was Madan Mohan Malaviya.

"It is not to the great British Government that we need demonstrate the utility, the expediency, the necessity of this great reform. It might have been necessary to support our petition for this boon with such a demonstration were we governed by some despotic monarch, jealous of his duties, but ignorant and careless of the rights of his subjects ; but it is surely unnecessary to say one word in support of such a cause to the British Government or the British nation, to the descendants of those brave and great men who fought and died to obtain for themselves and preserve intact for their children those very institutions which, taught by their example, we now crave, who spent their whole lives and shed their heart's blood so freely in maintaining and developing this cherished principle.

"What is an Englishman without representative institutions ? Why, not an Englishman at all, a mere sham, a base imitation, and I often wonder as I look round at our nominally English magnates, how they have the face to call themselves Englishmen and yet deny us representative institutions, and struggle to maintain despotic ones. Representative institutions are as much a part of the true Briton as his language and his literature. Will anyone tell me that Great Britain will, in cold blood, deny us, her freeborn subjects, the first of these, when, by the gift of the latter, she has qualified us to appreciate and incited us to desire it ?

“No taxation without representation. That is the first commandment in the Englishman’s political Bible; how can he palter with his conscience and tax us here, his free and educated fellow-subjects, as if we were dumb sheep or cattle? But we are not dumb any longer. India has found a voice at last in this great Congress, and in it, and through it, we call on England to be true to her traditions, her instincts, and herself, and grant us our rights as free-born British citizens.”

The Congress sat for four days. Speeches like that quoted above roused the ire of reactionary newspapers like the *London Times*, which burst out with invectives in this strain: The Congress was “merely an affair of discontented place-seekers, men of straw, with little or no stake in the country. . . . persons of considerable imitative powers. . . . of total ignorance of the real problems of government. . . . delegates from all these talking clubs. . . . might become a serious danger to public tranquillity.” Such malicious rubbish was read by the people of England who did not know anything about the real condition of India and who thought that the British Government would never depart from the principles of justice and fair play wherever it might guide the destinies of a people. In refreshing contrast to this virulent explosion of the *Times*, the *Statesman* of Calcutta, in a long article, said that the Congress contained people who were “men to whom we can point with pride, as the outcome of a century of our rule”. The *Reis and Rayyet* of Calcutta wrote: “We must say that the Congress was in reality very different from what the *Times* would fain imagine. It is a grievous wrong to say that it was composed of men who had no stake in the country. A glance at the published list of delegates would show that the flower of every section of Indian society was there. Indeed, before we saw the thing in its consummation, we scarcely expected it would be so great a success. Zamindars, merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors, editors, teachers, members of District and Municipal Boards, Honorary Magistrates, in a word, the leaders of thought in every community, were assembled, so that it would have been impossible for the Indian Congress to be more respectable, more influential, more representative, that is, more national. . . . In the absence of electoral institutions, it is these Associations and Meetings which best discharge elective functions, and the fact that these Associations are something better than talking clubs, was well proved by the sober and practical character of the entire proceedings. It may be all very well to pretend that the masses were not represented. That is

the stock argument of cavillers, but does anybody seriously think that the masses of the Indian population have other thoughts and sentiments than those which found expression from the mouths of their leaders? Of the questions which occupied the attention of the Congress, none excited more earnest discussion than the growing poverty of the people, and if the representation of natives in the Legislative Councils be altogether so extravagant a demand in the eyes of Englishmen, that demand was urged in the interests of those masses themselves. . . . The *Times* is only true to its traditions in endeavouring to discredit this honest movement of the Indian people. . . . We firmly believe that, between the savage caricatures of Paddy in *Punch* and the truculent leaders of the *Times*, both continued through a generation, Ireland has been driven to this irreconcilable attitude. Under the teaching of an equally unrighteous and blind press, England resisted every concession to that country until every one of those concessions could not well be withheld. When at last made, they lost their grace as free gifts and failed to secure peace for the land. With the blood of Ireland lying on its head, it is a wonder that leading journals try to play the same game in India."

Thus commenced, very early in the career of the Indian National Congress and the history of the fight for freedom, the tussle between the conservative and reactionary forces among the British rulers and the awakened India which had become conscious of its place among the nations. The British, past masters in the political game, saw that a combination of Hindus and Muslims would ring the death-knell of British rule in India, and adopted measures to create disharmony between the two great communities, who had fought together during 1957-58. "The policy of 'Divide and Rule' now took on a more sinister appearance. Sir Syed Ahmed, a Muslim patriot and nationalist, was persuaded from his original belief that Hindus and Muslims together made India a nation, to a fear that 'the larger community (the Hindus) would fully override the interests of the smaller community'. This change of mind was the consequence of unremitting propaganda by a certain Mr. Beck, Principal of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh from 1875 to 1899. Muslim leaders, encouraged by Beck's successors, demanded communal representation, separate electorates, and finally, Pakistan." (Michael Edwardes : *A History of India*, p. 323.)

While the nation was thus becoming conscious of the humiliating condition to which it had been reduced by British rule, Karnataka's condition was such as to make it extremely difficult

for Kannadigas to assume, in the context of the work of the Congress, a position befitting the part played by them in the earlier struggles for freedom. All social and national movements for regeneration in a country take their rise in its capital, for it is in this place that the most enlightened and advanced of the people are numerous, who can provide the dynamism necessary in the initial stages. This dynamism sets the pace of progress of the movement, and often determines the lines of its development. Karnataka was singularly unfortunate in being divided among various provinces, and in not having a central city of its own where a national movement could spring up and extend to other places. The districts of Bijapur, Dharwar, Belgaum and North Kanara which form the northern districts of Karnataka were the southern districts of the Bombay Presidency, and their people came under the influence of the national leadership of Maharashtra. The people of the districts which had been gifted to the Nizam were in the grip of an undiluted Muslim autocracy, and were paralyzed into a helpless submission to their lot. The southern parts of Karnataka, including Mysore and Kodagu, were influenced by the leaders of the national movement in Madras. National activities in Karnataka thus followed different lines in different areas, thus depriving the people of a national growth which would be in conformity with their distinctive genius. They had to be followers of other leaders than their own, and were deprived of the chance of self-expression and self-assertion. Sri Mudvid Krishna Rao says : “ That the Kannadigas in the different parts should be subjected to the misfortune of drinking the water doled out by others was the malicious game of Fate which was pursuing them.”

Still, the people of Karnataka were not quiescent ; it was not in their blood to be so. They had so often in earlier days responded to the nation's call that no adversity could weaken their patriotic spirit. They were keenly interested in the national activities of the people of Maharashtra, and many of them attended the meetings and conferences held in Poona or Bombay. Sri Narayan Chandavarkar of Karwar, Sri Bhate of Belgaum and many others from North Karnataka attended the sessions of the Congress from its inception. Kolachala Venkata Rao represented Bellary in the first Congress. Thus Karnataka made itself felt in the political upsurge from the inception of the Congress, and it was in fitting recognition of its services that Narayan Chandavarkar was elected President of the Lahore Congress in 1900. Political activities in Maharashtra, piloted by stalwarts

like Tilak, Gokhale and a number of others, and broadcast among the people by newspapers like the *Mahratta*, *Kesari* and *Dnyan-prakash*, soon become matters of common talk among the people of North Karnataka also. South Kanara had as its leader the indefatigable Ammembala Govinda Pai, whose zeal for the national cause was infectious. He gathered a number of younger men around him and trained them for national work. Narayana Baliga was one of his ablest associates. Mysore, under its benevolent Prince, was more advanced than other parts of Karnataka, having already a Representative Assembly and a Legislative Council, which were a forum for the demand of further reforms. Sri M. Venkatakrishnaiya was the foremost among those who wanted the State political movement to maintain the same aspirations and tone as the movements in British provinces.

The third Congress met in Madras in December 1887, and Buddruddin Tyabji was elected President. Eardley Norton and Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar made strong speeches in favour of free political institutions, the latter quoting freely from the statements of liberal Britishers like Sir Richard Temple, Sir John Lawrence and Gladstone. But the most consistent, the most earnest and passionate plea for justice to India came from Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Three sessions of the Congress were enough to make the Government realise that India was awake and was not inclined to remain docile and obsequious under a rule which was callous towards its sufferings and unsympathetic towards its aspirations. The machinations of Mr. Beck and the hostile attitude of the Anglo-Indian press helped the bureaucracy to issue the following circular (from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department No. 36-2852, dated 29th October 1888): "It has been brought to the notice of the Governor General in Council that in some parts of the country officials have without the consent of their superiors exerted themselves in collecting subscriptions for the promotion of objects of a political character. It appears to the Government of India to be very inexpedient that Government officials should be permitted to interest themselves in the raising of subscriptions, and I am therefore to call the attention of His Excellency the Governor in Council to the desirability of taking such steps as will effectually put a stop to the participation by public servants in the collection of subscriptions intended to promote political purposes of any kind whatever. It is obvious that great abuses and misconceptions might arise from such action or from any indiscretion on the part of Government

officials between the public and private aspects of whose acts people do not always discriminate.

“Resolution : Copies of the letter from the Government of India should be forwarded to all Departments of the Secretariat and all Heads of Offices for information and guidance.”

Meanwhile Lord Dufferin, who had earlier suggested to Hume that the Congress should be a political body and should reflect popular reactions to the policy and measures of Government to enable the latter to govern better, had allowed himself to be influenced by the anti-Congress forces in the Government to such an extent that, in the speech which he gave at a farewell banquet held in his honour, he had the bad grace to say publicly that the Congress was composed of undesirable seditious persons. In a letter written to Buddruddin Tyabji on the 5th of November 1888, Hume said : “ Lord Dufferin now is against us. In the first place, he has become afraid. So long as we were a mere consultative body purely native, whose views he could adopt when it suited him or ignore when they did not, he was strongly in favour of it. But now that many Europeans are joining, the missionary interest is going with us here and the great nonconformist party at home is leaning also to us, and lastly that the people of the country are beginning to go with us, so that in almost every village you find our partisans in many parts of the country, he begins to fear that the time will come when we shall be in a position to compel Government, not by physical force—he is too wise to feel that—but by moral pressure, to attend to what we say. In the second place he is out of health and very irritable and the *Mirror* by its virulent and unjust attacks is driving him half crazy.”

It is refreshing to learn that, even at a time when the national movement was just taking shape, ladies came out of their accustomed seclusion and began to take part in the work of the Congress. The official report of the Congress Session in Allahabad in 1889 says : “ It remains to say a few words as to the composition of this last Congress, so far as the positions, professions and occupations of the delegates are concerned. And first we must notice that no less than ten lady delegates graced the assembly, one elected by men at a public meeting, the others of various ladies' associations, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Bengal Ladies' Association, and the Arya Mahila Samaj. They included European and Native Christians, a Parsee, an orthodox Hindu, and three Brahmo Samaj ladies. With one exception, they are ladies who have for years done good work for India. It

is sufficient to mention Pandita Ramabai's name which, as well as the good work she is so zealously carrying on, is, we believe, as well known in Europe and America as in India."

Thus the movement for the political regeneration of the country and re-vivification of the social life of the people went on, in spite of the efforts of the Government to place a ban on Government servants taking any active part in it and to wean the Muslims away from the Congress. At every session there was the usual declaration of loyalty to the British Crown, for the belief still persisted in the minds of many liberal-minded leaders that, ultimately, the statesmen of England would recognize the justice of the Indian claim. That the Indian leaders had placed before them the ideal of a united India where the people had full control of their government and were determined to admit no compromise on this issue, can be seen in the speeches, which became more and more piquant with every session of the Congress. Speeches full of raillery and scoffing at the complacent administration became more and more numerous, indicating the growth of self-confidence, which is a primary requisite for those who launch a struggle, as one can see in the speech of Munshi Sajjad Hussein, editor of *Punch* of Lucknow, in the fourth Congress, stating that, of all the blessings which the British Government extended to the people of India, the policeman was the most noteworthy, for he wielded a power over the people greater than that of the Viceroy. He continued: "The humblest labourer in the village, the most exalted noble in the city, are equally under the control of these distinguished officials. There is no place, no spot, where their highnesses the police, like the Angel of Death, are not present. Let a man displease them in the slightest, and see the beneficence of our kind police. He may know nothing about it, but there will be a criminal case filed against him, and arrangements made for requiring him to give security for good behaviour, before he can reach his home."

It has been customary with Indians of the 20th century to characterize the attitude of the pre-Tilak Congress as "mendicancy", and to say with a liberal mixture of sarcasm that those Congressmen were bearers of the begging-bowl. The comparison is not only unhappy but ungenerous. Indians of the stature of Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjea, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Madan Mohan Malaviya would not yield an iota when it came to a question of national self-respect. Those were days when memories of large-hearted British liberals like Ripon and Gladstone were still green, and these Indians believed that men

like Lytton and Dufferin were but a passing aberration. Still, many of the speeches made at the Congress sessions were full of such fire and so inspiring, though never transgressing the bounds of dignity and decorum, that they could well stand as object-lessons in stately eloquence to future Indians. It is pertinent to give here a brief extract from the speech of Lal Mohan Ghose, president of the Congress of 1903.

“We are not a self-governing nation. We are not able, like the English people, to change one administration for another by our votes in the polling booths. We have to depend entirely upon the justice of the British Parliament, for unfortunately it is only too true that, as time advances, our Indian bureaucracy, instead of coming into line with popular ideas, seems to grow more and more unsympathetic. Do you think that any administration in England, or France, or the United States, would have ventured to waste vast sums of money on an empty pageant, when Famine and Pestilence were stalking over the land, and the Angel of Death was flapping his wings almost within hearing distance of the light-hearted revellers? Gentlemen, a year has now rolled by since the great political pageant was held at Delhi against the almost unanimous protest of all our public and representative men both in the press and on the platform. On what grounds did they protest? They protested, not because they were wanting in loyalty to the sovereign, whose coronation it was intended to celebrate, but because they felt that, if his Majesty's Ministers had done their duty and had laid before him an unvarnished story of his famine-stricken subjects in India, his Majesty, with his characteristic sympathy for suffering humanity, would himself have been the first to forbid his representatives in this country to offer a pompous pageant to a starving population. However, our protests were disregarded, and the great tamasha was celebrated, with that utter recklessness of expense which you may always expect when men, no matter how highly placed, are dealing with other people's money, and are practically accountable to no one for their acts.

“We are all familiar with the financial jugglery which, by distributing the expenses under various and sometimes under the most unexpected headings, make it so difficult for ordinary men to find out the total cost of such pageant. Still, whether you estimate that cost by a few lakhs more or less, it cannot be denied that if even half of the vast sum had been made over for the purposes of famine relief, it might have been the means of saving millions of men, women and children from death by starvation.”

This was one of the numerous speeches made during the Congress sessions, and broadcast to the people through the newspapers. Their effect on the people can well be imagined. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya says : “ Great institutions have always had small beginnings, even as the great rivers of the world start as thin streams. At the commencement of their career and course, they progress rapidly, and as they widen, become slower and steadier. By the confluence of their various tributaries, they are enriched as they flow on, both in volume and content. The evolution of the Indian National Congress presents the same phenomenon We cannot blame them for the attitude they adopted as pioneers of Indian political reform, any more than we can blame the brick and mortar that is buried six feet deep in the foundation and plinth of a modern edifice. They it is that have made possible the superstructure, storey by storey, of colonial self-government, Home Rule within the Empire, Swaraj, and on the top of all, complete Independence. Let us express our deep and abiding sense of gratitude to the great men that led the van of progress in the earlier generations of our public life. There is no doubt that the progress of the Congress from its inception in 1885 to 1905 was one even march based on a firm faith in constitutional agitation and in the unfailing regard for justice attributed to the Englishman. It was in that view that the Congress was represented in 1893 by Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, Chairman, Reception Committee as ‘ the greatest glory of British rule in this country ’ And when the nation (England) met India’s reproaches and appeals with repression Ananda Mohan Bose who presided over the Madras Congress in 1898 exhorted saying, ‘ The educated classes are the friends and not the foes of England—her natural and necessary allies in the great work that lies before her ’. The faith placed in the Englishman and in England by those who have gone before us may sometimes appear pathetic and even abject, but it is our duty to recognize the limitations and extend, to quote from Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh’s speech at the 23rd Congress in Madras, 1908, ‘ some kindly thoughts for those who too, in their day, strove to do their duty, however imperfectly, through good report and through evil report with, it may be, somewhat chastened fervour, but I may say without boasting, a fervour as genuine as that which stirs and inspires younger hearts ’.”

Karnataka was fully awake to the upsurge of national feeling elsewhere, and the dynamic personality of Tilak, who was fast becoming the leader of Maharashtra, had a further enlivening

effect upon the people. The Reforms of 1892 fell short of the expectations of many Indians, and there were in 1893 Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay, breaking the harmony which had existed between the two communities from the time of the Peshwas, when they participated freely in each others' religious celebrations, like the Mohurram and the Ganapati festival. The British now favoured the Muslims as against the Hindus, and this made Tilak think of organising Hindu festivals in order to revive the martial spirit of the Hindus as against the combined opposition of the British and their Muslim followers. The result was the revival of the Ganapati and Dasara celebrations and the Sivaji festival. These were celebrated in many parts of Karnataka with unbounded enthusiasm, and people were made to feel that, as Sivaji drove out the Muslims from this country, it was now the duty of Indians to drive out the British, who had become insensitive to the feelings and aspirations of the people. A. O. Hume visited North Karnataka before he left for England in 1893, and he was given a tremendous ovation in Belgaum and Dharwar as the man who was chiefly instrumental in helping Indians to organize the National Congress. His presence among the people of Karnataka infused an intense spirit of nationalism in them.

The years 1896 and 1897 were indeed momentous years for Karnataka. Social stability had been disturbed not only by the policy of the Government, but also by the growing consciousness among the people that the only remedy for the ills from which the country was suffering lay in the people acquiring greater control over the administration. The distress of the people was aggravated by an outbreak of plague. This malady came to Bombay in November 1896. Soon it spread to Poona and the northern districts of Karnataka. The officers and their subordinates who were in charge of the control operations inflicted great hardship by forcibly removing people to camps and often burning property. The police and soldiers, vested with wide powers on the plea of emergency and not knowing how to use them properly, often committed acts of vandalism and terrorized the people. They tried to segregate people travelling in trains to Dharwar and such places, but it was of no use beyond causing hardship to them. Before the end of October 1897, the fell disease had spread to Dharwar, Hubli, Gadag and many other places. A segregation camp had been started in Dharwar. The fear of the soldiers who were entrusted with relief operations may be gauged by the fact that, when in Dharwar the people in the market centre of the city heard of the arrival of soldiers, they left their belong-

ings and ran away in consternation (*Nanna Jeevana Smritigalu*, by Alur Venkata Rao). Unable to bear the highhandedness of the military officers, a pious man by name Hayagrivachar committed suicide in Dharwar. Good work entrusted to the wrong agency resulted in considerable misery to the people without much substantial relief. Soon after the ravages of the plague came the famine of 1896-97, which took a heavy toll of lives and intensified distress. Exposed to calamities coming one after another, Karnataka was on the point of desperation. Tilak started agitation against the highhandedness of the Revenue officers, who forced the people to pay the revenue by selling their property or by obtaining loans at ruinous interest from moneylenders, by enlightening the people about the provisions of the Famine Code and sending out agents of the Sarvajanic Sabha to tell the people not to be scared by the demands and threats of the collecting officials. He told the people in *Kesari* : "Will you kill yourself by timidity and starvation? If you have money to pay Government dues, pay them by all means. But if you have not, will you sell your things away only to avoid the supposed wrath of subordinate Government officers? Can you not be bold, even in the grip of death?" And again : "We can stand any number of famines, but what shall we do with sheep-like people? Had such a famine broken out in England and had the Prime Minister been as apathetic as Lord Elgin, his Government would have tumbled down like ninepins."

Things were happening elsewhere too to rouse the dormant spirit of the people and awaken them to a realisation of their own strength and greatness. An outstanding personality who did more than anyone else in the nineties of the last century to infuse self-confidence among Indians and prepare them to fight the forces that were undermining their freedom and culture was Swami Vivekananda, whose clarion call to his countrymen to shed fear and to come out of the slough of despond into which they had fallen electrified the people into animation and filled them with patriotic fervour. "For the first time in the modern age he boldly proclaimed before the world the superiority of Hindu culture and civilisation, the greatness of her past and the hope for her future. Instead of the tone of apology and a sense of inferiority which marked the Indian attitude towards European culture and civilisation, a refreshing boldness and consciousness of inherent strength marked the utterances of Swami Vivekananda. This, combined with his patriotic zeal, made him an embodiment of the highest ideals of the nascent Indian nation.

He was, to quote the words of Sir Valentine Chirol, "the first Hindu whose personality won demonstrative recognition abroad for India's ancient civilization and for her newborn claim to nationhood." Sri Alur Venkata Rao says in his autobiography that the Swamiji's speeches especially during his short stay at Belgaum roused the people of Karnataka to a pitch of national enthusiasm as nothing else did.

Carried away on the wave of the new national awakening, some youths adopted terrorist methods against the rulers. The Chapekar brothers killed Rand and Ayerst, two officers in charge of relief operations during the plague. This roused the Government to retaliatory measures against these ardent though misguided patriots. Their death on the gallows only served to intensify the revolutionary movement; for they showed to their countrymen how to die in the national cause. Tilak, who was infusing a new courage and patriotism among the people through his journalistic activities and lectures, was convicted and sent to prison. The people only became more enraged by these repressive measures. North Karnataka fully experienced the impact of this nationalist upsurge. Patriotic dramas such as *Bhavani Talwar*, *Simhagad*, *Bapu Gokhalyachi Pagadi* were staged in all the important towns. In Dharwar a dramatic troupe called "Sri Sivaji Arya Samaj" was formed, which enacted nationalist dramas like *Rana Bheemadeva*. The Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha had taken up literary activities and the Victoria High School was imparting education, both of them carrying on their work with a distinctly nationalistic bias and disseminating the new ideas of cultural revival and democratic government.

The Congress was in the meanwhile meeting every year to pass important resolutions after a series of speeches whose distinguishing characteristics were an unwavering loyalty to the British Crown, a deep-rooted faith in the necessity of remaining in the British Empire, and a pertinacious belief in the rectitude of the British. The last one, the belief in the innate righteousness of British statesmanship, was a major political blunder of the Indian liberals. They did not come down from their idealistic and ethical level of thought to the practical and realistic level of economic and political relations. They failed to see that England, in the interests of her own economic advancement, could not part with political power, for on her political domination of India depended her economic development. When once Indians were allowed to control their own national affairs there would be an end to their economic exploitation, and British industry and

commerce would suffer an irretrievable reverse. The pressure of hard necessity compelled England to hold on to India, and moral values were brushed aside by British statesmen as of no account. This purely practical aspect of the relations between England and India was not clearly seen or its implications properly comprehended by our liberals. To the Congress request for the repeal of the numerous Acts curtailing the freedom of Indians in their own country, the Government's answer was the imposition of new Acts and the adoption of new measures curtailing their freedom still further. Sections of the Penal Code like 124 A and 153 A were enacted to combat nationalist activities, and the freedom of the press was curtailed still further in 1898 by the institution of secret Press Committees.

The young Indian intelligentsia, which had come into its own as a result of the new education and study of democratic developments in the West, could not tolerate the slow and self-debasing attitude of the liberal statesmen of the Congress towards the freedom of the motherland. Maharashtra, which had given India a Sivaji to stem the tide of Muslim advance in the seventeenth century, now gave to the country Bal Gangadhar Tilak, whose patriotism was as transparent as his consecration to the service of India. Of course even the liberals, most of them men of outstanding eminence, had shifted their demand from that for administrative reform of the earlier years to that for self-government as it obtained in the colonies of the Empire. But their method of approach towards the realisation of their aims was that of solicitation and entreaty, not that of agitation. The new militant nationalists could not put up with this humiliating subservience, and Congress came to be divided into two groups, the moderates and the extremists. Among the latter were, in addition to Tilak, men like Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose, who infused a new dynamism into Indian political life and broadened the social basis of Indian nationalism by extending it among the middle classes.

As if to reinforce the growing nationalist spirit and drive it to an uncompromising opposition, came Lord Curzon as Viceroy, a nobleman of exuberant energy and a stony autocrat. He rode roughshod over the feelings of Indians by measures like the Official Secrets Act and his insulting speeches wherein he branded Indians as untrustworthy liars. His partition of Bengal, ostensibly for administrative convenience, sought to win over the Muslims, who formed a majority in the eastern part, and succeeded for a time. But the resentment he aroused became a

conflagration, and the younger generation, the extremists, were now convinced that nothing short of an intense agitation and sacrifice if necessary would induce the British to listen to their demands. Boycott, Swadeshi, Swaraj, National Education,—such words came into vogue all over the country, and the leader who laboured unremittingly to spread them all over the land was Tilak. His “achievement was to give for the first time to the nationalist movement a much broader basis than neo-Western liberalism could never supply : the identity of the people of India with the struggle for its freedom”. The partition of Bengal became a national question, and the whole of India rallied round the leaders who told the people that the obsequious approach of the liberals to the national problem would not only be a humiliation but also futile, since the Government was becoming more and more reactionary in its attitude. As if to corroborate what they said, communal riots broke out in Bengal. “East Bengal was disgraced by the worst communal riots, in which Sir Bampfylde Fuller’s policy of preference for Muslims was followed by his successor and the officials of the province. This policy was carried to such lengths that actually a sessions judge divided witnesses into two classes, Hindus and Muhammadans, and preferred the evidence of Muhammadans to Hindus because they were Muhammadans. At one place, ‘some Muslims proclaimed by beat of drum that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus’, while at another they publicly declared, according to a magistrate, ‘that the Government had permitted the Muhammadans to marry Hindu widows in the Nika form’. One savage outbreak followed the wide circulation, among the Muhammadans in East Bengal of a ‘red pamphlet’ the contents of which are so abominable that I think I had better not say more about it.” (C. Y. Chintamani : *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny*, p. 86)

The policy of Lord Curzon compelled even Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who was President of the Congress of 1905, to break his reticence and moderation and exclaim in his presidential speech : “The tremendous upheaval of popular feeling which has taken place in Bengal in consequence of the partition will constitute a landmark in the history of our national progress—A wave of true national consciousness has swept over the province Bengal’s heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy has astonished and gratified all India, and her sufferings have not been endured in vain, when they have helped to draw closer all parts of the country in sympathy and aspiration.” The partition of Bengal became at once a national issue,

for every Indian saw in it not only an attempt to drive a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims and placate the latter, but callous disregard of public opinion and a blow to Indian self-respect. Swadeshi or the use of Indian-made goods, boycott of British articles and national education were adopted not only by the people of Bengal but also by the people of other provinces. A wave of resentment swept over the whole of India, uniting the people, as nothing else could have done, against the British. Now the resentment against the British spread to the masses to some extent, and "the bomb first made its appearance in Indian politics" (Nehru : *Glimpses of World History*, p. 455). Lovat Frazer in his biography of Curzon writes this : "The agitation made him bitter, his contemptuous indifference heightened public resentment ; numerous were the public meetings held and petitions addressed to him, but in vain. Stubbornness, the bane of bureaucracy, overpowered his otherwise clear intellect. His sojourn in Eastern Bengal, his harangues at Muslim meetings, explaining the benefits of the scheme to obtain communal support for it, were methods of a political agitator and derogatory to the prestige and dignity of the Viceroy of India. His speeches in Eastern Bengal caused the suspicion which was fast growing into a conviction that the scheme was devised to keep down the growing tide of nationalism and set Hindus against Muslims, a feeling which found still greater support in the foolish utterances of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Governor of the newly created province, who declared that he had two wives, Hindu and Mohamedan, but that the Mahomedan wife was the favourite wife."

INDIAN NATIONALISM TAKES

A NEW LEAP

Some Muslims had been carried away by the friendly attitude of the British authorities, who told them that they would lose their individuality and freedom if they associated themselves with the Hindus, who were in an overwhelming majority. They were told that Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education were only political devices of the Hindus, who were bent upon establishing Hindu rule all over India after extinguishing British rule. Completely taken in by this insinuation, some Muslims of Bengal, under the leadership of Nawab Salimulla of Dacca, founded the Muslim League, with the object of preventing Muslims from supporting the boycott and opposing the partition of Bengal. After thus assuring themselves of the support of a large body of Muslims, the Government launched a campaign of repression against the Congress. Deporting people without trial, and indiscriminate beating of pickets, were the order of the day. This treatment gave rise to underground activities, and the Government in turn dealt with this "anarchist movement" with such barbarous ferocity that Lord Morley wrote to the Viceroy in 1908: "I must confess to you that I am watching with the deepest concern and dismay the thundering sentences that are now being passed for sedition, etc. I read today that stone-throwers in Bombay are getting *twelve months*. This is really outrageous. The sentences on the two Tinnevely-Tuticorin men are wholly indefensible,—one gets transportation for life, the other for ten years They cannot stand. I cannot on any terms whatever consent to defend such monstrous things. I do therefore urgently solicit your attention to these wrongs and follies. We must keep order, but excess of severity is not the path to order. On the contrary, it is the path to the bomb." Indians must thank Curzon for hastening the movement for freedom and intensifying the antagonism to foreign rule. He brought Indians together as no other Viceroy had done.

Karnataka readily responded to the call of Swadeshi and Boycott, now chiefly influenced by the personality of Tilak. The Lokamanya took up this question and carried on a widespread campaign in his papers. He toured North Karnataka in 1905–1906. The gist of his message was: Saving the country from the alien bureaucracy and reviving its ancient glory is pos-

sible only through Swaraj or self-government ; Swaraj can be achieved only through the boycott of foreign goods and dissemination of Swadeshi ; the importance of boycott and Swadeshi must be clearly understood by the people of all classes ; this understanding can come only through a system of national education—not the English education, which only prepared young men to become obsequious clerks and petty officials, but an education which imparted true knowledge of the rich Indian heritage and infused an intense love of the motherland and an unfaltering determination to revive the splendour and glory of the past.

Indeed, Karnataka had been more stricken and victimized than Bengal ; for while the misfortune of the latter was due to the recent partition, the affliction and humiliation of the former had commenced a century ago when it had been torn asunder and different parts handed over to different provinces. The people of the northern districts of Karnataka were subjected to the aggressive influence of the Maharashtrians, those in the north-eastern parts were subjected to the relentless autocracy of a Muslim state, while in the remaining parts (except Mysore proper) there was the imposition of Andhra or TAMILIAN influence. Still the national upsurge found Kannadigas ready to take up the national cause and identify themselves with the rest of India.

Initially, the stimulus in the fight for freedom came from the Lokamanya, whose political vision comprehended the whole of India and not merely Maharashtra. Four cardinal items of the struggle were demarcated—Swarajya, Swadeshi, Boycott, and National Education. Meetings were held everywhere and these ideas spread among the middle class. Alur Venkata Rao, Sakkari Balachar, Krishna Rao Mudvedkar, Anantha Rao Dabade, and many others undertook extensive tours and delivered speeches. There was in all places an instantaneous response to the call of Swadeshi. Swadeshi industries arose in many places. Vittal Rao Deshpande of Hebbal started a weaving factory at Kittur. Another factory was built in Badami. Cloth made here was sent even to Bengal. Rama Rao Alagvadi, a very enterprising and talented young man, opened a match factory at Dharwar from machinery made by himself. A porcelain factory arose at Laxmeswar. Factories for manufacturing bangles, pencils and many other articles of common use arose in many places. A Karnataka Industrial Conference met at Dharwar in 1907 to decide upon the lines of development of Swadeshi industry. New banks were established to help this industrial development. The boycott of foreign goods went on along with this resurgence of Swadeshi. Foreign cloth

was burnt in Ranibennur and other places. Alur Venkata Rao says in his autobiography that in many families people gave up using kerosene oil and began to use only indigenous oil for lamps. Most of these industries died after a few years, of course ; but they provide a measure of the political awakening of the people of Karnataka.

This awakening would have been only temporary if it had been due merely to the persuasion of leaders ; but it attained fixity and permanence through the work of the national schools which were started all over Karnataka. Alur Venkata Rao started the Nutana Vidyalaya at Dharwar with arts and crafts also as subjects in the curriculum. Another national school arose at Navalgund by the efforts of Dundopanth Sahasrabuddhe. In Belgaum Kaka Kalelkar established the Ganesh Vidyalaya, while another was started at Bagalkot by Jaya Rao Nargund. At Hana-gal, Agadi and some other places similar schools arose. The leaders of Karnataka clearly understood the paramount necessity of an ideological basis for the movement for freedom, and knew that education of the right type was the only means of building up that basis.

The Government, however, was annoyed at this national resurgence, and was determined to suppress it. The schools had to close down one by one. Government declared that the education imparted in the Nutana Vidyalaya of Dharwar was " pernicious education ", and issued orders that students who remained in that school after the 1st of February 1910 would not be admitted to any Government institution.

National feeling rose high, and Government's measures to repress them were also severe in the extreme. As Tribhuvan Das Malvia, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress of 1907, said in his speech : " Since the Congress met last year, we have passed through very troublous times indeed. Eminent Indians have been seriously suspected of and charged with the highest offences against the State, exciting sedition, rioting and the like, in most cases without justification. Somehow the idea became prevalent among the ruling class that the present year being the 50th year since the Indian Mutiny, Indians were preparing for a similar revolt, and a sort of panic seized them. To check this imaginary revolt all sorts of repressive and reactionary measures were taken. Old obsolete enactments, of the existence whereof even no-one ever dreamed, were brought into requisition for the purpose of punishing people for undefined offences assumed to have been committed, without giving any notice to the vic-

tims of the charges laid at their doors, or giving them an opportunity of meeting those charges. The people in certain localities were assumed to harbour treasonable intentions, and meetings were prohibited in those districts, at first for a time, and we have now a very dangerous statute in the shape of the Seditious Meetings Act, capable of general application throughout the country by a notification in the Government Gazette, thrust upon us."

Those who were trained in the school of Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal were exasperated as much by the blind faith of the old school of Indian politicians of the Congress in the rectitude of British statesmen as by the repressive policy of the Government. Many a British statesman realised that the Government was primarily responsible for the discontent. Ramsay MacDonald, who later became Prime Minister of England, wrote : "Two generations ago, we should have welcomed this awakening. Now that it has come we are afraid. We spy upon it, we deport its advocates, we plan to inculcate it. This change on our part is of fundamental significance in determining the form assumed by the awakening of India. The fact is our official attitude has been the chief factor in determining the course of the nationalist movement. It has been the attitude of friendship at first and bitter opposition later." The more vehement and impetuous among the Indian youth formed secret organizations to terrorize the British. It was chiefly in Maharashtra, Bengal and the Punjab that this revolutionary movement grew. This cult of the bomb was the direct result of the reactionary and repressive policy of Government and the slow and halting methods adopted by the Congress. Some youths of Karnataka also, like Dr. Handoor, Baburao Gani, Bheema Rao Bevoor, kept up a close correspondence with the revolutionaries of Bengal.

Tilak, with his intense patriotism, immense sacrifices, and transparent sincerity, had become very popular especially among the younger generation, who wanted to make him President of the Congress of 1906. But Tilak's radical methods of political agitation were not liked by the old brigade of liberal politicians, who prevented his choice for the Presidentship by selecting the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, as President. Out of respect for Dadabhai, Tilak withdrew his nomination. It was clear that the political leaders who had conducted the affairs of the Congress since its inception were no longer trusted by the rising generation of patriots to lead the country towards the goal of Swaraj. The cleavage was inevitable, since the old school of

politicians, in spite of their disillusionment regarding the good faith of the British, still clung to their policy of persuading the British to grant reforms ; and the new group of aggressive men were convinced that Swaraj could only be won from the British, and were determined not to compromise on the question of national self-respect.

The crisis came at the Surat Congress of 1907. There was a great uproar when Tilak rose to speak. A large number of people had gone from Karnataka to attend that Congress. Alur Venkat Rao, in his *Nanna Jeevana Smritigalu*, (Vol. II, pp. 64-65) has described the event thus : " I and my friends attended this Congress in large numbers. An incident that happened there is memorable. The enclosure set apart for members and visitors from Karnataka was far from the dais. As soon as Tilak rose to speak, there was a tumult. He was accustomed to speak standing on a table, while the President would speak sitting in his chair. Just as Tilak started speaking, someone threw a chair at him. There was at once pandemonium in the whole assembly. We were concerned about Tilak's personal safety, and Srinivasarao Kaujalgi and I rushed towards the dais, our friends following close behind. On the way Srinivasarao stumbled against a chair and his turban fell. As he bent to pick up the turban, a volunteer who was near by suddenly caught hold of his neck and began to shower blows on his head with his baton. I could not bear to see this sudden and unprovoked onslaught, and I began to belabour the volunteer with the only weapon in my hand, my umbrella. The volunteer did not anticipate this turn of events and took to his heels. Now came the police, and arrested those among the crowd who were stout and robust. Srinivasarao Kaujalgi, Anna-char Hosakeri and I were trying to come out of that crowd. The police apprehended my two companions, and left me alone since I was lean. Thus it does help sometimes to be lanky in figure like me. After detention in the lock-up for a few hours, my friends were released." (Translated from Kannada). The Congress meeting broke up in confusion.

The Liberals soon after met in a convention and drew up a constitution for the Indian National Congress and prescribed rules for the conduct of meetings. The object of the Congress was set out thus : " The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire. It seeks to advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration."

Obviously this resolution was meant to keep the extremists out of the Congress.

Meanwhile Government repression went on apace. The Seditious Meetings Act was passed in 1907, and the Indian Press Act in 1910. Nationalist papers like *Yugantar* and *Bande Mataram* in Bengal were suppressed. In Karnataka papers like *Chandrodaya*, *Hindustan Samachar*, *Rajahansa*, *Dharwar Vritta* had to cease publication. *Karnataka Vaibhava* and *Lokabandhu* stopped writing on political affairs. Aurobindo Ghose, who was a close collaborator of Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal in fighting the tardy approach of the moderates towards national problems, was arrested on a charge of complicity in revolutionary activities, but was acquitted for want of evidence. Soon after he left British India and settled in Pondichery.

After he returned from Surat, Tilak organized the Poona District Conference, at which the ideas and methods of the extremists were almost unanimously accepted. The Bombay Provincial Conference was held next. In that Conference, he said, “. . . It is now over 90 years that the British have been ruling over us and the time has, therefore, arrived to consider whether we are now better off than formerly. It is a fact that we have been reduced to poverty under British rule. How has this poverty entered our homes? Formerly, our rulers, Hindus and Mohammedans, used to look to the welfare of their subjects. If a ruler does not care for his subjects, how can he be a sovereign? For what are we to pay him taxes? What right has he to expect them from us? The bureaucrats who take our money without caring for us are only taking wages of iniquity. The first days of the British rule dazzled us by its glamour, but we have now come to see its deceptiveness. The Government has granted us liberty to drink, but other liberties we do not enjoy He who has set his face towards the temple of the Goddess of Independence will never approve of independence under British suzerainty The people, it is true, should not be guilty of treason to their king, but is it proper for the king to turn traitor to his own subjects? The king who does so forfeits his authority” Tilak undertook tours all over the country, and wherever he went he roused people to enthusiasm in the national cause. The ever-recurring refrain in his speeches was, “Swaraj is my birthright, and I will have it.” Simultaneously he blazoned forth the ideas of Swaraj in his *Kesari* and *Mahratta*.

The Government was assiduously in search of some writing of his which would secure his conviction. At last it hit upon an

article in the *Kesari* of 12th May 1908 entitled "Our Country's Misfortune", and he was prosecuted. But legal experts were not sure whether this article would be enough to convict him. So another article in the *Kesari* of June 9, entitled "These Remedies Are Not Lasting" was taken up. Tilak was tried, declared guilty, and imprisoned for six years. He told the court in the course of his speech: "There are higher powers that rule the destinies of things, and it may be the will of Providence that the cause which I represent should prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

A wave of horror and detestation of the British swept over the whole of India; and only the bureaucratic coterie and the moderates were jubilant over the incarceration. Many papers, even in England, condemned the Indian Government for the way in which Tilak was arrested, the behaviour of the judge (an Indian) during the proceedings, and the barbarous sentence pronounced on him, all this clearly showing that the Government was determined to put him out of the way. The *Morning Post* of London wrote: "There are very few people in England in a position to realise what the arrest of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the nationalist leader of Poona, actually means in India. His personal power is unapproached by any other politician in the country; he dominates the Deccan, his own country, and is adored with a kind of religious fervour by every extremist from Bombay to the Bay of Bengal. The break-up of the National Congress at Surat was his doing; his is the mind that conceived, his the pen that expressed, and his the force that has directed, the extraordinary movement against which the bureaucracy is now calling up all its resources. He is a thinker and fighter in one." H. M. Hyndman, the socialist leader of England, wrote in the paper *Justice* of London: "When the history of the governing classes of our country comes to be written, a few generations hence, we firmly believe the judgement of posterity will be that a viler set of ruffians never degraded the records of mankind. Just lately India has afforded the most telling examples of their systematic outrage and their 'execution of justice'. The conviction of the noble patriot and martyr, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was as gross a miscarriage of justice as has ever been known, even under our carpet-bagger despotism in India. There is no justice for Indians."

There were strikes and hartals in Bombay and many other places; and the Government as usual adopted stern measures against them. The people of Karnataka felt the calamity as

strongly as the people of Poona or Bombay. On September 14, in the morning, Tilak was put on board the R.I.M.S. Hardinge for Rangoon. That was the last day of the Ganapati festival. There was great excitement at Belgaum, and the police issued orders to regulate the celebrations. These were duly obeyed. But in the afternoon an oral order was made, prohibiting the shouting of the slogans "Bande Mataram", "Tilak Maharajki Jai" and "Sivaji Maharajki Jai". But as this new order was not embodied in the proclamation made earlier, it was disregarded by the processionists. The police construed this attitude as defiance of orders, and thrashed several boys and beat up others. Seventeen persons were arrested, and the carts carrying the idols of Ganapati and effigy of Tilak were detained. The carts were allowed to go after Tilak's effigy had been removed.

In spite of the imprisonment of many leaders, suppression of newspapers and passing of new laws to deal with the nationalists, there was no abatement of resentment in the minds of the people. Lord Minto, the Viceroy, and Morley, the Secretary of State, thought it best to "rally the moderates" by the grant of some reforms. The Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced, "providing for a minority of elected members to the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils". But even the moderates were dissatisfied with the provision of separate electorates for the Muslims. The annulment of the partition of Bengal, however, in 1911 conciliated a large number of them. The extremists, ejected from the Congress after the fiasco at Surat, showed no enthusiasm for the reforms. With this division in the Congress, the struggle for freedom lost its mass character.

While North Karnataka, under the influence of the Tilak school, was mainly opposed to the policy of the moderates, the other parts of Karnataka were also contributing their mite in the struggle for freedom. In the districts of South Kanara and Bellary, Ammembala Srinivasa Pai, helped by men like Subbaraya Baliga, carried on the agitation for freedom and spread the aims and ideals of the Congress among the masses. Ammembala Subbaraya Pai was for some years the moving spirit in the boycott of foreign goods and the spread of Swadeshi; and he had able collaborators in earnest men like K. P. Rao and Panje Mangesa Rao, the latter helping the movement clandestinely, since he was a Government servant. Tilak was held in high esteem by the people everywhere. Kolachalam Venkata Rao and Sabhapathi Mudaliar were the leaders of the freedom movement in Bellary district. Old Mysore, ruled by an enlightened and benevolent

Prince, had already introduced the rudiments of constitutional government by the establishment of a Representative Assembly and a Legislative Council, and with the spread of education in that state in a more systematic manner than in other parts of Karnataka, the people had become educationally more advanced ; the happenings in other parts of Karnataka had a tremendous effect on them, especially the events connected with Tilak. In the districts ruled by the Nizam and in Kodagu the political awakening was not as pronounced as in other parts.

The disappearance of Tilak from the political scene left his followers without a competent leader, and the Liberals held the reins of the Congress until his return in 1914. During this period, the Congress met every year to make vehement speeches and request the Government to repeal the reactionary laws passed to suppress the nationalist agitation. The bureaucracy, entrenched behind statutes which gave it immunity from any repressive measures it could adopt, went on its way, confident of its own strength. The Muslim League, which at first had directed its attention only to strengthening the bonds of Muslim unity and obtaining special political privileges from the Government, began to imbibe the spirit of the times and become more nationalistic. Newspaper articles like the following which appeared in the Kannada paper *Mumukshu* of 12th March 1908 had their effect on the Muslims also : “ Atmaram Sastri Odhamane of Ankola writes to the *Mumukshu* : An enslaved country cannot progress in any way until its slavery is destroyed. A country under foreign domination should first work to shatter to pieces the fetters of slavery. It is no use dressing a wound without destroying the worm inside it. Political independence is the immediate and efficient cause of the progress of a country and can be acquired only by political agitation. Political independence is necessary even for religious freedom. Can we stop the shameless missionary trying to convert orphans to Christianity during famine days ? Our commerce also has a similar tale to tell. Were we free, would our commerce have been captured by Europeans ? The sphere of political independence is wider than that of religious or commercial freedom. Herein Hindus, Mohamedans, Parsis, Jains and Christians can unite. All are equally victims to the unbearable tyranny and ready to resist it. When once we regain our lost independence, we can effect our salvation any way we like. Unless we drive out the enemy from our house, we cannot utilize it according to our pleasure. Even Ramdas, who gave a religious garb to politics, advised Sivaji to annihilate

foreign domination. Social or religious agitation is centred on itself while political agitation is comprehensive and is necessary not only for its own sake but for protecting other activities. We should attach supreme importance to political agitation and adopt strong measures like boycott in the present situation of India." The Editor of the *Mumukshu* commented on the above : "As religious agitation includes everything, it must be given precedence over everything else. It was religious awakening that enabled us to throw off the Muhammadan yoke ; and it is on the strength of the same awakening that we shall be able to beat back the wave of Christian aggression. Religion is the life-blood of the Indian nation. Religion will give us the moral strength required to carry on political agitation. We want Swarajya first and then independence, which latter is but a means to salvation. When religion is on the wane, the principal motive power of efforts for obtaining Swarajya is dead. As Professor Seeley remarks, England stands a chance of losing India when once the religious faith of its people is stirred, which means that England will be able to put down any other agitation, but once the flame of religious fervour is alight in the country it will go very hard with her. There is policy in checkmating the English from the very quarter from which they apprehend danger."

Freedom is indivisible, and it is pointless to speak of political freedom and religious freedom and argue about which must come first. The ideas of Atmaram Sastri and the Editor given above are the same : freedom must be won by Indians if the country is to rise to its ancient heights of glory and prosperity. What makes the quotation important is that it reveals that already the belief that the political struggle should be more on the moral plane than on the physical had gained ground, and in this way Gandhiji's use of moral and spiritual weapons in the political fight was, though vaguely, stirring people's minds. The conviction was dawning that the fight for freedom could be won on planes other than the purely physical : Swadeshi, the boycott of foreign goods, national education—these were a few of such planes. It was left for Gandhiji to gather all these into a coordinated scheme and provide a philosophical basis for it so that the spur to action should never weaken.

The Liberals on the whole welcomed the Minto-Morley reforms, though they did not like the provision for communal representation. They thought that their faith in the integrity and rectitude of the British had been vindicated. This belief was further strengthened when King George V, in the Durbar held

in Delhi in December 1911, announced the annulment of the partition of Bengal. Nevertheless, the Congress of 1909 had made an emphatic protest against separate electorates.

In the Congress of 1911, Bishan Narayan Dhar spoke from the Presidential chair : " The root cause of most of our misfortunes, which, if not corrected, forebodes serious disasters in the future, is the growth of an unsympathetic and illiberal spirit in the bureaucracy towards the new-born hopes and ideals of the Indian people. While a new India has gradually been rising up, that spirit too has been growing, and so the critical situation has arisen : on the one hand, the educated classes, filled with new knowledge and conscious of new political rights, but hampered by the bars and fetters of a system perhaps good enough for other days but now obsolete ; on the other, the bureaucracy with its vested interests, its domineering habits, its old traditions of absolute and unquestioned authority, suspicious of knowledge and averse to innovation like every closed corporation, cut off from the people by racial exclusiveness, and wedded to a paternal system of government under which it has so long enjoyed power and pelf but which is discordant with the more liberal ideals of the present day."

The Viceroy, Hardinge, as to a lesser degree had Minto, attempted to temper his repressive policy with a show of benevolence. This was mainly because England had become entangled in the complicated and perplexing politics of Europe, and could not go on brandishing the bludgeon over the heads of Indians, who, newly awakened to a sense of their own former greatness and their present plight, had already seen that the invincibility of Western might was only a myth when Japan, a small island power, had vanquished with comparative ease the colossus of Russia. The politics of the Balkans in Europe was now a boiling cauldron which might overflow at any time ; Germany, stimulated by her victory in the Franco-Prussian War, had become the strongest military power in Europe, and, determined to acquire colonies like England, had turned alarmingly pugnacious. The British in India had tried to conciliate the Muslims as against the Hindus, but their policy towards Turkey, whose Sultans were Caliphs for Muslims the world over, had begun to strain the loyalty of Indian Muslims. Colonial England could not afford to keep India seething with discontent when all her attention had to be devoted to the European situation.

When the first world war broke out in 1914 and England became still more closely involved in European politics, it was clear

that the appeasement of India was a matter of immediate importance. Lord Hardinge had realised this much earlier and recommended the annulment of the partition of Bengal and the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and his proposals had been adopted. He had written to the Secretary of State in 1911 : “ The maintenance of British rule in India depends on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General in Council. Nevertheless, it is certain that in course of time the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that the Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular provincial government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is, therefore, a measure which will, in our opinion, materially facilitate the growth of local self-government on sound and safe lines.”

The outbreak of the war in 1914 and the initial success of German arms quickened the tempo of events. The British Government announced that the aim of their policy towards India was “ progressive realisation of responsible government ”. But this was just a promise of accomplishment at some unknown future date and could not satisfy Indian nationalists. Tilak, as soon as he was released, plunged into the political field. He held political conferences, one of which was at Belgaum, and roused his followers to intensive activity. He founded the Home Rule League in 1916. Soon after Mrs. Besant started her All-India Home Rule League in Madras. England was now at war with Turkey, and the Muslim League concluded with the Congress the Lucknow pact by which the Hindus and Muslims evolved a joint scheme of action against the Government. The extremist wing under Tilak rejoined the Congress at its session in Lucknow in 1916.

While these happenings coming one after another profoundly influenced the course of events, an unprecedented occurrence was seen in South Africa, where a handful of Indians, mostly

workers and small merchants, had stood up for their rights and were opposing their strong government ; opposing, not by physical might of which they had little, but by their moral and spiritual strength, by refusing to obey its laws and taking the punishment given with smiling fortitude. It is not necessary here to dwell upon these memorable events, for every Indian knows about Satyagraha and Gandhiji. But what was done by Gandhiji for the Indians in South Africa was flashed across the Arabian Sea to the people in India, who heard with wonder and admiration how a small frail Indian barrister was able to transform the poor unlettered community in South Africa into undaunted heroes almost overnight. The news of the happenings in South Africa had a great effect on Indian minds and served to banish fear and impart courage and self-confidence.

The war, however, profoundly altered the course of events. On account of her political subjection, India became a participant in the fight that was taking place in Europe. The allies announced that the war was fought on behalf of democracy, freedom, and the right to self-determination of subject peoples. These high-sounding platitudes made many people in India think that victory for England in the war would bring self-government for India. India contributed to the war effort with her accustomed generosity in men and money. But at the same time political agitation was also kept up, especially since the Muslims were chagrined at the British attitude to Turkey. Seeing how appeasement of Indians had become a political necessity, Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, announced on the 20th August 1917 that "the policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". The result of this was the Reform of 1919.

Meanwhile repression was going on steadily side by side with attempts to placate public opinion by the grant of reforms. Mrs. Besant was criticizing the British policy and administration in India in a forthright manner through the columns of her paper *New India*, and the heavy deposit of that paper was forfeited to the Government. The reforms were hailed by the Moderates as adequate, but the nationalists were totally dissatisfied. India had rendered invaluable service in the war, which was acknowledged by Lord Birkenhead in these words : "Without India the war

would have been immensely prolonged if indeed without her help it could have been brought to a victorious conclusion". Considerations of humanity and saving democracy from being overwhelmed by German militarism had prompted India to offer ungrudging help in men and money far beyond her means, and Indians naturally hoped that the British Government would now at least gratefully reciprocate by meeting the Indian demand for democratic institutions. The reforms fell far short of the Indian expectations. They evoked from Tilak the significant remark, "A sunless dawn", and Mrs. Besant said that they were "unworthy of England to give and unworthy of India to take". "Wicked attempt to let Indian leaders be stewed in their own juice", "throughout the report the fetish of peace, order and good government was worshipped", "the reforms are grudging, half-hearted, meagre, inadequate, and so disappointing and abortive"—these were some of the remarks made by other leaders.

When a large majority of the nationalist leaders, especially the younger generation, had only such adverse comments to make with regard to the reforms, the Moderates left the Congress, and soon formed the Indian Liberal Federation. The path before the Congress was now made clear by this separation of the Liberals.

After 1914 revolutionary activities had been on the wane, owing largely to the Press Laws and the Defence of India Act, and also to the fact that Congress itself was progressively becoming more militant; still under the ostensible plea of suppressing the revolutionary movement, the Rowlatt Bills were passed in 1919, giving the executive large powers, even to arrest and imprison people without trial and conduct secret trials of suspected persons.

GANDHIJI TAKES COMMAND

Now comes Gandhiji into the political arena. He had returned to India in 1915, and for some time watched the course of political events. In 1917 he espoused the cause of the Champaran tenants, and soon after of the peasants of Kaira in Gujerat, and achieved remarkable results. He was already known fairly well among the educated classes but the masses knew little about him. He now announced that he would start a mass satyagraha if the Rowlatt Bills were not withdrawn. The country was excited as never before. There was some inscrutable magic in his voice, and he could draw to himself the loyalty and devotion of even those whose ideas differed from his own. As Jawaharlal Nehru has said : " This voice was somehow different from the others. It was quiet and low, yet it could be heard above the shouting of the multitude ; it was soft and gentle, yet there seemed to be steel hidden away somewhere in it ; it was courteous and full of appeal, and yet there was something grim and frightening in it ; every word used was full of meaning and seemed to carry a deadly earnestness. Behind the language of peace and friendship there was power and the quivering shadow of action and a determination not to submit to a wrong." About the personality of Gandhiji, what Olive Schreiner said in her letter to Havelock Ellis is worth quoting : " Mr. Gandhi spoke as if he were a mere echo ; echo of what ? Of no recognisable human voice ; it was as though the collective Unconscious of his country was muttering and mumbling through him. Have you ever known a whole nation to speak at the same time ? Mr. Gandhi, I knew, was India, and India was Mr. Gandhi. How could I remain deaf to his vastness ? The tones, though gentle and caressing, even pleading, had in them an undercurrent of oceanic thunder."

Gandhiji's politics was the politics of action. He at once organised a Satyagraha Sabha of all those who were prepared to disobey specified laws and court imprisonment. April 6, 1919 was fixed as the day for *hartal*, a day of fasting, prayer, penance and meetings. The author of *India 1919* says : " One noticeable feature of the general excitement was the unprecedented fraternisation between the Hindus and Muslims. Their union, between the leaders, had now for long been a fixed plan of the nationalist platform. In this time of public excitement even the lower classes agreed for once to forget their differences. Extra-

ordinary scenes of fraternisation occurred. Hindus publicly accepted water from the hands of Muslims and *vice-versa*. Hindu-Muslim unity was the watchword of processions indicated both by cries and by banners. Hindu leaders had actually been allowed to preach from the pulpit of a (cathedral) mosque." The reason for this fraternisation was chiefly the apprehension felt by the Muslims for the safety of the Khilafat after the war.

It was now in the Punjab that the chief political events took place. These events sent a shudder of horror and disgust throughout India, and convinced Indians that freedom from bureaucratic tyranny could never be obtained from the British by conciliatory and moderate methods. April 6, 1919 was a day of hartals, processions and mass demonstrations all over the country—every city, town and village in India being aroused to patriotic fervour by the magic touch of Gandhiji. The liberal leaders of the early Congress days were able to touch only the educated and affluent section of the people; the extremists who came into prominence later were able to influence and arouse a large section of the middle classes; the large majority of the rural population had remained untouched by the political upheaval or remained indifferent to it. These people also were now aroused to patriotic action. Illiterate and depressed by grinding poverty, these rustics still had a capacity to understand things and a sturdy common sense, which was an inheritance from long centuries of cultural growth before they became victims of alien domination. Under Gandhiji, the struggle for freedom became truly national. The movement was at first peaceful in most places, but when the Government tried to put it down by force, people in many places, unaccustomed to the Satyagrahic method of opposing unbridled brute force by the power of the unbending spirit that will not submit to dishonour and iniquity, became violent and retaliated. These stray instances provided sufficient excuse for the Government to adopt measures of suppression.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Governor of the Punjab, was determined to prevent the spread of nationalist ideas among the people of his province, since the valiant and martial race of that province could well threaten the security of the British in India if once they took up arms against the Government. The invitation to hold the Congress of 1919 at Amritsar had already been given, and Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal were making the necessary preparations. These two leaders were secretly spirited away by the Government authorities, who refused to let the anxious people know their whereabouts. This led to demonstrations,

firing by the police and mob violence on a large scale. Similar events took place in Gujranwala, Kasur and many other places, and soon spread to other provinces also. A crowd of twenty thousand people who had gathered in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, an enclosed place with only a narrow entrance, was fired upon by General Dyer and hundreds of unarmed people were slaughtered in cold blood. The Reign of Terror which followed was such as to make a Changis Khan or an Attila blush for ineptitude. The sordid story of the events that happened may be read in the Appendix. The "Manifesto on the situation in India" unanimously adopted by the Delegates from the Indian National Congress to England and the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in the autumn of 1919 "gives a clear picture of the situation and the temper of the people :

"It is time that the British public had a clear vision regarding India, where, through the folly of the Government, a cloud no bigger than a man's hand has already gathered, threatening to break into a storm, the dimensions of which no one can foresee.

"In moving a resolution conveying the thanks of Parliament to the forces engaged in the Great War, Mr. Lloyd George had said : 'As to India, by her remarkable contribution to our triumph, notably in the East, she has won a new claim to our consideration, a claim so irresistible that it ought to overpower, and must overpower, all the prejudice and timidity which might stand in the way of her progress.' So far as a 'new claim' is concerned, the Government of India since the armistice had requited India's glorious services by legislative and administrative repression, depriving India of freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of the person, provoking public protest and riots, particularly in the Punjab, with Martial Law, deportation of leaders beloved by the people, confiscation of property, suppression of newspapers, execution, public flogging, imprisonment of prominent and patriotic citizens on fantastic charges, refusal of permission to choose counsel for their defence before military tribunals, shooting by machine-gun and bombing by military planes of defenceless men and women,—a regime of blood and iron which, if practised by Germans, would have filled Englishmen with horror and indignation.

"To make matters worse, a whitewashing Commission of Enquiry has been appointed without any representation from the Indian National Congress and the Indian Muslim League and an Indemnity Bill passed by the Government of India which will prevent those officials who may be found guilty from being pro-

perly punished. Prussianism could no further go." India realized clearly that British decency and probity were only for home consumption and not for export.

The inhumanity of the methods adopted by the Government authorities at the Jallianwala Bagh and their subsequent condonation in England resulted in provoking the people of India into determined action for getting rid of the foreigner as nothing else could have done. The measures of provocation and popular indignation in the country can best be gauged by the letter which the Sage of Shantiniketan wrote to Lord Chelmsford renouncing the honour conferred on him by the Government :

" Your Excellency,

" The enormity of the measures taken by the Government in the Punjab for quelling some local disturbances has, with a rude shock, revealed to our minds the helplessness of our position as British subjects in India. The disproportionate severity of the punishments inflicted upon the unfortunate people and the methods of carrying them out, we are convinced, are without parallel in the history of civilised governments, barring some conspicuous exceptions recent and remote. Considering that such treatment has been meted out to a population, disarmed and resourceless, by a power which has the most terribly efficient organisation for destruction of human lives, we must strongly assert that it can claim no political expediency, far less moral justification. The accounts of the insults and sufferings undergone by our brothers in the Punjab have trickled through the gagged silence reaching every corner of India, and the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers, possibly congratulating themselves for imparting what they imagine as salutary lessons. This callousness has been praised by most of the Anglo-Indian papers which have in some cases gone to the brutal length of making fun of our sufferings without receiving the least check from the same authority, relentlessly careful in smothering every cry of pain and expression of judgement from the organs representing the sufferers. Knowing that our appeals have been in vain and the passion of vengeance is blinding the noble vision of statesmanship in our Government which could so easily afford to be magnanimous, as befitting its physical strength and moral tradition, the very least I can do for my country is to take all consequences upon myself in giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen, surprised into a dumb anguish of terror. The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of

humiliation, and I for my part wish to stand, shorn of all special distinctions, by the side of those of my countrymen who for their so-called insignificance are liable to suffer degradation not fit for human beings.

“ And these are the reasons which have painfully compelled me to ask your Excellency, with due deference and regret, to relieve me of my title of Knighthood which I had the honour to accept from His Majesty the King at the hands of your predecessor, for whose nobleness of heart I still entertain great admiration.

“ Yours faithfully,
“ Rabindranath Tagore.”

Indians could not be dumb spectators of this national insult and humiliation. The Congress also appointed a committee to go into the tragic events of Amritsar, and its report, studied along with the Government report, gave to the country a harrowing picture of the policy and methods of Government. While popular resentment expressed itself in violent speeches and defiance of authority, Government retaliated by repression on a large scale. But the violence indulged in by Indians in almost every place disheartened Gandhiji, in whose scheme of Satyagraha there was no place for anger or retaliation whatever the provocation might be. He immediately suspended Satyagraha and directed his followers to carry on propagation of Swadeshi and promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity. Still, the events of 1919 clearly showed that India was astir, and grimly determined to go along the path of struggle and achievement, however much blood and tears the struggle might entail. This note was noticeable in the Congress Session of 1919, where after offering responsive cooperation to the reforms, there was a clear condemnation of the policy and methods of Government in the past year and a demand for the recall of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy. India had stood for herself.

EARLY FERMENT IN KARNATAKA

Karnataka was comparatively quiescent politically during the period of Tilak's incarceration, since the impetus for political action, especially in North Karnataka, had come from him. But the political awakening was spreading among the masses owing to education and the newspapers, which gave the people information about what was happening elsewhere in the country. Tilak's tour in Karnataka in 1905-1906 had had a tremendous effect upon the people. The Bombay Karnataka Parishat held at Dharwar in 1903, in which leaders of Karnataka like Gurunatha Rao Patak, Panduranga Rao Athavale, Gadigaiya Honnapurmatha and Narayana Rao Karigudri took prominent part, had helped the awakening still further. Roused to action, Kannadigas took a prominent part in agitation and demonstrations like making bonfires of foreign cloth. Ranibennur witnessed one of the biggest bonfires of foreign cloth. Speeches and kirtanas by leaders like Alur Venkata Rao, Gadigaiya Honnapurmatha, Mudvid Krishna Rao, Sakkari Balacharya (Shanthakavi), and Anantharao Dabade, spread the ideals of nationalism among the people and kept up the tempo of agitation. The following extracts from a newspaper of the time give a clear picture of Karnataka's nationalist activities from the first decade of this century.

Karnataka Vritta, 5-9-1905 : "The first Dharwar District Political Congress was held in Dharwar on 25-10-1903. Shri Viswanatharao Jog presided over the Conference. The Arms Act, and the extension of primary education, were the topics discussed in the Conference." 5-9-1905 : "A public meeting was held in the Victoria Theatre at Dharwar to protest against the partition of Bengal, and to encourage Swadeshi industries. Shri Gurunatha Rao Patak presided. The meeting resolved that everyone should vow not to use foreign cloth, except in unavoidable circumstances, in order to encourage Indian artisans, trade in Indian goods and production of indigenous goods. It was requested that everyone should strive sincerely to fulfil the pledge." 10-10-1905 : "A trader in bangles gave two women foreign bangles as Indian this morning. By evening it was noticed that he had deceived them. He was not given any money but received abuse. . . . The Swadeshi movement has received momentum in Dharwar and Belgaum districts. Shri Deshpande, a pleader of Belgaum, is working for its propagation." 17-10-1905 : "In

Belgaum, along with the Swadeshi andolan, prohibition also was advocated. Even liquor was not sold worth four annas where formerly it was sold for ten rupees. In Dharwar Harijans have vowed not to drink toddy. Textile dealers in Belgaum have decided not to import foreign cloth." 24-10-1905 : " Grocers in Dharwar have decided not to purchase Daboti and Johnson sugar. Prominent cloth dealers have decided not to purchase foreign goods." 3-11-1905: "In Alnavar people have made a convention that bidi smoking is a country habit and batti smoking (country pipe) a good habit. They have advised all to use battis. Anyone breaking this convention must pay a fine of annas eight. If anyone refuses to pay the fine, no one should speak with him for a fortnight." 3-11-1905 : " Dharwar people have decided to start match-box, cigarette, and pencil factories, and with the amount collected to construct a theatre. Hotel-keepers have decided to stop the sale of tea for the time being. The Swadeshi andolan has spread in Belgaum town and the whole district. The sale of foreign goods has been stopped. The consumption of liquor has become less and less. Belgaum market is using sweet oil for lamps. Toddy contractors are running their shops at a heavy loss. The Karajigi people decided for prohibition in an hour. They poured all the kerosene oil into the gutters and began to use sweet oil for their lights. They had consumed liquor worth Rs. 50,000 within a period of 25 years and had used kerosene worth Rs. 25,000." 12-12-1905 : " Indian cloth in large quantities had come to Dharwar market. On a complaint from the headmaster of the mission high school, Dharwar, that some students having joined the Swadeshi movement have broken window-panes, the Educational Inspector held an enquiry and fined some students. Some of them were ordered to leave the school. The Director of Public Instruction opined that some Swadeshi leaders were responsible for such happenings."

9-1-1906 : " A rustication order has been passed on three students of the Mission High School. Kittur has started the production of Swadeshi cloth. A meeting has been held in Gadag to encourage the Swadeshi movement. All people decided to buy Swadeshi cloth. The prohibition pledge has been completely maintained in Bagalkot." 10-5-1906 : " A meeting to encourage the Swadeshi movement was held in Betageri (Gadag). Messrs. Dixit, Hosakeri and Mudweedkar talked about the Swadeshi movement. It was resolved not to use sugar, and at the same time it was decided to use Kittur cloth more and more. Prominent persons were requested to bring this into force." 14-5-1907 : " The

first Industrial Conference of Bombay-Karnataka was held in Dharwar on 12th May, 1907. All persons interested in Swadeshi movement attended the Conference." 9-6-1908 : "In a case against nine persons who picketted liquor shops in Belgaum, all of them were awarded one week's imprisonment and fines of Rs. 680 in all. A prominent person of Belgaum offered to pay the amount. But all these youths preferred imprisonment." 18-8-1908 : "The Swadeshi movement and boycott of foreign goods are going on well in Bagalkot. On 8th August there was a public meeting. Shri Jayarao Nargund, Jainapur, Yalagurd-rao, Dharwadkar and others addressed the gathering. It was proposed to establish a Swadeshi Vyaparottejak Samstha in Bagalkot." 24-7-1917 : "Swaraj samsthas have been started in Belgaum, Hubli, Bagalkot and Dharwar."

A few Bombay Provincial Conferences were held in Karnataka, and to these Conferences political leaders came from all parts of the country. The sixteenth Bombay Provincial Conference was held at Belgaum in 1916, and Gandhi, Tilak and Dadasahib Karandikar were among the leaders who attended. Resolutions requesting the Government to grant Home Rule and permission to raise a volunteer army were passed, along with resolutions relating to the use of Swadeshi articles and maintaining unity in the country. The 18th Bombay Provincial Conference was held at Bijapur on the 1st of May 1918, under the Presidentship of Vittalbhai Patel. Sarojini Naidu and Gandhiji attended. The resolutions which were passed related to the opening of a military college in India for Indians, the appointment of Indians in the higher military ranks without any racial discrimination and the withdrawal of the Arms Act and the Press Act.

In other parts of Karnataka also there was a resurgence of the nationalist spirit and a growing consciousness that Indian freedom was indivisible. The people in princely Mysore were in a better position than those in other parts of Karnataka, for they had the benefits of benevolent rule under a Prince whose first concern was the welfare of the people and who had liberalised the administration by the introduction of a measure of popular representation in the Government. And fortunately enough, Mysore had a galaxy of competent and liberal-minded Dewans, who by their measures of popular welfare made the State one of the best-governed princely States in India. Still the people of Mysore, especially the educated and enlightened section, did not fail to be affected by the events that were happening in British India, in spite of the efforts of the British Government, through

the Resident, to check the spread of nationalist ideas in the State. Even at the turn of the century, the efforts of the British to inculcate loyalty to and admiration for British rule by the introduction of text-books in history and civics like Marsden's *History of India*, Sinclair's *History of India*, Lee-Warner's *Citizen of India*, and the celebration of Empire Day and Coronation Day when there were lectures on "The Blessings of British Rule in India" ad nauseam, had the effect of antagonizing even the students. The partition of Bengal and the growth of the Swadeshi and Swaraj agitations had their echo in Mysore also, and newspapers spread the ideas of Congressmen among the masses. The Theosophical movement spread among the intelligentsia, and its leaders spoke to the people not only of the glories of the past, but also of the need for unity and self-government if those glories were to revive. The people of Mysore were awake to national problems and began to agitate for more powers for the Representative Assembly and a curtailment of the powers of the Diwan.

The assumption by the Queen of England of the imperial title of Kaiser-i-Hind or Empress of India as the result of the Royal Titles Act of 1876 introduced another ugly factor into the problem of the Indian States. The Act gave legal sanction to the autocracy of the rulers, who, so long as they kept on good terms with the Viceroy, the Resident and his minions, could govern or misgovern their principalities with impunity. "They became titled minions of the Viceroy, obsequious and sycophantic before the Viceroy or his officers, and arrogant and oppressive towards their subjects." (H. G. Rawlinson). Sycophantry was developed into a fine art in the Indian States, whose people began to feel disgust when they saw their princes, some of them descendants of a long line of powerful kings, become "fawning republicans" before British officers and their wives. Though this state of affairs was almost non-existent in Mysore, the people of the State felt that, in the interests of the unity and political advancement of India, they must make their Government responsible to the people, retaining the prince if necessary as constitutional sovereign. The political problem of the States, though in some respects different from that in British India on account of the presence of the sovereign, was essentially the same as in other parts, since Swaraj or self-rule was the objective of all parts of the country. The movement in Mysore was first organized by M. Venkatakrishniah (familiarily called Thathia), who through his newspapers spread among the people a great awareness of the problems facing the country and showed the lines along which

political agitation should proceed. Political leaders in Mysore were convinced that it was only when the people of the princely States advanced on parallel lines with the people of British India that the fight against foreign rule could succeed. Nationalists in the princely States were keenly alive to this fundamental factor of the struggle.

True enough, the struggle in the States was for the elimination of the autocracy of the princes and the introduction of constitutional reform, divesting the ruler of autocratic powers. The example of England was there to follow ; when once this was done, there would be a real democratic set-up all over the country, and the path of progress would become smooth and easy. Thus, though the people in the States fought mainly for wresting sovereign power from the hands of their princes, there was always in their minds the nature of the future democratic set-up of independent India, and therefore the study of the struggle for constitutional government in the States cannot be taken up in isolation.

The British Government was determined to keep the States away from the swelling current of national resurgence, and the ever-vigilant Residents tried their best to make the princes adopt stern measures against their own subjects. Flamboyant titles and rewards were dangled before these princes ; they were offered protection against the forces of democratic insurrection; and they were left in peace to rule their subjects as they pleased so long as they followed the policy dictated by the Viceroy. The Government knew that their hold on the country would perceptibly weaken if they allowed the people of the States to join forces with those in other parts of the country.

North Kanara was a district where, even in the last quarter of the 19th century, there existed social harmony and economic sufficiency as the result of long-established customs and social ties. But the Forest Laws and such other measures enforced on the people by Government had seriously disturbed the social harmony and contentment of the people. While in 1890, there were 240399 acres of land under cultivation, in 1915 there were only 211299 acres. By 1920 the cultivated area dwindled still further by 10,702 acres, according to the figures furnished in 1924 in the Council by Mr. Mehta, the Revenue Minister, in answer to a question put by Mr. Karki. People had not enough pasture land for their cattle, and at the same time, as the result of the Revision Settlement of 1914-15, there was an increase of revenue also. The population dwindled steadily ; for instance, in Sirsi

taluk, while in 1901 the population was about 53,000, in 1921 it was only 40,987, while ten years afterwards it had dwindled to 37,000. There was considerable discontent among the people as the result of this deterioration in their condition, and they were ready to respond to the call of the Congress. Civil Disobedience thus spread to North Kanara also, as the following letters show :

From the Collector of Karwar to the Commissioner of Southern Division :

Dear Mr. Cadell,

Karwar,
January 2, 1922.

I have been following the reports of the proceedings of the Ahmedabad Congress ; and in a few days the leading N.C.O.s of this district will return, no doubt with renewed zeal.

Although Gandhi himself is still shuffling about civil disobedience, I think it is clear that the feeling in favour of adopting it in some form or other is growing, and I have little doubt that some individuals will attempt to advocate it. I don't anticipate much trouble from an attempt to withhold the payment of land revenue ; it is not likely to be very generally adopted. What is more likely is that attempts will be made to induce the lower castes to break the Forest Laws.

I have studied the secret orders of the Government of India sent with Home Department S.D. 3921 of 2-12-21. My object in writing now is to ascertain whether Government would approve of a pretty free use of Section 42 of the District Police Act. As you know, I have recently issued some orders under that Section in Siddapur, and they have been obeyed. But when the leaders return, they will probably come prepared to disobey such orders, and they would then have to be prosecuted. They would of course refuse to pay the fine and would be sent to jail.

I believe this would have a good effect. Of course it will raise an outcry, but I do not think that the number of would-be martyrs is very great, and I believe that if a few of the leading agitators were safely out of the way there would be less chance of an anti-forest law agitation among the lower castes.

Of course I do not overlook the danger that orders under Section 42 might result in secret agitation and incitement. But I think that there is less danger from this than from public speeches.

The volunteer movement has hitherto made very little head-

way in Kanara. But I expect that it will now be taken up more vigorously. It remains to be seen whether the volunteers will do anything.

Yours sincerely,
P. B. Haigh.

Reply to the above from the Commissioner.

Office of the Commissioner, S.D.,
Camp Ranibennur, 7 January 1922.

Confidential.

My dear Haigh,

With reference to your letter of 2nd January, I think it likely that if Civil Disobedience is started anywhere in the Southern Division it will be in Kanara. Whether it will be put into force in that district remains to be seen, but if it is, I agree that a probable form of it would be the incitement of the lower castes to break the Forest Laws. Any refusal to pay land revenue would involve the risk to the well-to-do of the loss of their lands, which they are not likely to incur.

The lower castes in Kanara, lacking the independence of Lingayats, Mahrattas, and other cultivating castes elsewhere, and being mostly tenants or landless men, are particularly liable to be misled, and I understand that you desire to issue orders under the District Police Act forbidding speeches of incitement to break the civil laws. I think that Government would undoubtedly approve of your taking action in this direction if you consider it the best way to prevent incitement of the lower classes to break the law.

If persons refuse to pay fines imposed for breach of orders, distress warrants against their property for recovery of fines should issue, in addition to the person being committed to prison, under the magistrate's order for failure to pay the fines.

Action under the District Police Act should not, of course, take the place of prosecution under the Indian Penal Code for direct incitement to violence, or for active measures to persuade revenue payers to withhold revenue, or to break the law, vide para 4 of the letter of the Government of India to which you refer. And action under Section 107 of the C.P.C. should be taken against such persons whose speeches are of such importance or effect as to justify such action.

Yours sincerely,
P. R. Cadell.

P. B. Haigh, Esquire,



Group picture of the members of the K.P.C.C. as it was in 1921. In chair from left to right : Messers P. G. Siddhanti, Irappa Lali, E. Abdulla, Nilakantappa Sugandhi, Hanumantha Rao Kaujalgi, Gangadhara Rao Deshpande, Narayanadas Darbar, Channamallappa Kurle, Nikam, Praneshachar, and Diwansaheb Janvekar.



*Volunteer training course at Seetimani, Bijapur District. Shri Kaujalgi Sreenivasa Rao
and Shri Hardekar and others.*

These letters reveal the existence of a smouldering discontent in North Kanara and the anxiety of the local authorities about its becoming a menace to British rule. The Government failed to see the strength of the nationalist urge among these people, being concerned only with keeping India safe for Britain. These people of North Kanara, unlettered rustics mostly, were to add a glorious chapter to the annals of the Indian struggle for freedom in a few years' time.

The suspension of the Non-Cooperation movement by Gandhiji after the outbreak of popular violence at Chauri Chaura, the rising of the Akali peasants of the Punjab against some Sikh religious proprietors, and the rising of the Muslim peasantry (Moplas) of Malabar against their landlords and money-lenders, and similar outbreaks in other places created discontent among a section of Congressmen who felt that such outbreaks were not only inevitable but justifiable also in face of the provocation caused by Government's repressive measures, and that the cause of national liberation would be ill-served by Gandhiji's insistence on absolute non-violence. These people, under the leadership of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru, formed the Swaraj Party with the object of wrecking the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms from within by "uniform, consistent and continuous obstruction." Gandhiji had been already arrested and thrown into prison on a charge of inciting the Chauri Chaura disturbance, and the absence of his restraining hand contributed to the rise of fissiparous tendencies. An atmosphere of frustration pervaded the country. Muslims—a large majority of them—had joined the Congress hoping that union with the Hindus would help them to save the Khaliphate from extinction. But soon, under Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Turkey was transformed into a secular state, and the Khilafat movement came to an end. Attempts were made by designing persons to sow discord between the two communities. During 1923 there were serious communal disturbances in many parts of the country, and these became a regular feature thereafter, leading ultimately to the division of India. Thus the estrangement between the two communities began on a serious scale during this period, and neither the Hindus nor the Muslims seem to have realised the magnitude of the danger to which they were exposing their motherland. While the Congress probably underestimated the importance of the secession of the Muslims from the nationalist ranks and hoped that good counsel would ultimately prevail among them, the Muslims steadily went on strengthening their agitation by inducing

many Khilafat leaders to return to their fold and by appealing to the ingrained religious instincts of the Muslim masses. The Muslim League grew steadily while the Congress continued to show a complacent attitude to the Hindu-Muslim problem, preoccupied as it was with its struggle with the Government, and divided into two distinct camps, the Swaraj Party and the No-changers. Revolutionary activities in Bengal and some other provinces had been intensified by those who believed that neither the friendly and pacific methods of the Moderates nor the moral and spiritual approach of Gandhiji to political problems would bring freedom to the country, and that the only method of dealing with the foreigner was by terrorizing him into quitting the country. If the Government had not been so utterly blind to the trend of events in India and if it had shown the statesmanship to realise that Indians, an essentially peace-loving people, would not resort to revolutionary activities unless they were driven to take such a desperate step, considerable loss, hardship and suffering could have been avoided.

When Gandhiji called off Non-Cooperation after the tragedy of Chauri Chaura, there was considerable discontent among Congressmen, and the Swaraj Party arose to contest the elections and wreck the constitution from within. While Gandhiji held the view that any deviation from the path of non-violence under any circumstances was a violation of the basic principles of political struggle, others, including Jawaharlal Nehru, thought that such meticulous insistence upon non-violence in a vast country like India would be political folly and would retard the progress of the struggle at a time when it had gathered the necessary momentum. Later, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his *Autobiography* : “There is little doubt that if the movement had continued there would have been growing sporadic violence in many places. This would have been crushed by Government in a bloody manner and a reign of terror established which would have thoroughly demoralised the people.” Gandhiji saw that the people needed better enlightenment and a course of discipline before they would be able to renounce violence completely.

The Swaraj Party's aim was to make it impossible for the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms to work. The Party won the elections of 1923, and obtained majorities in the Assembly and Councils. Their campaign of obstruction was a success, and served to demonstrate to the people the speciousness of the British claim that the reforms would inaugurate a period of true democratic institutions where the will of the people or their

representatives would be the first consideration of the Government. But some members of the party could not withstand the temptation of office-acceptance, and served on the Steel Protection Committee in 1924 and on the Skeen Committee in 1925. By voting for the Steel Protection Bill in 1925 and securing a substantial subsidy for the Tata Steel Company, they served the interests of a group of rich business men, while by neglecting the interests of the workers they exposed themselves to the reproach of being plutocratic in their sympathies. The party reached the peak of its strength and influence in 1925. It was now realised that it was easier to fight the Government from outside than to wreck the reforms from inside. How the experiment of the Swaraj Party was an eye-opener to the country is graphically described by Jawaharlal Nehru. Motilal Nehru "kept his party strictly disciplined and even induced other groups and individuals to give support. But soon he had to face difficulties with his own people. During the early days of the Swaraj party, it had to contend against the no-changers in the Congress, and many undesirables were taken in to increase its strength within the Congress. Then came the elections, and these demanded funds which had to come from the rich. So these rich folk had to be kept in good humour and some were even asked to become Swarajist candidates. 'Politics,' says an American socialist (quoted by Sir Stafford Cripps), 'is the gentle art of getting votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich by promising to protect each from the other.'

"All these elements weakened the party from the very beginning. Work in the Assembly and the Councils necessitated daily compromises with other and more moderate groups, and no crusading spirit or principles could long survive this. Gradually a decline in the discipline and temper of the party set in, and the weaker elements and the opportunists began to give trouble. The Swaraj Party had invaded the legislatures with the declared object of 'opposition from within'. But two could play at this game, and the Government decided to have a hand in it by creating opposition and disruption within the ranks of the Swarajists. High office and patronage in innumerable ways was placed in the way of the weaker brethren. They had just to pick them up. Their abilities and their qualities of statesmanship were praised. A pleasant and agreeable atmosphere was created around them—so different from the dust and tumult of the field and market-place.

"The general tone of the Swarajists went down. Indivi-

duals here and there began to slip away to the other side. My father shouted and thundered and talked about cutting 'the diseased limb'. But this threat has no effect when the limb is eager to walk away by itself. Some Swarajists became ministers, some became Executive Councillors in the provinces later. A number formed a separate group calling themselves 'Responsivists' or 'Responsive Co-operators', a name originally used by Lokamanya Tilak in entirely different circumstances. As used now, it seemed to mean : take a job when you have the chance and make the best of it. The Swaraj Party carried on in spite of these defections, but father and Mr. Das became a little disgusted with the turn of events and somewhat weary of what seemed to be their profitless work in the legislatures. To add to this weariness of spirit was the growing Hindu-Muslim tension in Northern India, leading occasionally to riots."

Thus in the early twenties of this century India presented a strange picture of a people newly awakened to their national rights and claims as the direct result of the impact of the West, the spread of nationalist and democratic ideas, and a sense of national destiny among the people, struggling to wrest from the British freedom by methods unknown in history. The ideas of non-violent struggle and fearless resistance to the might of the British Empire caught the imagination of the people and roused them to enthusiasm, but there was yet no clear understanding of the novel principles and technique of satyagraha. Thus we find a section of outstandingly earnest and patriotic Congressmen like Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das dissenting from the ideas of Gandhiji and following a path of their own ; a section of people laughing at the very prospect of winning freedom through jail-going ; communal disturbances, assiduously and cunningly fostered by interested parties ; and the Government complacently trusting its own physical might to put down any defiance of its authority. The country was in the throes of a new birth, and few people had a clear realisation of the destiny which lay before them. Gandhiji saw all this and decided to allow time to clear the confusion, doubts and hesitations which clouded men's minds. He had been arrested, tried and imprisoned for six years, but was released in 1924 after two years in prison.

The Government, however, was determined to put down the popular rising and made full use of all the weapons in its armoury for the purpose. But there was no stemming the tide of national resistance. The movement for the training of national volunteers, a body of young men who would be trained and ready to

take up national service in any capacity, gained ground and volunteers were trained in thousands. Picketing of shops selling foreign cloth and liquor, and organizing hartals were among their duties, and they not only carried on these duties willingly and effectively, but often smilingly bore the brunt of police attacks, blows, and imprisonment.

This work of organizing a national volunteer army—the Hindustani Seva Dal—was mainly the work of a remarkable young man, N. S. Hardikar. His birthplace was Dharwar, but he had his early schooling at Hubli. Even as a boy he revealed his talent for leadership and love of discipline. He would gather a group of youths around him and train them in drill and other manly exercises. The national opposition to the partition of Bengal made him plunge into the political storm even as a young man of 16. A devout admirer of Tilak, he worked for some time in the office of *Kannada Kesari*. After having secured an M.C.P.S. in medicine in the National Medical College of Calcutta, he went to America ostensibly for further studies in medicine, but really to gain experience in political work. Chill penury did not repress his noble patriotic rage, and he studied at Michigan University, earning his living and the cost of his education by working as a dish-cleaner in hotels, as a factory labourer, etc. He secured the M.S. Degree of that University. Lala Lajpat Rai was then in America, and young Hardikar was naturally drawn to the Lion of the Punjab. He worked for some time as Secretary of the Home Rule League and helped in the editorship of his paper, *Young India*. But the events of 1919, 1920 and 1921 in India made him hasten to the mother-country. He returned in 1921 and at once started organising volunteer groups for national service—groups of disciplined young men who would loyally follow the lead of the Congress. He consulted Jawaharlal Nehru, who wholeheartedly approved the suggestion. There were volunteers in the Congress before this, of course, but there was little cohesion or organized activity among them, and an army of youths to help in the national work with unquestioning loyalty and devotion was the need of the hour. Jawaharlal Nehru himself moved the following resolution in the Congress at Cocanada on 30th December 1923 :

“The Congress welcomes the movement for the formation of an All-India Volunteer Organisation and calls upon the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and maintain general control and supervision over

it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration."

In the first session of the All-India Volunteers' Conference which had been held in Cocanada on the 25th of December the Chairman of the Reception Committee, K. Nageshwara Rao Pantulu, and the President, Jawaharlal Nehru, had made an earnest plea for a trained volunteer army ready to respond to the call of the Congress in any capacity. What was done in this conference received approval in the Congress Session of the 30th.

What a perfectly disciplined volunteer army meant for the success of the Congress had been realised at first only by a few of the leaders. Sri Nehru writes in his *Autobiography*: "The Cocanada Congress, held in December 1923, had a special interest for me, because the foundations of an all-India volunteer organisation, the Hindustani Seva Dal, were laid there. There had been no lack of volunteer organisations even before, both for organisational work and for gaol-going. But there was little discipline, little cohesion. Dr. N. S. Hardikar conceived the idea of having a well-disciplined all-India corps trained to do national work under the general guidance of the Congress. He pressed me to co-operate with him in this, and I gladly did so, for the idea appealed to me. The beginnings were made at Cocanada. We were surprised to find later how much opposition there was to the Seva Dal among leading Congressmen. Some said that it was a dangerous departure, as it meant introducing a military element in the Congress, and the military arm might overpower the civil authority! Others seemed to think that the only discipline necessary was for the volunteer to obey orders issued from above, and for the rest it was hardly desirable for volunteers even to walk in step. At the back of the mind of some was the notion that the idea of having trained and drilled volunteers was somehow inconsistent with the Congress principle of non-violence. Hardikar, however, devoted himself to this task, and by the patient labour of years he demonstrated how efficient and even non-violent our trained volunteers could be."

Hardikar lived a life of exemplary simplicity, uncompromising discipline and unswerving devotion to the national cause. He soon became an inspiring model to the youth of the country, and those who at first scoffed at his activities later became his admirers. The transparent sincerity and patriotic fervour of this youth evoked unstinted commendation from everybody. He was a general par excellence, with only this difference between him and military generals—that his weapon was non-violence.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, in his history of the Congress (Vol. I, p. 346), says about the Seva Dal ; “ The Hindustani Seva Dal carried on their work of training volunteers in various parts of the country. Most of this work was done in Karnataka, where the Head Office of the Dal and their Academy of Physical Culture were situated. But many camps were held in other parts of the country and the demand for trainers had been greater than the supply. The Dal helped greatly in enrolling members for the Congress and in the boycott of foreign cloth. They fully co-operated in organising an efficient volunteer corps for the Lahore Congress.

“The Hindustani Seva Dal succeeded beyond expectation in organising a National Flag Day every month. At Calcutta they decided that the National Flag be hoisted all over the country at 8-00 a.m. on the last Sunday of every month. This monthly flag-unfurling became very popular. Buildings and many municipalities had it unfurled with solemn ceremony. The Hindustani Seva Dal was reorganized and a constitution was framed.”

There were still more misapprehensions with regard to the place of the Seva Dal in the Congress organisation. The Working Committee of the Congress, in its meeting on the 20th of July 1931, recognized the Dal as “ the Central Volunteer Organisation of the Congress, working directly under the authority of the Working Committee, or such person as it might appoint in this behalf. Its functions were categorically mentioned. Provincial Congress Committees were authorized and required to form duly recognized volunteer corps, all the members of which are required to be members of the Congress, and must conform to the discipline of the Central Volunteer Organisation. The Seva Dal, which had held its first All-India Conference at Cocanada and was doing splendid work ever since under the guidance and leadership of Dr. Hardikar, was made an affiliated body of the Congress, pledged to its creed of legitimate and peaceful means of attaining Swaraj.”

Jawaharlal Nehru had such admiration for the work of Hardikar that he readily responded to the call of the latter to visit Karnataka and inspire its youth. This is what Nehru writes in his *Autobiography* : “ . . . I hurried south to the Karnataka to fulfil a long promise made to my old comrade of the Hindustani Seva Dal, Doctor N. S. Hardikar. The Seva Dal, the volunteer wing of the national movement, had all along been an auxiliary of the Congress, though its organisation was quite separate. In the summer of 1931, however, the Working Committee decided

to absorb it completely into the Congress organisation, and to make it the Volunteer Department of the Congress. This was done, and Hardikar and I were put in charge of it. The Headquarters of the Dal continued in the Karnataka province at Hubli, and Hardikar induced me to visit the place for various functions connected with the Dal. He then took me about on tour for a few days in Karnataka, and I was amazed at the tremendous enthusiasm of the people everywhere."

The volunteer army of the Congress, which played a memorable part in the fight for independence, was the creation of Dr. Hardikar, and its growth and efficacy were assured when Jawaharlal Nehru realised its value and began to take an active interest in it. Dr. Hardikar built up, slowly and steadily, the edifice of this volunteer organisation, and handed it over to the nation. Karnataka is justly proud of its contribution to the national struggle, and is proud also of Dr. Hardikar, who organised and led this devoted band of patriotic youths who held aloft the banner of the Congress.

THE BELGAUM SESSION : CONGRESS COMES TO KARNATAKA

After the split in the Congress as the result of the formation of the Swaraj Party under the leadership of Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das, the whole national movement seemed to have been thrown into confusion. The calling off of Non-Cooperation by Gandhiji after the Chauri Chaura incident made many leaders feel that Gandhiji had unnecessarily suppressed the splendid mass enthusiasm in the country for the sake of an insignificant incident in a remote corner. They could not yet realise the value which Gandhiji attached to the moral fundamentals of the struggle which he had started, and they thought that deviations as at Chauri Chaura from the path marked out by Gandhiji were not only negligible but inevitable in a large country like India. Still, the phenomenal response given by the country to Gandhiji's call for non-cooperation, and the readiness with which more than thirty thousand people, women as well as men, had gone to prison in the cause of the motherland, had shown that the hearts of the people had been gripped by a grim resolve to end the despotic rule of the British. Gandhiji himself, apart from his disappointment at the turn things had taken, was not perturbed. In a letter to Jawaharlal Nehru from Bardoli on 20-2-1922, after giving a long list of cases wherein Congressmen had been guilty of violence, he wrote : " . . . the Chauri Chaura news came like a powerful match to ignite the gunpowder, and there was a blaze. I assure you that if the thing had not been suspended we would have been leading not a non-violent struggle but essentially a violent struggle. It is undoubtedly true that non-violence is spreading like the scent of otto of roses throughout the length and breadth of the land; but the fetid smell of violence is still powerful, and it would be unwise to ignore or underrate it. The cause will prosper by this retreat. The movement had unconsciously drifted from the right path. We have come back to our moorings, and we can again go straight ahead." Gandhiji still remained the beloved leader who would undoubtedly lead the country to freedom and progress. Moreover, though the political fight had been halted, the constructive programme of the Congress was continued without interruption. Leaders like Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, freed from political pre-

occupations for a time, took up the popularisation of the constructive programme, and toured all over the country, at the same time collecting money for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

North Karnataka, more or less an appendage of Maharashtra till now, had been following the lead of Bombay in most matters. But the coming of Gandhiji and his inculcation of a nationalist outlook had their effect on the people. The sturdy spirit of patriotism aroused by the Lokamanya was alive in Karnataka. The Kannadigas had no separate political entity, which would have been a spur to concerted action. This was realised and keenly felt by leaders from the early years of the century. The All-Karnataka Political Conference which assembled in Dharwar in 1920 under the presidentship of V. P. Madhava Rao, a former Dewan of Mysore, included delegates from all parts of Karnataka. Subba Rao Byahatti was the Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference. Five years earlier the Kannada Sahitya Parishat had been established at Bangalore, with the object of bringing together all Kannada-speaking people in order to create a sense of political and cultural community among them. The Mysore Census Report for 1941 says : " The struggle began for the unity and greatness of the Karnataka people, and their right to self-expression in a rejuvenated mother-tongue moulded into a fit vehicle for modern interest and thought and a fresh, creative, progressive, modern literature, drawing its strength from the Indian heart within and the widest horizon of the world's best culture without." The very next year, 1916, saw the establishment of the Karnataka Sabha at Dharwar, with the avowed object of achieving a united Karnataka. This Sabha later became the Karnataka Ekikarana Sabha. Alur Venkata Rao and Kadapa Raghavendra Rao were among the earliest to take up this question of reviving the ancient Karnataka which had enriched the stream of India's culture in the past. The fight for freedom would be strengthened and sanctified if there were the consciousness of kinship among the people of Karnataka. Kadapa Raghavendra Rao toured all over Karnataka and roused the people into enthusiasm for Karnataka unity. When the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, came to India, memorials were submitted to him representing the deplorable condition of the Kannadigas and demanding a separate province.

It was necessary also that the Congress should recognise Karnataka as an entity and constitute it into a separate Congress province before it became an administrative unit. For this purpose, the delegates from Karnataka who attended the Congress of 1918

agitated for the formation of Congress provinces on a linguistic basis, with the Kannada-speaking parts forming a separate province. This suggestion was not accepted by that Congress, but the people of Karnataka did not abandon their attempt. They formed a delegation 800 strong to the Congress of 1920 at Nagpur, and the leaders made a powerful plea for a separate Congress province which should include all Kannada-speaking areas. The principle that the country should be divided into provinces on a linguistic basis had been accepted by all leaders, and now the whole country was divided into twenty-one provinces for carrying on Congress work, though for administrative purposes Karnataka remained divided as before.

This move on the part of the national leaders heartened the people of Karnataka, whose response to the Non-Cooperation call of the Congress was remarkable. The urge to work for the national cause, to identify themselves with the aims and aspirations of the rest of India, to contribute for the freedom and glory of the motherland an offering worthy of their great past, and to help in building up the India of the future—this impetus was the result of the hope that a united Karnataka would rise as a living entity. Kannadigas felt that, when once the justice of their claim was recognized and accepted by the leaders, the day of political unification would not be far distant.

There was a remarkable rise of enthusiasm for carrying on Congress work after 1920, as the result of the formation of the new Congress province of Karnataka. The constructive programme of the Congress was taken up all over Karnataka; national schools worked with redoubled zeal and new schools arose; Mangalore, Dharwar, Hubli, Hangal, Bagalkot, Bijapur, Gadag, Belgaum, Hospet, Kumta, Nippani, Sirsi, Siddapur, were prominent among the centres of educational activity. Khaddar propaganda, the abolition of untouchability, the anti-drink campaign, village uplift, the encouragement of village industries were among the chief items of the constructive programme. They helped to awaken the spirit of national service and prepare the people for the bitter fight of the coming years. A remarkable and significant feature of this activity was the feeling of oneness which spread among all Kannadigas, thanks to the work of the press and institutions like the Sahitya Parishat at Bangalore. Most of the national leaders who visited Karnataka expressed their admiration for the response Karnataka gave to the national call.

Princely Mysore was steadily treading the road of progress, and to a large extent deserved the encomiums showered by visi-

tors to the State on its prince and his administrative set-up. The features of the administration of Mysore, as recorded by Sir Brajendranath Seal in his *Notes on Indian States*, were these :

“ The position of Mysore among the Indian States is to be judged not mainly by her size, population, revenues, natural resources, romantic history and tradition, or the central geographical position in the tableland—though in the ensemble of these features her claims to primacy can be fairly maintained—but chiefly by the distinctive features of her polity and administration. Among these distinctive features of the administration are :

(1) First and foremost, the reign of law. Executive decrees, fiats, the orders of the Government, do not in practice have the force of law in Mysore ; rulings or orders of Government are contestable and are contested before magistrates and judges just as in British courts

(2) Mysore has been a pioneer in the field of what may be called intensive administration, in other words, administration definitely directed to the intensive development of the land and its resources.

(3) A unique feature of Mysore is that, among the Indian states, Mysore alone builds her own structure and organs, her own constitution and institutions, in adaptation to her own environment. This is the mark of a living organism, this original building power. (Examples are the Economic Conference, the Representative Assembly etc., Ed.).

(4) It must never be forgotten that Mysore has had the inestimable advantage of fifty years' British administration, which laid the foundation of order in every department. The statesmen of Mysore have built on these foundations. This unique state has had a unique heritage.”

Along with this unstinted approbation of the administration in princely Mysore, one must read the remarks of V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (*The Future of Indian States*) to understand the position of Mysore in relation to the rest of India :

“ For a long time the Indian National Congress set the model to us of our proper attitude towards Indian India : that was to leave it severely alone. Never bring native States into our discussion, we used to say to ourselves. So rigidly did we carry our abstinence in these matters, that for a long time we did not allow any subjects of Indian States to be congressmen. Some of you may remember that, till a few years ago, you all laboured under that disability. Many are the causes and very varied are the motives that influenced our minds. But I will just allude in passing

to one of them. Why did we shrink from the touch of the Indian States so very much indeed? The principal cause, I will admit to you, was one of extreme nervousness. The cause of Indian Swaraj, Dominion Status, Responsible Government, as we term it nowadays, that cause had always to fight against embattled forces of no mean order, interests of surprising importance, institutions so firmly rooted, that you could not think even of shaking them. While these were arrayed against us, we did not wish to burden ourselves unduly. We did not wish, if I may vary the metaphor, we did not wish to have more than one battle-front. We knew that the British authorities were difficult enough in all conscience to deal with. Need we summon into action 561 States, their princely houses, remembering ancient traditions, remembering treaties and sanads and engagements of one order or another, need we bring also into the field of action the subjects of Indian States, who in our fondness of that day, we used to imagine were perfectly contented to remain in a state of political nonage?

“Let me, however, note . . . a change has taken place in the attitude of the Indian National Congress, a change which the politicians of older time would have opposed and denounced as revolutionary. A great many of you now venture to make pilgrimages to the annual session. You are there welcomed, not as in the old time but as Congressmen, entitled to take part in the deliberations, entitled to speak and vote upon all questions that come before that premier political body of India. But I cannot help feeling that that change has not yet established itself firmly in the minds of the subjects of Indian States. Nor can I forget that, while this attitude is commendable in every respect, there yet is not discoverable that habit, which I should like to see, of considering the interests of the subjects of the Indian States as bound up with the future of India. The Congress has not yet considered any questions about the Indian States. On the other hand, the only announcement of any importance that has been made, is in the nature of a cold douche to some of the enthusiastic spirits, who may wish for radical changes in the administration of Indian States. The great minds which now fashion Congress politics have chosen to admonish the patriots of India to think well and kindly of Indian Princes, Rajahs and Maharajahs of every sort and description, to stand by them and not yet to disturb the placid and pathetic contentment in which their subjects live under them. Ladies and gentlemen, I venture to think that is an attitude which cannot be maintained in the future.”

The sarcasm behind the felicitous style of expression indicates the feelings of even such Liberals as Srinivasa Sastri on the question of democratic government in Princely India. Though the administration in Mysore was less autocratic than in most other States, the people of this State had come to realise that the political progress of British India was bound up with similar progress in the States, and that the country could not have two systems of government, democratic in British India and autocratic in the States. Mysore was determined to line up with the other parts of India in the fight for freedom, because her leaders understood the paramount necessity for considering India as one unit in the fight. Sentiments of loyalty to ancient royal houses would be harmful to the country as a whole. Thus in Mysore also the fight for democratic institutions and curtailment of the powers of the Prince and his Dewan went on in spite of the introduction of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, where the members could only comment but not control.

Meanwhile an event that took place in Dharwar on the 1st July 1921 had roused the feelings of the people of North Karnataka to fury. All over Karnataka the anti-drink campaign was going on vigorously and the income from excise had fallen considerably as a result of the picketing of liquor shops, though the police and the minions of the contractors often beat the volunteers. In Dharwar both Hindus and Muslims took up the work of picketing liquor shops. One day a Bhangi had been made through remonstrance and social ostracism to pay a fine of thirteen annas for getting drunk and to promise to abstain from drinking thereafter. Two volunteers concerned in this were charged by the police with looting and similar offences. Professional witnesses deposed against them, and the two youths were sentenced to six months' hard labour—a sentence out of all proportion to the gravity of the offence. There was widespread discontent in the town. In the evening there was a large gathering of people in the Khilafat Maidan to protest against the false accusation and the sentence. The picketing of liquor shops on that day was more vigorous than ever before. The liquor contractor and the shopkeeper complained to the police. The Foujdar of the town arrived at the Khilafat Maidan. He saw here a chance to earn the commendation of his superior officers, at the same time taking revenge on his compatriots who were regarding his authority with such scant courtesy. He ordered the crowd to disperse. But the crowd knew that he had come without any authority from the magistrate to take drastic steps like firing, and

did not disperse. The Foujdar also knew that, even if he ordered firing without proper authorisation, his action would have the approval of his officers, since in bureaucratic administrations the policeman is rarely in the wrong. He ordered his men to fire into the air. The sound produced no effect on the people and they did not move. He felt slighted at this flouting of his authority, and ordered his men to fire into the crowd. Three were killed on the spot and many were wounded. The police at once took action to cover up their guilt and to make it appear that they had fired in self-defence upon an unruly and angry crowd. Twenty-nine persons were arrested on charges of arson and looting. Witnesses deposed that they had seen the vandalism of the crowd and the exemplary patience and restraint of the police. Twenty-six persons were awarded sentences ranging from three years' to one year's hard labour. Kabboor, Mudvid Venkata Rao, Herlekar, Abdul Sahib Khalasi, Abdur Rahman, received three years' imprisonment. The A.I.C.C. appointed a committee comprising Abbas Tyabji, Setlur and Neogy to enquire into the incident. After thorough investigation the committee reported that the firing was not at all necessary and the situation could have been brought under control without having recourse to firing. Even this ghastly incident could not damp the spirit of the people and the picketing of liquor shops went on as before.

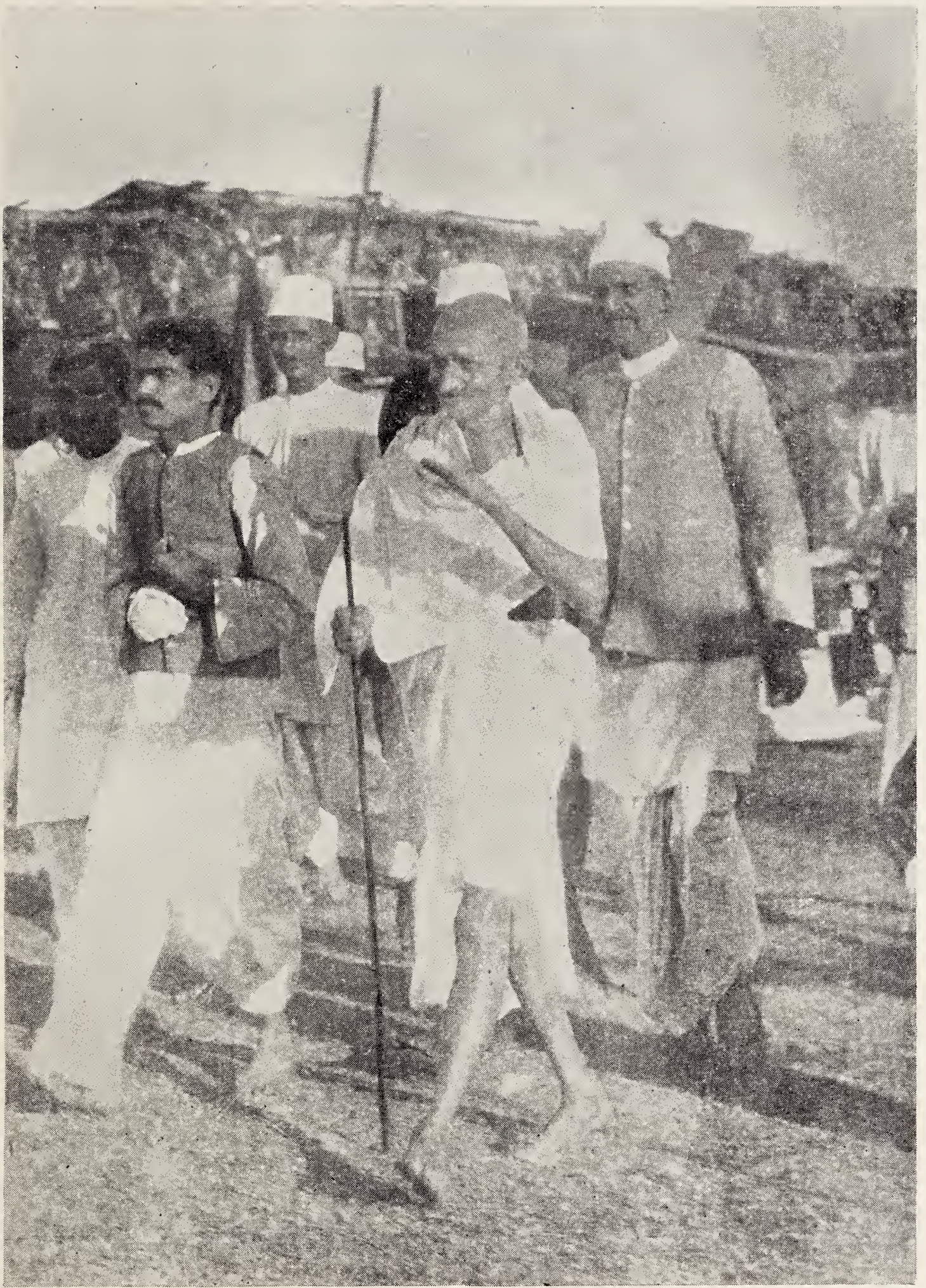
In order to bring out properly the importance of the Belgaum Session of the Congress, it is necessary to narrate some more events that took place prior to that momentous Session. Gandhiji was released in February 1924, after a successful operation for appendicitis. When he came out of prison he found that students had gone back to schools and colleges, and many lawyers had resumed practice at the bar. There was also a marked decline in the popular enthusiasm for the charkha and khaddar, the symbols of national pride and self-reliance. Many of the intellectuals had formed themselves into a militant wing of the Congress and determined to pursue a policy of constitutional obstruction from within the Councils. These men, led by C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru, applied their great organizing abilities and forensic talents to demonstrate the hollowness of the British claim that the new reforms were a definite step in India's political advance, and also to show to the world how the very men who had been instructed by the British King and Parliament to work the reforms in the spirit as well as in the letter had betrayed their trust. These Britishers, in the inebriation of unrestricted power

over the millions of India and in their supercilious attitude towards the "inferior race" of Indians, could not brook what they regarded as the insolence of the Swarajists, and started a campaign of calumny against them, calling them agents of the Third International and inventing stories of revolutionary plots. Lord Lytton made honest Englishmen hang their heads in shame by traducing the womanhood of India in the following words in a speech at a police parade on August 6th, 1924 : "The thing that has distressed me more than anything else since I came to India is to find that mere hatred of authority can drive Indian men to induce Indian women to invent offences against their own honour merely to bring discredit upon Indian policemen !"

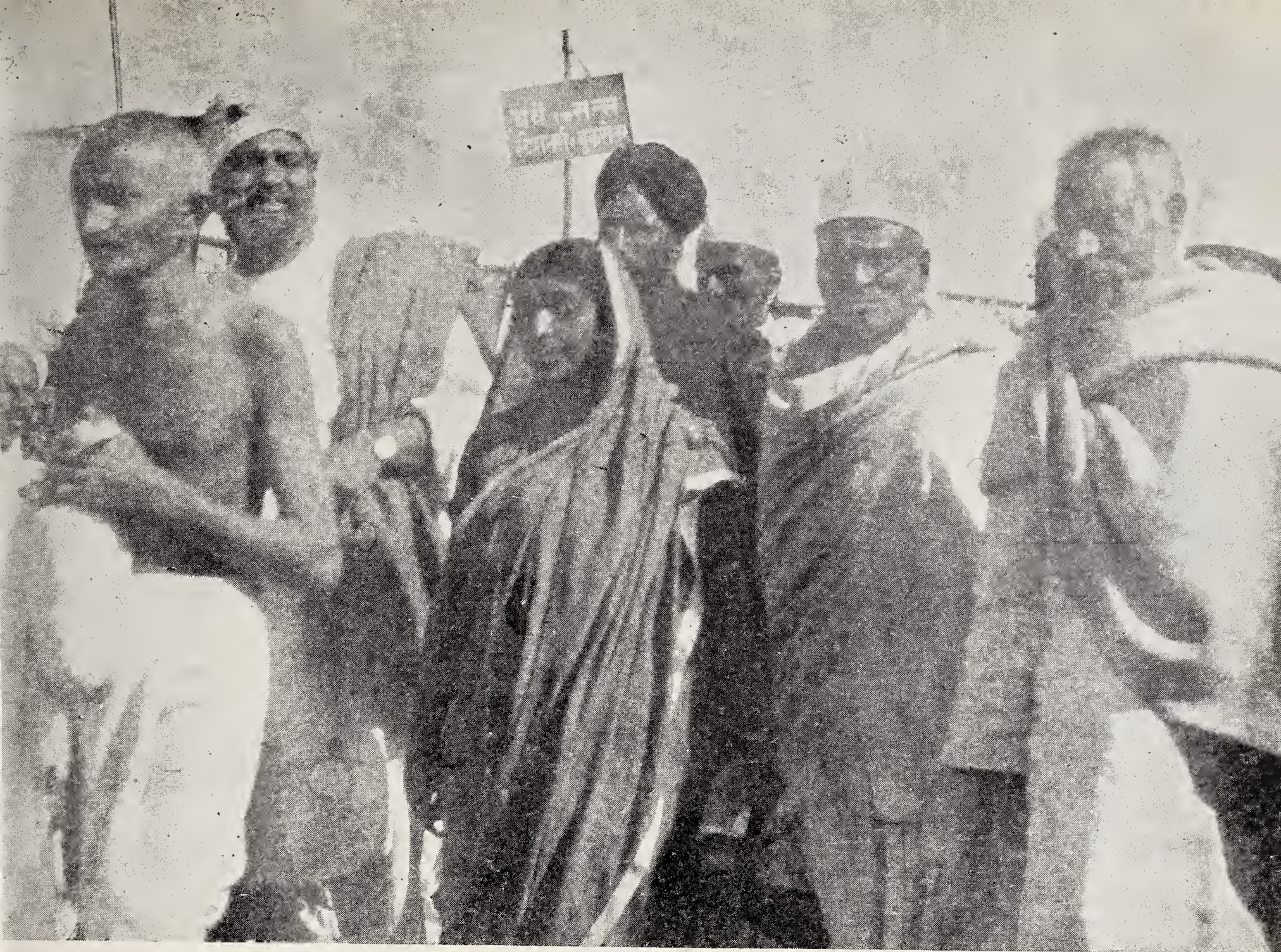
The Governor of Bengal, representing the culture and dignity of the sovereign of the empire, spoke thus of a people who had become keenly conscious of their glorious cultural inheritance and were in no mood to brook remarks of this type. The effect of such remarks and allegations may well be imagined.

Gandhiji knew that the secession of respected leaders like Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das would be a national calamity of the first magnitude, for it would destroy the primary condition of a successful fight for freedom—unity. Hindu-Muslim riots all over the country had already distressed him considerably, and this fight in the Congress ranks sorely wounded him. During the A.I.C.C. meeting at Ahmedabad in June the opposition of C. R. Das and his colleagues to his passionate plea to all Congressmen to follow the course chalked out by him was so virulent that he shed tears in the open assembly. The unhappy episode is best described in the words of Rajendra Prasad :

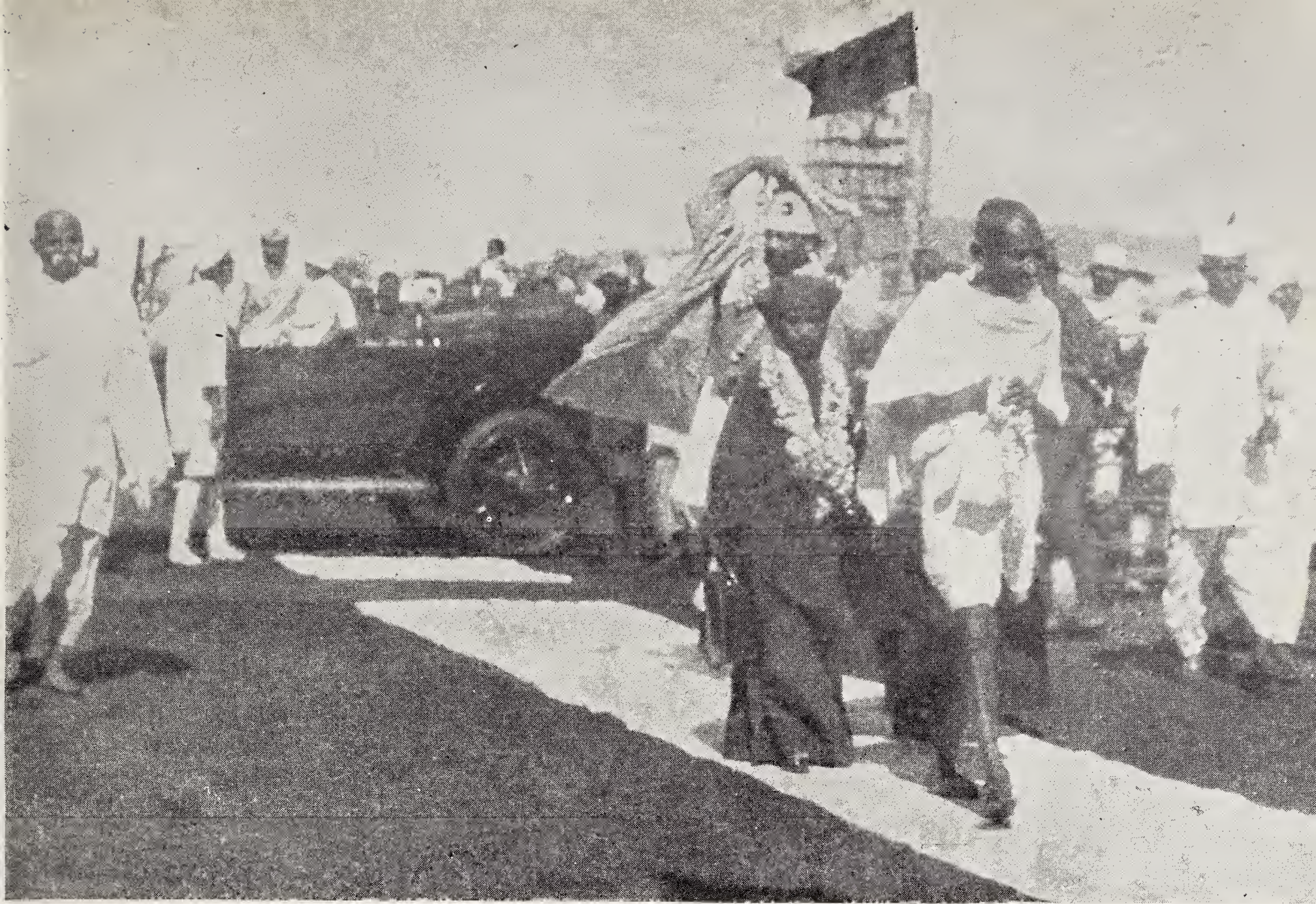
"An unfortunate incident occurred at the Ahmedabad meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which left an abiding impression on the minds of many persons. While Mahatmaji was speaking on his own resolution, a member raised a point and made some remarks which so affected Mahatmaji that he was choked with emotion. For a while he was silent, and then tears began to roll down his cheeks. Many members of the Congress Committee were profoundly grieved at this sight, and many eyes were wet with tears. One reason why Gandhiji was hurt was that the interruption had come from one of his own trusted workers, and he felt very much cut up that such a point should have been raised by such a person. The interruptor too was deeply pained, and offered his profoundest apologies. Even before this incident had occurred, Gandhiji had been upset when, after the resolution had been carried by a small majority, Desh-



Gandhiji going round the exhibition. Shri Pyarelal, then very young, can be seen accompanying him.



Mahatma Gandhi with Shaukat Ali Khan, Sarojini Naidu, S. Srinivasa Iyengar and Vithalbhai Patel.



*Gandhiji with Mahammad Ali and his daughter, on his way to the
Vidyaranya Mandira.*



*On the occasion of the opening of the Vijayanagara exhibition,
Dr. Rajendra Prasad giving his address.*



Congress volunteers from Bijapur on their way for duty at the Belgaum Session of the Congress (1924). With them is their leader, Shri. H. R. Desai in uniform.

bandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru had withdrawn from the meeting with other members of their party, leaving behind only those who were supposed to be Gandhiji's supporters. That was why he had declared that his victory was really his defeat ; that was why he made strenuous efforts to end dissensions within the Congress and arrive at some kind of understanding with the Swaraj Party. We knew, of course, that if Mahatmaji had cared to carry the Congress with himself, he could have very well done so, and the Swaraj Party would have had to go out of the Congress and work outside it. But though he was very firm in his own convictions, he was equally firm in respecting the viewpoint of others. When, therefore, he saw that both Deshbandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru would not give up their own viewpoint, his opposition ceased, and, while remaining firm in his own views, he allowed such Congressmen as were so inclined to help the Swaraj Party in their work. This showed how great he was."

The above incident gives a clear picture of the condition of Mahatmaji's mind. He saw how the Muslims were slowly slipping away from the national fold ; and what was more distressing to him, popular enthusiasm for the national struggle was waning as the result of the distraction created in the Congress ranks. He had now to concentrate his attention chiefly on three things—the restoration of unity in the country, at least in the nationalist ranks, the removal of untouchability, and the spread of the charkha and khaddar cult. The last two were closely connected with the political struggle, for without them there could be no social justice and concord, and concerted action would be impossible ; they were bound up with deeper aspects of freedom, and with the ultimate progress of the nation. He was now thinking of strengthening the foundation for the independent India of the future, and not of the fight for that independence. Obstructions in the path must be removed and the way made clear before any advance could be made.

But he was assailed by doubts about the correctness of his own moves, for he had encountered opposition from his own trusted lieutenants, whose integrity and patriotism were beyond doubt ; the nation did not seem to have understood him. Was there something wanting in his own moral approach to the national problem ? Had he correctly assessed the forces that were operating ? Was there something wrong with his judgement ? There could be convincing answers to these questions and doubts which were lacerating his heart, only by moral and spiritual means. Suffering and prayer provided the only path towards

enlightenment, and though his physical strength was very inadequate for it he decided to undertake a 21 days' fast ; in himself he was sure that, at the end of this period of suffering, introspection and prayer, God would vouchsafe to him the light which he needed. It was also in his view a penance undertaken by him for the frailties of his own countrymen. The following provide an insight into his mind :

“ My responsibility is clearly somewhere. I was violently shaken by Amethi, Sambhal and Gulbarga. I was writhing in deep pain and yet I had no remedy something had to be done. I passed two nights in restlessness and pain. On Wednesday (17th) I know the remedy. I must do penance My penance is the prayer of a bleeding heart for forgiveness for sins unwittingly committed. My fast is a matter between God and myself. I am striving to become the best cement between the two communities. My religion teaches me to love all equally. My fast is among other things meant to qualify me for achieving that equal and selfless love.”

The news of the fast undertaken by Gandhiji shocked the whole of India and concern and anxiety could be seen on every face. Maulana Mohamad Ali was the President of the Congress and Gandhiji was staying with him. The Maulana and others tried to induce him to give up the fast, but in vain. Maulana Mohamad Ali, Swami Shraddhanand and Hakim Ajmal Khan sent an urgent appeal for a conference of the leaders of all communities and parties at Delhi. Long and earnest speeches were made on the need for communal amity, and resolutions were passed prescribing immediate measures for promoting communal harmony. There was a sudden stoppage of communal quarrels, and in some places there was active fraternisation between Hindus and Muslims. Gandhiji, however, did not heed the importunities of the leaders to break his fast, and it continued for full three weeks.

Gandhiji survived the ordeal, and the work of the Unity Conference settled, though temporarily, the burning problem of the day. Hardly had Gandhiji recovered from the effects of the fast, when he was called upon to attend an All-Parties Conference to consolidate popular opinion on the savage repressive policy of the Government, especially in Bengal, and the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance promulgated by the Bengal Government. Soon after, Gandhiji, C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru met and arrived at a compromise in the matter of council entry, and this compromise was later accepted by the All-India Congress Committee.

Thus the break-up of the Congress into two antagonistic groups was avoided, though the Hindu-Muslim tension remained in spite of the labours of the Unity Conference.

These momentous events constitute the background for the Belgaum Congress, which commenced on the 26th December 1924. Many vital issues had to be solved at this Session, affecting the whole struggle for freedom in the coming years. There were the "No-changers", the orthodox group in the Congress, who wanted the struggle to continue in spite of stray deviations from the path of non-violence as at Chauri Chaura; they had to be propitiated into accepting the suspension of Non-Cooperation and induced to meet the Swarajists half-way. The Swarajists were uncompromising and sometimes irascible on the question of council entry, and their sentiments had to be assuaged in order to safeguard the interests of national unity. The Hindu-Muslim question seemed almost insoluble, and attempts had to be made at least to check any deterioration. The Harijan question was of fundamental importance to the survival of all that was valuable in the ancient culture of India, and the Hindus had to be prevailed upon to take the helpless untouchables into their fold. But the problem that exceeded in importance all these, and the solution of which would decide the final issue of the national struggle, was the problem of the charkha and the revival of village industries; for this was the key to the moral, social and political uplift of the rural masses, who alone constituted real India, the India that mattered. All these problems demanded immediate solution, so that the ship of national struggle should not founder.

But who could tackle all these baffling questions and give the correct lead to the country? Who could impart to the distracted nation the requisite hope, confidence and trust? If anybody, it was Gandhiji, and he was requested to preside over the momentous Belgaum Session of the Congress. In spite of his enfeebled state he accepted; he had to accept, for he realised the gravity of the situation.

Prior to the session of the Congress in Belgaum, the leaders of Karnataka made people realise the importance of the session by holding Provincial Conferences and bringing about a political awakening. From the 18th to the 25th of November, numerous Parishats were held. The Bijapur District Congress was held on the first day and the Karnataka Provincial Conference met on the second and third days. On the fourth day there were four conferences—the Karnataka Khilafat Parishat, the Bhagini Mandal Parishat, the Volunteer Conference, and the Karnataka Sahitya

Sammelan. The last continued on the fifth and sixth days also. On the seventh and eighth days the Dharwar District Conference met. Except the last, all the Conferences were held in Bijapur. There was a khadi exhibition also, visited by thousands. Discourses on various social and even religious topics kept the people engaged far into the night. The Dharwar District Conference met at Haveri, and there was a khadi exhibition, cattle show, recitation of national songs, etc. Shri Rajagopalachari, President of the Provincial Conference, Karnad Sadashivrao, President of the Bijapur District Conference, and Manjappa Hardekar, President of the Dharwar District Conference, spoke chiefly on non-violence and the constructive programme, and their speeches made a deep impression on the thousands who attended. A small part of the speech of Manjappa Hardekar is given below (in translation) :

“ It is true that we are expected to confine our attention only to questions relating to Dharwar District. This restriction is not possible in these days of inter-connection, not only of different parts of a country, but of all the countries of the world. Happenings in one part of a country vitally affect the other parts ; and events taking place in one country influence events in other countries.

“ Bhagavan Buddha taught to the world that ahimsa is the supreme dharma of all mankind. The Japanese, who profess to be devoted followers of his teachings, fought the Russians in the Russo-Japanese war as if they believed in violence. The victory they gained through violence and bloodshed made the world admire their courage and skill ; not only this : many countries came to believe that nations must necessarily sacrifice human lives for their advancement.

“ ‘ Sheathe your sword, for he that wields the sword perishes by the sword ’ ; thus said Jesus Christ. The people of Europe, who profess to be ardent devotees of that great soul, have drawn their swords and are sacrificing millions of human lives as if these lives are of no value. They are teaching their children this pastime of bloodshed, making them grow in the belief that killing is justifiable and inevitable. During the fifteen years between 1905 and 1919, this cult of brute force and violence has grown to alarming proportions. If Gandhiji had not entered the field of Indian politics with his uncompromising creed of non-violence, the youth of our country also would have taken to the cult of the gun and the bomb, and would not have been the believers in moral and spiritual values that they are today. Gandhiji’s

movement, based at it is on the sanctity of human life and the supremacy of the spirit, has been an inestimable blessing for Indians." The effect of such appeals on the minds of the people may well be imagined.

Karnataka Vritta of the 23rd December made an appeal to Kannadigas in the following strain: "Kannadigas are known for their unswerving loyalty to the cause which they espouse. Everyone knows how they faithfully followed the lead of Lokamanya Tilak during his lifetime. Similarly, as soon as Mahatmaji announced his scheme of Non-Cooperation in the National Congress in Calcutta, they decided to follow his lead whatever the consequences, and have been loyally acting according to Congress mandates. It is their duty now to assure Gandhiji that they will sincerely follow his lead whatever may happen."

The elaborate arrangements, made with great care, for the Congress Session and for the numerous Conferences were well described by the *Swadeshabhimani* of 26th December 1924:

"The arrangements for the Congress at Vijayanagara have very nearly been completed. The huts for visitors and delegates have been built with khadi, and they have bamboo roofs. The work of sewing up the khadi material involved eighteen skilled workers and fifteen days of round-the-clock labour. This should give one an idea of the scope as well as the importance of the preparation work. The arrangements for the supply of water have been completed. The system has been named Pampa Sarovara. About 1500 pots of water per hour are expected to be provided by it. The Pampa Sarovara has set at rest the anxieties regarding the water supply entertained by people earlier. Even if water is used from morning to evening continuously, it is not likely to diminish the reserve water much.

"The storeroom for the kitchen has become a veritable Annapurna Griha. Excellent rice has come from Bombay. The work of cleaning provisions like rice and dal has already started. About fifty-one bags of powdered chilli have been stored. This single fact should give one some idea of the magnitude of the preparation work. Each commodity, if heaped up, would become a hill! Imposing utensils have been procured for cooking.

"From Bombay have arrived about a thousand lanterns and some 250 petromax lights.

"The entrance to the Congress is shaped like a tower. The tower has seven storeys, and if one climbs five of them, one commands a thrilling view of the whole camp. The tower was inaugurated with shouts of Vande Mataram.

“ Among the districts which have contributed funds, Bellary and Karwar are foremost. They have contributed beyond their resources. So far, ninety thousand Rupees have been spent. Some twenty-five thousand Rupees worth of provisions have been purchased on credit.

“ About twenty-one sub-conferences are expected to be organised under the auspices of the Congress. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is to be the President of the Hindu Mahasabha. Shri Raghavendra Rao, who has been expelled by the Hyderabad State, will be its Secretary. The All-India State People's Conference is also expected to be convened. Shri Kelkar will be its President. Very keen and active interest in this has been shown by Setlur Hosakoppa Krishna Rao and Someshekhara Rao. The Social Conference on the untouchables will have Shri Vithala Ramaji Shinde as the Chairman of its Reception Committee. There will also be a Conference on cow-protection. . . .

“ The Congress pandal has been built to accommodate some 6000 delegates and as many visitors. Rajaji is expected to arrive on the 19th.

“ Gandhiji, the Ali brothers, Mohamad Ali's wife and daughter, Sarojini Naidu with her two daughters, Bajaj, Shrimati Anasuyabai, Shuaib Qureshi, Shankar Lal Banker, Aga Safdar, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Mahmud, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, Miss Petit, and others arrived in Belgaum at 10-50 a.m. by the Poona-Bangalore mail. A mammoth crowd greeted the leaders. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Shri Ganga-dhar Rao Deshpande, and the General Secretary, Shri Kembhavi, garlanded and welcomed Gandhiji. Soon after, Gandhiji was taken in procession to the Congress camp. Among those who had gathered to welcome Mahatmaji, women predominated. The preparations for the Khilafat Conference are also under way. Special arrangements have been made to accommodate about a thousand Muslim delegates to this Conference as well as to the Congress, and some sixty purdah ladies. Up to 20th December, 724 volunteers and 115 lady volunteers have been recruited. Belgaum District alone has supplied as many as 326 volunteers.”

The same paper gives the following account of a function arranged by the Belgaum Municipality to present an address to Gandhiji :

“ The Belgaum Municipality and the D.L.B. presented Gandhiji with welcome addresses in the evening on 21st December at the huge ground in the Bendi Bazar Durga. Shri Chaugule, the Municipal President, and Shri Chikkodi, the President

of the D.L.B., were present. The importance of this function arises from the fact that both these bodies are dominated by the non-Brahmins. There was an estimated gathering of some 10,000 people. Shri Gangadhar Rao Deshpande rendered into Marathi Gandhiji's reply, which was in Hindi.

Both the addresses praised Gandhiji's patriotism, his sacrifices, services and non-violence. They wished Gandhiji success in all his endeavours. They said that Gandhiji's name will go down in history as that of a saviour of suffering humanity.

The gist of Gandhiji's reply : " Though I have rendered no special service to the district of Belgaum, you have been good enough to praise me. I am not deserving of such praise. I do not want to speak at great length. I have said already whatever I wish to say in my replies to addresses at Calcutta, Bombay and Ahmedabad. I request you to ponder over them, if you want to know my opinions. I feel that Western culture is not good. Yet I must admit that we have to learn from the West quite a lot in the matter of hygiene and public health. Ours is primarily an agricultural country. Hence our towns differ from those in the West. It is difficult for plague to arise in them. We must be very careful in adopting principles of health. Otherwise we shall run into danger. It is regrettable that our people attribute divine causes to diseases. Though I believe in God, I emphasise the importance of human effort. I appeal to you all to pay special attention to the principles of health. . . . I believe that in the present circumstances of our country's politics, municipalities have to take part in politics. Yet, I feel that they should not neglect their primary duties regarding public health. Otherwise their existence will have no justification whatsoever. From my thirty years of public service, I have learnt the lesson that we should not neglect our primary duties. I request you to learn this lesson. I am happy to see that you are free here from the Hindu-Muslim and Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflicts. I praise you for it. I also believe that you will do your best towards the eradication of untouchability."

The Congress of Belgaum may well be called the " Unity Congress ", for everybody's attention was focussed on bringing about unity not only in the Congress ranks but also in the country. All other parties had been invited to hold their sessions in Belgaum so that a larger unity might be achieved. The All-India Khilafat Conference was held on the 24th with Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew as the President. In his address he exhorted Muslims to take greater interest in the work of the Congress and develop

a national outlook. He said that the approval given by the Labour Government of England to the Bengal Ordinance showed that it would be folly on the part of Indians to trust any British party for fair play ; and that he would welcome a Conservative Government, since that party did not try to camouflage its anti-Indian feelings under a cloak of regard and sympathy for Indians. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha Conference was held on the 27th, with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as President. He deplored the proselytization and conversion of Hindus carried on by Muslims and Christians, and warned the Hindus that their stability and progress depended upon their social strength and the removal of untouchability. He made a passionate plea for all communities becoming staunch nationalists first and foremost. The next day the All-India Non-Brahmin Conference held its session with A. Ramaswami Mudaliar as President. After a broad survey of the social and political problems that were agitating the minds of Indians, the President asked the British rulers to place themselves in the position of Indians, with a foreigner ruling over them, and said : “ Fancy a stranger giving you perfect laws, judicial powers, unfailing justice and irreproachable administrators, and yet the people of your country are kept at arm’s length, treated with scant courtesy if not with open hostility in their realms, at every step made painfully conscious of the fact that they are a subject race, humiliated in the eyes of the other great nations, incapable of protecting themselves against foreign invasions and hopelessly indebted to other nations for every single industry of any importance to a civilized nation. Would the Englishman accept such a position with resignation, would he settle down with a sense of satisfied security, would you who sing with just pride your National Anthem and your Rule Britannia, I ask, would you then follow the advice which is so constantly given to us Indians and rest content when others chide you for lack of gratitude ? Just picture to yourself, men of a proud past who have sacrificed so many of the costliest of your race for drinking deep from the pure fountain of liberty and equality, what your response would be to those who exhort you to leave well alone because you enjoy the blessings of a just rule which has brought you a measure of peace and security. And why then do you condemn us for rank ingratitude, why then do you upbraid us as political agitators incapable of appreciating what is good for our country, when we know perfectly well what your attitude would have been were you in our position ?”

The All India Social Conference met on the 27th with Sir

Shankaran Nair as President. The President dwelt at length on the position of women in Indian society, on the evils of caste and the problem of untouchability, and pleaded for giving full political equality to women. N. C. Kelkar was the President of the States Subjects' Conference held on the 30th. The President summarised the grievances of the people of the States thus: "The condition of the Indian States people is a neglected question and I say so advisedly. It is suffering from a threefold neglect. The British Government neglect it on the technical and plausible ground that they ought not to interfere with the liberty of administration granted by treaty or custom to Indian Princes and Chiefs. The subjects of Indian States themselves neglect it because they have no capable and self-sacrificing leaders and also because they come face to face with repression within very close limits as the result of any political movement. But an equally marked and yet more inexcusable neglect is that shown by the National Congress. . . . " After discussing the question in detail he concluded: "It is Congress which has put life into the dead bones of the Indian people in British India; and it is the Congress which should follow up that noble work by openly and unstintedly championing the cause of the Indian States people." This unequivocal pronouncement about the policy of the Congress towards the subjects of the States was a great incentive to the States people not only to agitate for democratic institutions in their States, but also to identify themselves with the all-India struggle.

The Congress Session at Vijayanagar, the newly-constructed Congress camp, was picturesque in the extreme. The very name of the campus brought back to the memory of Kannadigas the glories of the great empire of Vijayanagara and Krishna Deva Raya. Congress volunteers trained and disciplined under N. S. Hardikar could be found everywhere looking after the arrangements and attending to the comfort of the visitors. The whole of Karnataka was proud to have a chance of entertaining the leaders of the nation and listening to their words of inspiration and guidance. The thrill of expectation of better times, the anticipation of disunited Karnataka coming into her own and playing a part worthy of her former greatness in the liberation of India, found expression in a memorable poem by Huilgol Narayanarao, "Udayawagali Namma Cheluva Kannada Nadu." (Vide chapter on Literature of Revolt). Mahatmaji himself had undertaken the burden of the presidency, and momentous decisions would be taken affecting the future of the country. At the commencement

of his presidential speech, he said : “ The developments both internal and external have necessitated my acceptance of the burden.”

Gandhiji's presidential address was in conformity with the importance of the occasion and his role as the architect of the nation's destiny. After briefly summarising the circumstances that had necessitated the starting of Non-Cooperation and the deplorable events that had forced its withdrawal, he struck an optimistic note when he said : “ It is my deliberate conviction that non-violent non-cooperation has given to the people a consciousness of their strength. It has brought to the surface the hidden powers of the people of resistance through suffering. It has caused an awakening among the masses which perhaps no other method could have. Though, therefore, non-violent non-cooperation has not brought us Swaraj, though it has brought about certain deplorable results, and though the institutions that were sought to be boycotted are still flourishing, in my humble opinion, non-violent non-cooperation as a means of attaining political freedom has come to stay and even its partial success has brought us nearer Swaraj. There is no mistaking the fact that the capacity for suffering for the sake of a cause must advance it.”

He went on to explain the reasons why he entered into an agreement with the Swarajists in the following words : “ . . . We are face to face with a situation that compels us to cry halt. For whilst individuals hold firmly to their belief in non-cooperation, the majority of those who are immediately concerned have practically lost faith in it, with the exception of boycott of foreign cloth. Scores of lawyers have resumed practice. Some even regret having ever given it up. Many who had given up councils have returned to them and the number of those who believe in council entry is on the increase. Hundreds of boys and girls who gave up Government schools and colleges have repented of their action and have returned to them. I hear that Government schools and colleges can hardly cope with the demand for admission. In these circumstances the boycott cannot be worked as part of the national programme, unless the Congress is prepared to do without the classes directly affected. But I hold it to be just as impracticable to keep these classes out of the Congress as it would be now to keep the non-cooperators out. They must both remain in the Congress, without either party interfering with or hostilely criticizing the other. What is applicable to Hindu-Muslim unity is, I feel, applicable to the unity among different political groups. We must tolerate each other and trust to time

to convert the one or the other to the opposite belief. We must go further. We must plead with the Liberals and others who have seceded to rejoin the Congress. If non-cooperation is suspended, there is no reason why they should keep out. The advance must be from us Congressmen. We must cordially invite them and make it easy for them to come in."

Gandhiji next dwelt upon the implications of the boycott of foreign cloth in these words : " to me boycott of foreign cloth is a symbol of non-violence. Revolutionary crime is intended to exert pressure. But it is the insane pressure of anger and ill-will. I contend that non-violent acts exert pressure far more effectively than violent acts, for that pressure comes from goodwill and gentleness. Boycott of foreign cloth exerts such pressure. We import the largest amount of foreign cloth from Lancashire. It is also by far the largest of all our imports, sugar being next. Britain's chief interest centres round the Lancashire trade with India. It is the one thing more than any other that has ruined the Indian peasant and imposed partial idleness upon him by depriving him of the one supplementary occupation he had. Boycott of foreign cloth is therefore a necessity if he is to live. The plan, therefore, is not merely to induce the peasant to refuse to buy the cheap and nice-looking foreign fabric but also by teaching him to utilize his spare hours in carding and spinning cotton and getting it woven by the village weavers, to dress himself in khaddar so woven, and thus to save him the cost of buying foreign and for that matter even Indian mill-made cloth. Thus boycott of foreign cloth by means of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, *i.e.*, khaddar, not only saves the peasants' money but it enables us workers to render social service of a first class order. It brings us into direct touch with the villagers. It enables us to give them real political education and teach them to become self-sustained and self-reliant. Organisation of khaddar is thus infinitely better than co-operative societies or any other form of village organisation. It is fraught with the highest political consequence, because it removes the greatest immoral temptation from Britain's way. I call the Lancashire trade immoral because it was raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants. And as one immorality leads to another, the many proved immoral acts of Britain are traceable to this one immoral traffic. If therefore this one great temptation is removed from Britain's path by India's voluntary effort, it would be good for India, good for Britain, and as Britain today is the predominant world-power, good even for humanity.

“ I do not endorse the proposition that supply follows demand. On the contrary demand is often artificially created by unscrupulous vendors. And if a nation is bound, as I hold it is, like individuals to comply with a code of moral conduct, then it must consider the welfare of those whose wants it seeks to supply. It is wrong and immoral for a nation to supply, for instance, intoxicating liquor to those who are not addicted to drink. What is true of intoxicants is true of grain or cloth, if the discontinuance of their cultivation or manufacture in the country to which foreign grain or cloth are exported results in enforced idleness or penury. These latter hurt a man's soul and body just as intoxication. Depression is but excitement upside down and hence equally disastrous in its results and often more so because we have not yet learnt to regard as immoral or sinful the depression of idleness or penury.”

Gandhiji then dwelt upon the need for basing even commercial transactions between nations on moral values ; and said that he expected, through the charkha and khaddar, to make even the poorest in India realise their inherent strength, so that they might intelligently take part in the struggle for India's freedom. Mere boycott of British goods would be a great folly, because some British goods, like books, were necessary for enriching India's culture. Boycott, if it was to be truly non-violent, should take the form of producing hand-spun and hand-woven cloth in India, and other goods also through the revival of village industries, which would help Indians who were really poor. Many Indians were decrying the spinning-wheel, calling spinning an occupation fit only for women ; but such thinking only showed their ignorance of things. Improvements might be made in hand-spinning and hand-weaving and only men who can devote their whole time to it can think of such improvements. His condemnation of machinery-based industrial civilisation arose from the fact that machinery caused “ the wanton and wicked destruction of the one cottage industry of India that kept the wolf from the doors of thousands of homes scattered over a surface 1900 miles long and 1500 broad.”

On the question of franchise and the spinning-wheel, Gandhiji said with feeling : “ you will not now wonder at my passion for the spinning wheel, nor will you wonder why I have ventured to present it for introduction in the franchise, and why Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das have accepted it on behalf of the Swaraj Party. If I had my way, there would be no one on the Congress register who would be unwilling to spin or who

would not wear khaddar on all occasions. I am however thankful for what the Swaraj Party has accepted. The modification is a concession to weakness or want of faith. But it must serve as a spur to greater effort on the part of those who have full faith in the wheel and khaddar.

“I have thus dilated upon the spinning-wheel because I have no better or other message for the nation. I know no other effective method for the attainment of Swaraj if it is to be by ‘peaceful and legitimate means’. As I have already remarked, it is the only substitute for violence that can be accepted by the whole nation. I swear by Civil Disobedience. But Civil Disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving boycott of foreign cloth. You will now easily perceive why I should be a useless guide for the Congress if my views about the spinning-wheel be not acceptable to you. Indeed, you would be justified in regarding me, as some friends do, as a hindrance to national progress, if you consider me wrong in my exposition of the doctrine underlying the spinning wheel. If it does not appeal to your heads as well as to your hearts, you will be wanting in your duty in not rejecting my lead. Let it no longer be said, as Lord Willingdon very properly once said of us, that we had not the strength and courage to say ‘no’. Indeed, your rejection of my proposal, if you do not believe in it, will be a step towards Swaraj.”

Clear-cut positive ideas, clothed in language unsurpassable for its perspicacity. There was not the floridness or the magniloquence of the seasoned orator in this simple plea for the spinning wheel, for his words were meant primarily for the common man; but the logic of his arguments was irresistible, though it evoked from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the remark: “I did not like his presidential address. It struck me as being very uninspiring.” The reason why Gandhiji was so insistent upon the necessity of every educated Congressman spinning was that there was a symbolic value in spinning. By doing manual labour at least for an hour a day, the educated leader would not only understand the dignity of labour, but would also be reminded of the dumb depressed rural millions of India, to whom he owed a duty.

Gandhiji next spoke upon Hindu-Muslim unity, which was as important as spinning. He said: “Hindu-Muslim unity is not less important than the spinning wheel. It is the breath of our life. I do not need to occupy much of your time on this question, because the necessity of it for Swaraj is almost universally accepted. I say ‘almost’ because I know some Hindus and some

Mussalmans who prefer the present condition of dependence on Great Britain if they cannot have either wholly Hindu or wholly Mussalman India. Happily their number is small.

“ I share Maulana Shaukat Ali's robust optimism that the present tension is a mere temporary distemper. The Khilafat agitation, in which Hindus made common cause with their Mussalman brethren and the non-cooperation that followed it, caused an awakening among the hitherto slumbering masses. It has given a new consciousness to the classes as well as to the masses. Interested persons, who were disappointed during the palmy days of non-cooperation, now that it has lost the charm of novelty, have found their opportunity and are trading upon the religious bigotry or the selfishness of both the communities. The result is written in the history of the feuds of the past two years. Religion has been travestied. Trifles have been dignified by the name of religious tenets which, the fanatics claim, must be observed at any cost. Economic and political causes have been brought into play for the sake of fomenting trouble. The culminating point was reached in Kohat. The tragedy was aggravated by the callous indifference of the local authority. I must not tarry to examine the causes or to distribute the blame. I have not the material for the task even if I was minded for it. Suffice it to say that the Hindu refugees fled for fear of their lives. There is in Kohat an overwhelming Mussalman majority. They have, in so far as is possible under a foreign domination, effective political control. It is up to them, therefore, to show that the Hindus are as safe in the midst of their majority as they would be if the whole population of Kohat was Hindu. The Mussalmans of Kohat may not rest satisfied till they have brought back to Kohat every one of the refugees. I hope Hindus would not fall into the trap laid for them by the Government and would resolutely refuse to go back till the Mussalmans of Kohat have given them full assurances as to their lives and property.

“ The Hindus can live in the midst of an overwhelming Mussalman majority only if the latter are willing to receive and treat them as friends and equals, just as Mussalmans, if in a minority, must depend for honourable existence in the midst of a Hindu majority on the latter's friendliness. A Government can give protection against thieves and robbers, but not even a Swaraj government will be able to protect people against a wholesale boycott by one community of another. Governments can deal with abnormal situations. When quarrels become a normal thing of life, it is called civil war, and parties must fight it out

themselves. The present Government being foreign, in reality a veiled military rule, has resources at its command for its protection against any combination we can make, and has, therefore, the power, if it has the will, to deal with our class feuds. But no Swaraj government with any pretensions to being a popular government can possibly be organized and maintained on a war footing. A Swaraj government is established by the free joint will of Hindus, Mussalmans and others. Hindus and Mussalmans, if they desire Swaraj, have perforce to settle their differences amicably.

“The Unity Conference at Delhi has paved the way for a settlement of religious differences. The Committee of the All-Parties’ Conference is, among other things, expected to find a workable and just solution of the political differences not only between Hindus and Mussalmans but between all classes and all castes, sects or denominations. Our goal must be the removal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our services likewise must be impartially manned by the most qualified men and women. But till that time comes and communal jealousies or preferences become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.”

Gandhiji then dwelt at some length on another question as vital to the interests of the country as the Hindu-Muslim question—untouchability. The existence of the class of untouchables among the Hindus was a blot on Hindu society, and Hindus could never be called civilized so long as there were men among them even to touch whom was considered pollution by others. There could never be any unity among the Hindus so long as untouchability remained. Gandhiji felt deeply about this and was prepared to make any sacrifice for the removal of this disgrace on Hinduism. The following was the text of his speech on the subject :

“I would, however, warn the Hindu brethren against the tendency which one sees nowadays of exploiting the suppressed classes for a political end. To remove untouchability is a penance that caste Hindus owe to Hinduism and to themselves. There is no vice that is special to the untouchables, not even dirt and insanitation. It is our arrogance which blinds us ‘superior’ Hindus to our own blemishes and which magnifies those of our downtrodden brethren whom we have suppressed and whom we

keep under suppression. Religions like nations are weighed in the balance. God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation. They descend equally upon all who wait upon God. That religion and that nation will be blotted out of the face of the earth which pins its faith to injustice, untruth or violence. God is Light, not darkness. God is Love, not hate. God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is Great. We His creatures are but dust. Let us be humble and recognise the place of the lowliest of His creatures. Krishna honoured Sudhama in his rags as he honoured no one else. Love is the root of religion or sacrifice, and this perishable body is the root of self or irreligion, says Tulsidas. Whether we win Swaraj or not, the Hindus have to purify themselves before they can hope to revive the Vedic philosophy and make it a living reality."

These constituted the testament of Gandhiji's Swaraj. He wanted every common man to understand him before accepting his ideas. On the principles and conditions enunciated by him now depended the future struggle for freedom, and Gandhiji was naturally eager to see the country appreciate his ideas before plunging into the struggle. He now enumerated his own suggestions for the Swaraj of the future, for the consideration of the Committee appointed for suggesting a scheme of Swaraj. These would be the chief features of the Free India of his conception :

"(1) The qualifications for the franchise should be neither property nor position, but manual work, such, for example, as suggested for the Congress franchise. Literary or property test has proved to be elusive. Manual work gives an opportunity to all who wish to take part in the government and the well-being of the State.

"(2) The ruinous military expenditure should be curtailed to the proportion necessary for protection of life and property in normal times.

"(3) Administration of justice should be cheapened and with that end in view the final court of appeal should be not in London but in Delhi. Parties to civil suits must be compelled in the majority of cases to refer their disputes to arbitration, the decision of the Panchayats to be final except in cases of corruption or obvious misapplication of law. Multiplicity of intermediate courts should be avoided. Case law should be abolished and general procedure should be simplified. We have slavishly followed the cumbrous and worn-out English procedure. The tendency in the colonies is to simplify the procedure so as to make it easy for litigants to plead their own cases.

“(4) Revenue from intoxicating liquor and drugs should be abolished.

“(5) Salaries of the Civil and Military Services should be brought down to a level compatible with the general condition of the country.

“(6) There should be re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis, with as complete autonomy as possible for every province for its internal administration and growth.

“(7) Appointment of a commission to examine all the monopolies given to foreigners, and subject to the findings of the commission, full guarantees to be given to all vested rights justly acquired.

“(8) Full guarantee of their status to Indian Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government, subject to the right of asylum to subjects of those States who, not being offenders against the Penal Code, may seek it in self-governing India.

“(9) Repeal of all arbitrary powers.

“(10) The highest posts to be open to all who may be otherwise fit. Examinations for Civil and Military Services to be in India.

“(11) Recognition of complete religious freedom to various denominations subject to mutual forbearance.

“(12) The official language for provincial governments, legislatures and courts, within a definite period, to be the vernacular of the province; of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal, to be Hindustani; the script to be either Devanagari or Persian. The language of the Central Government and of the Central Legislature to be also Hindustani. The language of international diplomacy to be English.”

Regarding the question of complete independence for India upon which opinion among Congressmen was divided, Gandhiji said: “I would strive for Swaraj within the Empire but would not hesitate to sever all connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of separation on the British people.” He then explained how in the interests of the unity of the Congress, he had come to an agreement with the Swarajists, who differed from him and the No-Changers only with regard to the methods to be adopted and not over any vital principle. After explaining how social questions cannot be dissociated from political progress, he took up the important problem of national education, and said, among other things: “. . . . After all, the hope of the future centres round the boys and girls studying in these national insti-

keep under suppression. Religions like nations are weighed in the balance. God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation. They descend equally upon all who wait upon God. That religion and that nation will be blotted out of the face of the earth which pins its faith to injustice, untruth or violence. God is Light, not darkness. God is Love, not hate. God is Truth, not untruth. God alone is Great. We His creatures are but dust. Let us be humble and recognise the place of the lowliest of His creatures. Krishna honoured Sudhama in his rags as he honoured no one else. Love is the root of religion or sacrifice, and this perishable body is the root of self or irreligion, says Tulsidas. Whether we win Swaraj or not, the Hindus have to purify themselves before they can hope to revive the Vedic philosophy and make it a living reality."

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have shown to me and extended to me. It has been the greatest delight to me to preside over your deliberations here and in the Subjects Committee. Every one of you have readily responded to every call I made. I have not walked with you, but I know I have run you, and I have put a speed on you. You are impatient. I am impatient. We want to march towards Swaraj, but our march ought not to be at the snail's pace, but a double quick march, and, if we are to move forward, there is not a minute to be wasted. I could not possibly waste a single minute of your time. I could not afford to waste my time and therefore I had to put on speed, and it is a wonder that you have responded so nobly. You have not charily done this thing when you have extended magnificent generosity.

“No man could possibly have claimed more, asked more and got more. You have given all that I could possibly ask, but what I now ask is something more, something better and something richer. I want you to transfer all this noble affection, all this generosity that you have shown me, to the thing which you and I hold dear, to the thing which alone binds you and me together, and that is Swaraj. And if we want Swaraj, we must know the conditions of Swaraj, and you endorsed those conditions in the resolution moved by Mr. Das on the pact. Everyone knows the conditions and I want you to fulfil them to the letter and in spirit and insist upon others that they will fulfil those conditions, not by force, but by love, exertion and influence, and all the pressure that love can exert upon anyone that it concerns. Go through your districts and spread the message of khaddar, the message of Hindu-Muslim unity, the message of untouchability, and take in hand the youngsters of the country and make them real soldiers of Swaraj. But you will not do it if the No-changers and Swarajists still bear malice against each other, and if they still have jealousy against one another. It will be possible only if you bury the hatchet. Leave all the jealousies, all anger and all that is bad in your heart, bury it underground, cremate it. Do whatever you like, but take away with you the sacred resolution that : Let the Heavens fall, but the tie that binds us today, the tie that has bound the Swarajists and No-changers, shall never snap.”

Heart spoke to heart in these simple but impassioned words of Gandhiji. His first experiment in non-cooperation had failed, because he had relied too much upon the understanding and rectitude of essentially erring man. He realised that his countrymen needed a period of steady preparation for a fight with moral and spiritual weapons, and the first condition necessary for that

preparation was unity among all classes and parties. This unity could be achieved only by carrying on the constructive programme of the Congress, and he determined to concentrate his attention on this primary duty. For over four years he carried on this work and watched the slow but steady growth of national consciousness and a sense of unity among the people with the spread of the charkha and the campaign against untouchability. He waited for the moment when he could again take the helm and pilot the energies of his countrymen towards the political fight. That occasion came when the British Government announced the appointment of a Commission of seven members to investigate and report on the working of the reforms. Even the "dull brigade" of Indian politics, the Liberals, abandoned their "animated moderation" and came out with a vociferous protest against the insult to Indians implied in the purely British personnel of the Commission. Gandhiji saw the opportunity he was waiting for; he immediately abandoned his comparative isolation from the political field, and came out to organise the nation for a further struggle.

Karnataka responded to the call of Gandhiji with regard to the Constructive Programme with commendable alacrity. The spread of khadi and village industries was taken up all over Karnataka, organisations for Harijan welfare were set up in many places, and almost all the chief national leaders visited Karnataka. Between 1922 and 1925, Sjts. Rajagopalachari, Deshbandhu Das, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Lajpat Rai, Konda Venkatappiah, Jamnadas Mehta, Pattabhi Sitaramiah and many others toured all over Karnataka and kept the national spirit alive. Karnataka workers like Dr. N. S. Hardikar, Srinivasa Rao Kaujalgi, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Krishna Rao Mudvedkar, Viswanatha Rao Joshi, Kadapa Raghavendra Rao, Datta Rao Majli, R. R. Diwakar, toured all over the country delivering speeches which kept the national objective before the minds of the people. After the trial and imprisonment of Gandhiji in 1922, the 18th day of each month, the day of his imprisonment was observed as a National Day in all the chief towns of Karnataka; even in Princely Mysore the Day was observed by flag-hoisting, etc., in spite of the prohibition by magistrates of such observances. Many of the leading Congressmen of Mysore felt that the National Congress directive to them that they should carry on in the state only the constructive programme and not the political programme, was unfair, in as much as such a differentiation between the objectives and activities of the two organisations would not be in the interests of

national unity and democratic growth. Public meetings were prohibited by magistrates, as in Bangalore, but Congress leaders managed to hold meetings in private houses, restricting the attendance to select invitees and keeping the police out. Even when processions of volunteers were taken, the police often behaved with commendable restraint, and did not allow their eagerness to enforce rules to outrun discretion. With regard to the constructive programme, the attitude of the Government of Mysore was, in spite of stray pinpricks of over-enthusiastic officers, positively helpful on the whole. The heads of Government understood the value of spinning and weaving khaddar in the scheme of rural development, and often cooperated with the Congress workers in the extension of the khaddar industry and other village industries sponsored by the Congress. Sir Albion Banerjee, the Dewan of Mysore, not only permitted the Department of Industries to send exhibits to the Congress exhibition at Belgaum in 1924, but also gave a donation for the expenses. A Government officer was in charge of the Mysore Section of the Exhibition. A corps of fifty volunteers, disciplined and trained in the compound of the Bangalore National High School before the admiring gaze of thousands of Bangaloreans, left for the Belgaum Congress ; and the efficiency and thoroughness which these volunteers showed in the discharge of their duties there evoked the admiration of all. Five volunteers from Bangalore (K. Jeevanna Rao, B. Ramaswamy Iyengar, Ranganatha Rao, J. S. Ramaswamy and C. N. Rajagopalachar) went to Nagpur to take part in the Flag Satyagraha there in 1923, and were arrested and imprisoned, except the last, who as a minor was let off. It is this aspect of Congress work in Mysore and the helpful attitude of the Government towards the constructive programme, coupled of course with the character of the Prince who was solicitous of the welfare of his subjects, that made Mahatmaji compare the rule of Krishnaraja Wadiyar to Rama Rajya.

THE NATION PREPARES FOR ACTION

Important changes were taking place in the Congress itself during these years. The Swarajists were now a well organized, vigorous and determined group in the Congress, led by able men like Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das. The latter passed away in June 1925, and the burden of fighting the Government within the Councils fell upon Motilal Nehru. He had hoped that his colleagues would continue to work with the same disinterested devotion and patriotic zeal which they had shown at the time of the formation of the Swaraj Party. But soon many Swarajist leaders succumbed to the glamour of power and pelf, and began to serve on Government Committees. S. B. Tambe accepted the membership of the Executive Council in the Central Provinces, and his action was openly approved by M. R. Jayakar and N. C. Kelkar of Bombay. The "Responsivist" section of the Swaraj Party was born. All these things made Motilal Nehru very unhappy. In a letter which he wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru on the 2nd of December 1926, he unburdened himself in these words: ". Communal hatred and heavy bribing of the voters was the order of the day. I am thoroughly disgusted and am now seriously thinking of retiring from public life, we can do no possible good in the Assembly or the Councils with our present numbers and the kind of men we have." (*A Bunch of Old Letters*, ed., Jawaharlal Nehru, p. 52.)

Communal tensions also were taking an unhappy turn. The reactionary elements among both the Hindus and the Muslims—the Mahasabhaites and the Leaguers—exploited the situation to heighten the animosity between the two communities. This communal discord was intensified chiefly by vested interests in each community, to the detriment of national unity. Jawaharlal Nehru rightly says in his *Autobiography*: "Hindu and Muslim communalism is, in neither case, even *bonafide* communalism, but political and social reaction hiding behind the communal mask." Ignorant masses among both the Hindus and Muslims were roused to fury against each other by leaders who were out to fish in troubled waters, and in almost every town and city of any importance the atmosphere had been made tense by communal excitement. We have already seen how at Gulbarga the Muslims, taking advantage of their position of strength as rulers, perpetrated horrible atrocities against the Hindus. The Montagu-Chelms-

ford reforms, by providing for separate electorates, had given the communalists a political platform ; it was now the business of every leader who wanted to secure votes, to promise glittering advantages and benefits to his own community and trenchantly to denounce the other community. Ugly passions were roused by demagogues, and the policy of *divide et impera* was bearing fruit.

The political situation was still further complicated by the emergence of special groups with socialist and communist ideologies. The ideas of Marx and other socialist thinkers were taken up by some educated youths, and the success of the socialist regime in Russia afforded the necessary incentive to the socialists to propagate their ideology among the workers in India. S. A. Dange started the first socialist weekly of India, the *Socialist*, in 1923. The next year he was arrested along with his colleague Muzaffer Ahmed on a charge of conspiracy and sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. Workers' parties with a pronounced nationalistic outlook espoused the method of direct action. Trade unions were formed and strikes were organised. There were a number of strikes in 1928. The socialist organisations of England sent leaders like Ben Bradley, Fenner Brockway and Philip Spratt to help in the organisation of workers' unions or to express their sympathy.

Behind all this turmoil, it is possible to discern certain definite trends which gave unmistakable indications of the lines along which the national struggle would proceed. Gandhiji had dissociated himself from political activities, leaving the field clear for the Swarajists to carry on their experiment of fighting the reforms from within, concentrating his attention on the constructive programme. He knew that the way of the Swarajists was wrong and would lead only to internal feuds among Congressmen ; but men of the stature of Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das could not be prevented from following the path they had chosen, and had to be allowed to go their own way. Still, he pursued his own course of spreading the Congress ideology among the masses by tours all over the country and by intensive propaganda about the constructive programme. The All-India Spinners' Association was organized in 1925, and soon the cult of khadi reached even the rural masses. Vigorous propaganda was taken up for the removal of the canker of untouchability from Hindu society and Harijans were made to feel that they were an inseparable and important element among the Hindus. Education received the attention that is its due in the scheme of national uplift and schools were started in which the pupil was enabled to acquire the requisite

knowledge through crafts which would enable him to earn an independent living. Every effort was made to revive rural industries, which had been crippled by the advance of machine industry, totally upsetting the placid and well-organized rural economy. A campaign against drink and various other activities connected with national regeneration were taken up. Women in thousands came out of their domestic seclusion, many of them discarding their age-old purdah, and helped in the boycott of foreign cloth, the picketting of liquor shops, and education. This was the prelude to and preparation for the glorious part which they played in the future struggle.

Thus, in spite of a lull in political activity during the years between 1925 and 1928 Gandhiji applied himself to the constructive programme and spread the Congress ideology among the masses. Karnataka followed the lead of Gandhiji with commendable alacrity and zeal. Princely Mysore was among the foremost of the native states to adopt many aspects of the constructive programme like khadi and the revival of rural industries. As early as 1923, classes for teaching Hindi were started in Mysore State as a result of the efforts of leaders like D. K. Bharadwaj and P. R. Ramiah, while Sri N. S. Subba Rao, who was Director of Public Instruction and later Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, introduced Hindi as an optional subject in schools and colleges. In North Karnataka, thanks to the efforts of men like Dhondopant Sahasrabuddhe, Hindi Prachar was carried on even prior to the Belgaum Congress, and after 1924 it received greater impetus. Improvement of the economic condition of Harijans and removal of untouchability received great attention in Karnataka, including princely Mysore. The Karnataka Harijana Sangha, established in 1932 at Belgaum under the Presidentship of Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, was later transferred to Hubli, where it came under the control of Veerana Gowd Patil and his wife Smt. Nagamma, the latter of whom established a Harijan Balikasram. Kaka Karkhanis opened a Harijan Balikasram at Bijapur which has done commendable service for the uplift of the Harijans. The women of Karnataka did not lag behind their sisters elsewhere in India in national and social activities. Since the establishment of the Bhagini Mandal at Hubli in 1922, the women of Karnataka have been carrying on excellent social work and have brought about a remarkable awakening among their sisters through Mahila Mandals. Srimathis Umabai Kundapur, Krishnabai Panjikar, Yasodharamma Dasappa, Ballari Siddamma, Siddamathi Mylar, Nagamma Patil, Venkubai Parvathi—these are only a few

among the large number of women workers who have rendered yeoman service in the cause of women. Outstanding among these women workers of Karnataka perhaps is Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, who by her versatile talents, intense patriotism and great sacrifice in the national cause became known throughout the country. After the formation of the All-India Khadi Board in 1925, the charkha gained great popularity in Karnataka. Khadi work was rendered easier by the fact that north Karnataka is a great cotton-growing region. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande and Hanumantha Rao Kaujalgi were President and Secretary respectively of the Khadi Association set up at Belgaum in 1926, and the cult of the charkha quickly spread even to remote villages. In the state of Mysore, khadi propaganda by men like Thagadur Ramachandra Rao was rendered easier by Government aid. Badanaval and Terakanambi became important khadi centres. The Governments of Madras and Hyderabad also rendered aid and encouragement to the propagation of khadi, and the Karnataka districts under their rule were able to carry on khadi work on a large scale, providing occupation for thousands. Other aspects of the constructive programme like revival of village industries also received great attention in Karnataka.

What was of greater importance for the struggle for freedom, Karnataka was fortunate in having at this time leaders of lofty patriotism and unwavering readiness to sacrifice their all for the motherland. Among the galaxy of patriots who at the call of Gandhiji spurned the prospects of lucrative jobs and comfortable living, and prepared to stake even their life for freedom, it is possible to mention only a few in this brief survey of events. We have already referred the work done by Shri N. S. Hardikar in the training of youth to fight for the country's freedom. The result of his work was seen when thousands of young people, even boys and girls in their teens, plunged unflinchingly into the maelstrom of satyagraha and endured all the horrors of bureaucratic repression. Another figure of the time which stands out prominently is that of Hardikar Manjappa, a man who could not see eye to eye with Gandhiji with regard to some items of the fight, but still remained a devoted nationalist, spreading the ideas of Gandhiji among the people through his newspapers and numerous Kannada books of incomparable clarity and charm. The utter simplicity of his life and the deep earnestness and sincerity of his speeches and writings profoundly moved the hearts of thousands and pointed out to them their duty to the motherland. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, at first a staunch follower of

Gokhale, later came under the influence of Tilak and became one of his trusted lieutenants. His earnestness, his energy and his sacrifices in the cause of the country made his name a household word in Karnataka for over three decades, and he imparted the necessary dynamism to political affairs. Two outstanding names in South Karnataka need mention here on account of the part they played in the struggle. Karnad Sadasiva Rao, simple, unostentatious, but an intense patriot, was for a long time the central figure in South Kanara and other parts in bringing about political awakening; and Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, a lady of high cultural attainments, not only worked unceasingly for rousing the spirit of national service and sacrifice among the youth of Karnataka, but became an all-India figure when she espoused the cause of socialism. The people mentioned above are only a few among the large number of patriots who led the people of Karnataka in the fight for freedom.

Political affairs in the princely state of Mysore were in a comparatively placid condition, but the following extract from *Swarajya* of May 30, 1928 shows that there were faint rumblings of the storm that was to develop in the coming years as the tempo of the political struggle quickened in other parts of India: "Among the Indian states, Mysore occupies a happy position. A quarter century of beneficent government by a cultured and enlightened ruler of simple tastes and high ideals, has brought it the flattering appellation of the model state. To this good fortune is to be traced the phenomenon of the subjects of the state holding a political conference right in its capital without nervousness or fear. For, as at present constituted, the holding of any political gathering by the subjects of a state within its precincts is nothing short of a rare phenomenon indeed. The common practice is to choose a fairly distant spot wherefrom to ventilate grievances. That the people of Mysore have not been compelled to resort to a strategical device of this kind is a fine tribute to the quality of their ruler's administration. It is also an index of the promise held forth by the proceedings of the first Mysore State Congress. The nature of these proceedings is well illustrated by the address delivered by Mr. Manickavelu Mudaliar, the President of the Congress. He did not engage himself in hostile denunciations of His Highness's Government. Restrained and temperate in tone and language, the President expressed the fullest possible appreciation of the many achievements to the credit of the Maharaja, and rather than attempt to force reform by vehement attacks, he concerned himself primarily with chalking out

a line of constructive suggestions. But this does not mean that the administration of the State Government was treated as immune from criticism. Personal rule, however beneficent in individual cases, is beset with immense risks to a state. Continuity in policy is the soul of good government, but this continuity is just what cannot be depended upon under a system of personal rule. In spite of all the benefits derived under the fostering care of His Highness's Government, the people of Mysore are not without a certain deep uneasiness as to the possible fortunes of the state in the future. Hence there has been an insistent desire for the replacement of personal rule, in spite of its creditable accomplishments hitherto, by some form of responsible government. To a certain extent the demand has apparently been met, but as the President of the Congress points out, the pace of the response has been out of all proportion to the time taken for its fruition. Mysore boasts a complicated constitutional machinery, a Legislative Council, a Representative Assembly, an Executive Council, and an imposing paraphernalia suggestive of popular responsibility, but it must be confessed that the political institutions of the state enjoy comparatively very little real power, they confer but an illusory degree of initiative and privilege on popular representatives. The correction of this flaw is essential for the permanent conservation of such progress as Mysore has made in the regime of the present Maharaja, and Mr. Manickavelu Mudaliar's address makes an appeal for this correction in tones of great restraint and dignity."

The way was thus being prepared for the struggle that was to come. The ideology and aims of the Congress spread among the masses through the constructive programme, which also served to bring the educated urban classes into touch with the rural people. Parties of workers and peasants were organised, and trade unions were formed. The Girni Kamgar Union, formed in 1928 in Bombay, had a membership of 65,000. Strikes were organised on a large scale. These workers were to give strong support to the coming political struggle.

Meanwhile in the political field, discontent was growing. The "uniform, consistent and continuous obstruction" to the reform from within the Councils had produced no results, and it was clear that the Swaraj Party could not deliver the goods; the younger section especially of the Congress was not satisfied with the carrying on of constructive work, and chafed under the restrictions imposed on political struggle. Awakened India would no longer be passive. The British Government could not correctly

gauge the temper of the people and was filled with a complacent assurance that India was no longer a serious problem. Still, the Conservative government of Baldwin (Lord Birkenhead was the Secretary of State for India) appointed in 1927 the statutory commission, referred to already, to report on the working of the reforms and to suggest changes where necessary. Sir John Simon was the Chairman of the Commission and all the seven members of the body were Englishmen. A wave of resentment arose all over India at the exclusion of Indians in a matter which concerned the future of the country. In this atmosphere of indignation and unrest, Congress met in Madras in December 1927. Jawaharlal Nehru had just then returned after a long sojourn in Europe. While abroad, he had studied the trend of events in different countries and was able to look at the happenings in India objectively. As he himself says : “ My outlook was wider, nationalism by itself seemed to me definitely a narrow and insufficient creed. Political freedom, independence, were no doubt essential, but they were steps only in the right direction ; without social freedom and a socialistic structure of society and the state, neither the country nor the individual could develop much. I felt I had a clearer perception of world affairs, more grip on the present-day world, ever changing as it was. . . . Europe in the middle twenties was trying to settle down in a way : the great depression was yet to come. But I come back with the conviction that this settling down was superficial only, and big eruptions and mighty changes were in store for Europe . . . to train and prepare our country for these world events—to keep in readiness for them, as far as we could—seemed to be the immediate task.” (*Autobiography*, p. 166). He had returned to India at the appropriate time, a time when a broad, clear vision and an unwavering determination were necessary to steer the country past vested interests and sectional loyalties.

The Madras Session of the Congress was a momentous session. Jawaharlal Nehru got a number of resolutions passed, the chief of which, however, was the resolution on Independence. Gandhiji, who was in Madras and attended the open session without taking any active part in the proceedings, felt that Nehru was rather impetuous in initiating so many things, and wrote to him on January 4, 1928 after his return to Sabarmati : “ . . . You are going too fast. You should have taken time to think and become acclimatized. Most of the resolutions you framed and got carried could have been delayed for one year. Your plunging into the ‘ republican army ’ was a hasty step. But I do not mind

these acts of yours so much as your encouraging mischief-makers and hooligans. I do not know whether you still believe in unadulterated non-violence. But even if you have altered your views you could not think that unlicensed and unbridled violence is going to deliver the country. If careful observation of the country in the light of your European experiences convinces you of the error of the current ways and means, by all means enforce your views but do please form a disciplined party. You know the Cawnpore experiences. In every struggle bands of men who would submit to discipline are needed. You seem to be overlooking this factor in being careless about your instruments.

“If I can advise you, now that you are the working Secretary of the Indian National Congress, it is your duty to devote your whole energy to the central resolution, *i.e.*, Unity and the important but secondary resolution, *i.e.*, boycott of the Simon Commission. The Unity resolution requires the use of all your great gifts of organisation and persuasion.”

The Congress of 1927 which met at Madras appointed a committee with Motilal Nehru as Chairman to prepare a draft constitution for India in consultation with other parties. The report submitted by this committee was known as the Nehru Report. This report did not find favour with the radical wing of the Congress. Indian youth was now awake; youth organisations grew up all over the country, and there was the All-India Independence League also, standing for a national democratic programme, with the abolition of princely states and zamindaris. Jawaharlal Nehru says with regard to the situation in 1928: “The year 1928 was, politically, a full year, with plenty of activity all over the country. There seemed to be a new impulse moving the people forward, a new stir that was equally present in the most varied groups. Probably the change had been going on gradually during my last absence from the country; it struck me as very considerable on my return. Early in 1926 India was still quiescent, passive, perhaps not fully recovered from the effort of 1919–22; in 1928 she seemed fresh, active, and full of suppressed energy. Everywhere there was evidence of this: among the industrial workers, the peasantry, middle-class youth, and the intelligentsia generally.”

That the whole country had been transformed into a storehouse of new energy and determination was seen in the Bardoli Satyagraha. The importance and significance of this has been thus stated by Rajendra Prasad: “In 1928, because of the failure of crops, the Bardoli peasants demanded remission of land

revenue. When Government refused to concede this demand, it was decided to offer Satyagraha and refuse to pay the revenue. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, with great firmness and ability, led the Satyagraha movement. Government did what they could to suppress it but failed; and ultimately they had to agree to a compromise. The success of this Satyagraha had aroused tremendous enthusiasm in the country. People began to think that if strenuous efforts were made, a similar Satyagraha could be launched in other parts of the country as well, with similar successful results.

“Till then, Satyagraha had been more or less a theoretical proposition, and had not been tried on such an extensive scale in any place. It is true that a successful Satyagraha had been conducted in Kheda, Borsad and Nagpur. But on all those occasions, it had been undertaken on a small scale and with a limited objective. Moreover, those who took part in those movements were also small in number. In Bardoli, however, the whole taluka had participated in Satyagraha, which took a great deal of sacrifice from countless men and women. Those living in adjoining areas—and in these there were several villages of Baroda State—had also rendered considerable assistance to them. In fact, the whole country was anxiously watching the progress of the Satyagraha in that taluka. Its success proved that if the people stood firm and rock-like, and did not riot or otherwise resort to violence, the British Government would ultimately have to yield. Some foreigner has said that, by disarming his own people, Mahatma Gandhi had disarmed the British: that is to say, by making his own people non-violent, he had rendered Government's arms ineffective. This was perfectly true. If we had fully grasped the significance of non-violence, we would not only have achieved Swaraj much sooner, but would have also acquired the strength to face the world at all times and in all circumstances. But this hope has not yet been realised. It is undoubtedly true that we have won our freedom; yet for its protection we have now to depend on our armed forces!”

The Bardoli Satyagraha demonstrated to the British how a determined people can successfully face a mighty government and make that government look small. The Government imported Pathans to help in the attachment of property. While on the one hand the people offered no kind of resistance except refusal to pay taxes, and on the other the Government could easily have managed the situation with the help of the police and the military, their bringing Pathan rowdies to deal with the people was

clear testimony to the depth of ignominy into which they had fallen. Still, the morale of the people was in no way broken, and schoolboys cheerily ran about singing :

Pathans to the right of them,
Pathans to the left of them,
Pathans to the front of them,
Police at the tail of them,
Marched the Buffalo Brigade.

Meanwhile the Simon Commission was going about the country surrounded by the police and military, on its peripatetic mission, pursued by black flags and demonstrations. "English newspapers of Calcutta were suggesting 'twenty years of resolute government' and threatening resistance to the Indian demand for freedom to the last ounce of ammunition"—and possibly to the last Indian policeman. In Lahore, peaceful processionists under the lead of Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Alam were attacked by the police and beaten; Lajpat Rai received blows on the chest and never recovered. Some weeks later, he passed away. This brutal assault sent a wave of horror throughout the country; the words of Jawaharlal Nehru on the incident are worth quoting: ". . . . The manner of the assault, the needless brutality of it, came as a shock to vast numbers of people in India. Those were the days when we were not used to lathi charges by the police; our sensitiveness had not been blunted by repeated brutality. To find that even the greatest of our leaders, the foremost and the most popular man in the Punjab, could be so treated seemed little short of monstrous, and a dull anger spread all over the country. . . . How helpless we were, how despicable when we could not even protect the honour of our chosen leaders !

"The physical injury to Lalaji had been serious enough, as he had been hit on the chest and he had long suffered from heart disease. Probably, in the case of a healthy young man, the injury would not have been great, but Lalaji was neither young nor healthy. What effect this physical injury had on his death a few weeks later it is hardly possible to say definitely, though his doctors were of opinion that it hastened the end. But I think that there can be no doubt that the mental shock which accompanied the physical injury had a tremendous effect on Lalaji. He felt angry and bitter, not at the personal humiliation, as at the national humiliation involved in the assault on him.

“ It was this sense of national humiliation that weighed on the mind of India, and when Lalaji's death came soon after, inevitably it was connected with the assault, and sorrow itself gave pride of place to anger and indignation. It is well to appreciate this, for only so can we have some understanding of subsequent events. ”

The Nehru report was discussed at a meeting of the All-Parties' Conference and was taken to the Congress which met at Calcutta. This Congress was as important as that at Madras, for it clarified the political situation and indicated the path of the future struggle. Motilal Nehru, the President, clearly stated that the goal was undoubtedly freedom; the extent of that would depend on the attitude of the Government towards the demands of the All-Parties' Conference. In the following resolution the Congress sent an ultimatum to the Government regarding the country's destiny : “ This Congress having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties' Committee Report welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations, and, whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete Independence passed at the Madras Congress, approves of the constitution drawn up by the committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country.

“ Subject to the exigencies of the political situation, this Congress will adopt the constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organize a campaign of non-violent Non-Cooperation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

“ Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on in the name of the Congress of the propaganda for complete Independence.”

Of special interest to the people of the states was the seventeenth resolution which demanded responsible government. It said : “ The Congress urges on the Ruling Princes of the Indian States to introduce Responsible Government based on representative institutions in the States, and to issue immediately proclamations or enact laws guaranteeing elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship, such as rights of association, free speech, free press, and security of person and property.”

The year 1929 was a period of preparation for the great plunge the nation had to take at the end of it in the Lahore Congress. It was a year of hectic activity ; Gandhiji undertook long tours, keeping the ideals and objects alive in the minds of people and pushing through the constructive programme ; there were a number of big strikes, involving tens of thousands of workers, indicating that the Indian workers were now fully politically conscious ; working-class leaders were arrested, tried, and sentenced to long terms ; ordinances like the Public Safety Ordinance “ to remove from India British and foreign Communist agents,” were passed ; and finally the Viceroy called a conference of leaders including Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru, M. A. Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to get their consent to a vague scheme of Dominion Status at some future date, the object of the conference being to prevent the launching of the political struggle. However, the Viceroy’s attempt to create suitable conditions for a Round Table Conference failed. The nation was in no mood to listen to diplomatic verbal jugglery, and demanded a positive assurance in precise terms.

In such an atmosphere of gravity and apprehension, the momentous session of the Congress was held at Lahore, with Jawaharlal Nehru as President. In an impassioned speech he dwelt at length on the momentous issues at stake, rightly viewing the problems of India as inseparable from the problems which the world was facing. He considered the question of non-violence chiefly as a matter of policy or expediency, and said : “ Violence too often brings reaction and demoralisation in its train, and in our country especially it may lead to disruption. It is perfectly true that organized violence rules the world to-day and it may be that we can profit by its use. But we have not the material or the training for organized violence, and individual or sporadic violence is a confession of despair. The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds, and if we reject the way of violence it is because it promises no substantial results. Any great movement must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organised revolt.” An uncompromising opponent of imperialism, he declared that “ India could never be an equal member of the Commonwealth, unless Imperialism and all that it implies is discarded.” Having won this freedom from imperialist domination, “ India will welcome all attempts at world cooperation and federation, and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.” To him, Dominion Status, Swaraj and all

such terms were but shibboleths : “ The real thing is the conquest of power, by whatever name it may be called. I do not think that any form of Dominion Status applicable to India will give us real power. A test of this power would be the entire withdrawal of the alien army of occupation and economic control. Let us therefore concentrate on these and the rest will follow.” After dealing with all the problems before the country and clearly indicating the magnitude of the sacrifices which might be necessary for solving them, he made this impassioned appeal to the nation : “ None of us can say what and when we can achieve. We cannot command success. But success often comes to those who dare and act ; it seldom goes to the timid who are ever afraid of the consequences. We play for high stakes ; and if we seek to achieve great things, it can only be through great dangers.”

The Calcutta Congress had given one year to the Government to respond to the demand of the people ; just when that period had come to a close, at midnight on the 31st of December, the Congress terminated its proceedings with a firm irrevocable resolve to win independence at any cost. The flag of Independence, the symbol of the dignity, the glory and the greatness of the Motherland, was set flying proudly. The fight between temporal might and spiritual power had commenced ; a unique struggle, unprecedented in the annals of mankind. “ We knew we had a rough voyage ahead, the bark was frail, the seas were boisterous, the clouds were overhanging ; there was fog all round, and the sailors were undisciplined and new to their work. Our safety, however, lay in but one circumstance, namely, *the pilot knew his course*. He was a seasoned captain and had his chart and his compass. If the crew obeyed him, success was in sight. Else, we had a Court Martial by the Nation looming before us.”

The new Working Committee of the Congress, which met on the 2nd of January 1930, decided to observe the 26th of January as the Independence or Poorna Swaraj Day, when the people's assent should be obtained for a declaration relating to the political struggle. Parts of the declaration, which had to be read out at every place of observance, are given below :

“ We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only de-

prived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete Independence.

“ We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will, therefore, prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We, therefore, solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing Purna Swaraj.”

The Simon Commission also had in the meanwhile submitted its report, which envisaged almost complete responsible government in the provinces while in the Central Government British control would continue, and pointed out the suitability of a federal structure for the whole country when the Princes would agree to join. This proposal was repudiated outright by the Congress.

The Independence Day celebrations were a unique success ; every city and every town of any importance in the country witnessed huge gatherings of people take the oath of dedication to win freedom at any sacrifice. On that day could be seen “ what a fund of pent-up feeling, enthusiasm and readiness for sacrifice there lay beneath the seeming despair and torpor of the people ”. This unprecedented enthusiasm evoked during the celebrations showed that the time was ripe for direct action. But the Working Committee did not want to precipitate matters and left the issue in the hands of Gandhiji, who would decide the time and manner of the struggle. The resolution of the Working Committee, subsequently ratified by the All India Congress Committee, ran as follows :

“ In the opinion of the Working Committee, Civil Disobedience should be initiated and controlled by those who believe in non-violence for the purpose of achieving Purna Swaraj, as an article of faith, and as the Congress contains in its organisation not merely such men and women but also those who accept non-violence as a policy essential in the existing circumstances in the country, the Working Committee welcomes the proposal of Mah-

atma Gandhi and authorises him and those working with him who believe in non-violence as an article of faith to the extent above indicated, to start Civil Disobedience as and when they desire and in the manner and to the extent they decide. The Working Committee trusts that when the campaign is actually in action, all Congressmen and others will extend to the civil resisters their full cooperation in every way possible and that they will observe and preserve complete non-violence notwithstanding any provocation that may be offered. The Working Committee further hopes that in the event of a mass movement taking place, all those who are rendering voluntary cooperation to the Government, such as lawyers, and those who are receiving so-called benefits from it, such as students, will withdraw their cooperation or renounce benefits as the case may be, and throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom.

“The Working Committee trusts that in the event of the leaders being arrested and imprisoned, those who are left behind and have the spirit of sacrifice and service in them will carry on the Congress organisation and guide the movement to the best of their ability.”

THE FIRST SERIOUS UPSURGE IN KARNATAKA

Gandhiji was clear in his mind about what should be done to utilize the tremendous energy and eagerness of the people to advance the national cause. He had already discussed with friends the proposal of breaking the salt law. How the tax on salt, an essential article of food even to the poorest, had come to be levied was known only to a few Indians. The circumstances which had necessitated the imposition of this tax were as sordid as the imposition itself was iniquitous. In the 19th and early 20th century, Indian exports of raw materials, etc., exceeded imports, and this meant that a part of the shipping that had to come to India to carry the exports had to come empty. To provide the necessary ballast to these ships, the British Government adopted the ingenious expedient of sending Cheshire salt for sale in India. But this could be done only if Indian salt were taxed in order to enhance its price. This was the sordid genesis of the salt tax, and Gandhiji by an unerring instinct hit upon an attack on this as the first step against British imperialism.

The awakening of India to a consciousness of her glorious past and her present condition of servitude and abject poverty, the feeling of humiliation that grew fast under the rule of a foreign autocracy, stirred all the pent-up fire of national pride, and at the beginning this century it could clearly be seen that the complacent assurance of the British Government that India would be theirs in perpetuity was misplaced. Various forces (as described in the opening chapter of this volume) had contributed to stir up the latent strength and vitality of India—a vitality which had, for centuries, withstood the assaults of foreign conquerors in spite of political subjection for long periods, and retained the essential elements of her millenniums-old culture intact in the face of the impact of aggressive foreign cultures. The civilisation of India, “older perhaps than any other, the cradle and nursery of perhaps the truest and best elements of all civilisations, is still alive, with its kernel, if not the shell also, living. The historian is called upon to write not the epitaph on the grave of a civilisation long dead, mummified and buried, but to cultivate an admiring acquaintance with a civilisation still young with the unspent vigour and fervour of youth. In the unsparing economy of Natural Selection, there is no assured place for merely showing and seeming. That India has lived for at least five thousand

years, is proof that at the centre of the Indian constitution, there is an uncommonly vast and vital fund of energy, which is able to react successfully, not only against the ordinary disintegrating influences of time, but against the ceaseless aggressions and impacts of the Enveloping Order. The political dependence of India for many centuries is of course evidence that all has not been well with her ; it undoubtedly means a sort, and by no means an unimportant sort, of failure in adjustment. But it does not mean and cannot mean that India has been a spent force. If it were so, India should not have lived, and so characteristically and virilely lived, in her great civilisation and culture, in her religions and morals, in her literature and art, in her essentially beneficent and beautiful social institutions. And what is more important and pertinent to our present analysis of the Indian situation, the awakening and revival of India, on so unexpectedly vast and virile a scale, should not, in that case, have been possible.” (Pramathanath Mukhopadhyaya).

Evidence of this resurgence of India's latent stamina was seen when the whole of India vigorously reacted against the partition of Bengal and ruffled the self-assurance of the British Government. Behind the diversity of races, languages and faiths, it was now seen that there was a unity of feeling and consciousness. This went on strengthening as the result of forces operating all round. The Non-Cooperation movement of 1921 was a manifestation of this growth, and showed that the Indian lion had been roused from his somnolence and was fully awake. But the tragic events at Chauri Chaura and other places revealed to the meticulous eye of Gandhiji that the nation had not yet grasped, or was not able to act upon, the fundamental principle of satyagraha that the means adopted be as pure as the end to be achieved. The first experiment in satyagraha thus ended in a fiasco, as some jubilantly thought. But the urge of nationalism is like a wave on the seashore. Behind each wave that rises, displays its might, and subsides, there is a mightier one advancing. The years between the first attempt at satyagraha and the second crucial satyagraha were a period of preparation ; and when the struggle was ultimately forced upon the nation by the arrogant obduracy of the Government, the nation was ready.

Even now, Gandhiji, so punctilious in matters concerning the moral aspects of the struggle, had misgivings about the people remaining non-violent. He wrote in *Young India* of January 9, 1930 : “ The greatest and the most effective sanction is civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes I must

confess that I do not see the atmosphere for it today it may be impossible to offer civil disobedience at this stage in the name of the Congress, and it may be necessary to offer individual civil disobedience without the Congress imprimatur and apart from it. But just now everything is in the embryonic stage Granted a perfectly non-violent atmosphere and a fulfilled constructive programme, I would undertake to lead a mass civil disobedience struggle to a successful issue in the space of a few months." The revolutionary movement, which had drawn to itself a number of ardent young patriots, who had no sympathy for the humanism and pacific approach of satyagraha and honestly believed that retaliation was the only way of inducing the Government to yield, was still strong. The duty before Gandhiji was thus twofold ; first, initiating a purely non-violent struggle with a group of Congressmen pledged to repudiate violence, so that the example of these fighters might inspire the whole nation ; and secondly, to curb the propensity of the revolutionary youth to wade through slaughter to freedom.

To Gandhiji, who was still doubtful about the preparedness of the country for a non-violent struggle, the orderly and determined way in which Independence Day was celebrated on January 26th throughout the country provided a measure of national feeling. It far exceeded the expectations of many people. It was now evident that the nation was ready to carry out the mandate of the Congress and Gandhiji. What remained now for Gandhiji was to decide the time and manner of action. This decision could come not by any calculation or reasoning, but by the chastened instinct of a pure heart—inspiration, the Inner Voice or the Voice of God. His unerring instinct hit upon a plan of action which would galvanize even the waverers to determined effort, and send a thrill of excitement throughout the country. He would start the fight by manufacturing contraband salt and raids on the salt depots.

This decision of Gandhiji to start the struggle by breaking the salt laws had different effects upon different people at first. Some, who could not understand the significance of the move, scoffed at it and thought that making salt from sea-water in a remote corner of the country with a select band of satyagrahis, when the whole nation was expecting something impressive and galvanic from him, would only be frivolous. But few understood the nature and potency of the latent forces that were being released all over the country by this seemingly insignificant march. There was something mysterious in the plan, and this

very element of mystery aroused expectations and stimulated the country to anticipate momentous happenings. Gandhiji was out to show to the world how even seemingly small things may lead to the shaping of a nation's destiny.

True to his creed of satyagraha, Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, announcing his decision to commence satyagraha by breaking the salt laws, and requesting him to prevent the struggle by conceding the Congress demands. But the Viceroy's reply was in the nature of a warning. The final letter he wrote to the Viceroy contained these touching words : " On bended knees I asked for bread and received a stone instead. The English nation responds only to force, and I am not surprised by the Viceregal reply. The only public peace the nation knows is the peace of the public prison. India is a vast prison-house. I repudiate this (British) law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent."

Volunteers had been selected beforehand and carefully trained for the long march of two hundred miles from Sabarmati to Dandi on the sea-coast. Vallabhbhai Patel was to go in advance to make preparations and to tell the people that they should not offer any rich food to marchers on the way, since the latter, having solemnly dedicated themselves to the cause, were bound to observe the strictest austerity and abstemiousness. These preparations stirred the imagination and feelings of the people ; everyone was expecting from Gandhiji something memorable, momentous, eventful. Even the leaders could not see through the fog of inscrutability created by Gandhiji's decision. When Motilal Nehru was about to take leave of Mira Behn after the meeting of the Working Committee, he quoted Shakespeare : " When shall we three meet again, in thunder, lightning, or in rain ?"

The commencement of the march can best be described in the words of Mira Behn. " The Ashram now entered three weeks of intense preparation. Bapu decided that he would march on foot with a band of followers to the coast, where they would gather sea-water, make salt from it, and thus defy the law. But not till Bapu himself had broken the law was anyone else in the country to do so. The long route was carefully planned, and the persons who would join the march were chosen. This was the most difficult part, as everyone wanted to be on the list. Finally, a band of seventy-nine men was selected, and the time had now come for Bapu to send his ultimatum to the Viceroy.

“ There was a young English Quaker, Reginald Reynolds, staying in the Ashram at that time. He had been with us at the Lahore Congress and had thoroughly imbibed the spirit of the times. Bapu decided to make him the bearer of the letter to the Viceroy.

“ The day came, the letter went, and the whole nation waited in suspense. There was little hope that the British Government would accept Bapu's terms, and sure enough, their 'No' was received. The mighty Empire again defied the mightier spirit.

“ Bapu announced that he would set forth on his march to Dandi on the morning of March 12th. Nearly everyone expected that he would be arrested at any moment. On the afternoon of the 11th the inhabitants of Ahmedabad began turning up in force. Crowds and crowds of men, women and children forded the river, and by the time of the evening prayer the numbers were so great that the open sandy river bank was the only place big enough to accommodate the congregation.

“ The night closed over the heavens, and still no police had come to take Bapu. We were all on tenterhooks, but Bapu was quite calm and carried out his usual routine as if there was nothing exceptional going on. When he lay down on his bed, Ba applied oil to his head and I rubbed his feet with ghee. We kept quiet as he seemed thoughtful, and after a few minutes he was peacefully sleeping.

“ The crowds that had gathered did not return to their homes, but camping at a respectful distance all around the Ashram, kept vigil till dawn. I think Bapu was the only person who slept that night. With the coming of daylight more and more eager, thronging crowds collected, but still no police. It seemed as if even the Imperial Power hesitated to snatch Bapu from the midst of such a concourse of devotees. So the hour arrived, and he was there with staff in hand. India's soul was awake, and Bapu was the focal point in which it glowed.

“ The road outside the Ashram gate was cleared of the crowds, and the little group collected in disciplined order, all clad in white khadi and with nothing but a satchel slung over one shoulder except for the music Pundit who carried his stringed instrument. Here was an army such as had never before been seen, devoid of all physical arms, only eighty strong, and marching off in joyous confidence to overthrow the greatest empire of the world.

“ As the march began the multitude burst into cries of

‘ Mahatma Gandhiki Jai ’, and away the little army went, the multitude following.

“ Those of us who were left behind stood watching and watching till there was nothing left to see but the cloud of dust hanging over the road. We turned to go back to our rooms, and the Ashram seemed silent and empty. Many, of course, were still there, but the spirit had gone forth.”

Under the caption, “ When I am arrested ”, Gandhiji had given the following instructions to the public in his paper on the 27th February : “ This time, on my arrest, there is to be no mute, passive non-violence, but non-violence of the activist type should be set in motion so that not a single believer in non-violence as an article of faith for the purpose of achieving India’s goal should find himself free or alive at the end of the effort, to submit any longer to the existing slavery So far as I am concerned, my intention is to start the movement only through the inmates of the Ashram and those who have submitted to its discipline and assimilated the spirit of its methods. Those, therefore, who will offer battle at the commencement will be unknown to fame when the beginning is well and truly made, I expect the response from all over the country. It will be the duty then of everyone who wants to make the movement a success to keep it non-violent and under discipline. Everyone will be expected to stand at his post except when called by his chief. If there is a spontaneous mass response, as I hope there will be, and if previous experience is any guide, it will largely be self-regulated. But everyone who accepts non-violence whether as an article of faith or policy should assist the mass movement. Mass movements have, all over the world, thrown up unexpected leaders. This should be no exception to the rule. ”

The effect of Gandhiji’s march has been thus described by Pattabhi Sitaramayya : “ While the march was progressing, India was in a state of tense expectancy. It is often as difficult to control impatience as it is to dispel inertia. But discipline is the essence of organisation and India showed its discipline at this trying hour. The movement inaugurated by Gandhi was gaining strength in number, in wealth and in influence. Gandhi having released the idea in the form of a *Sutra*, his apostles explained it to the public and the missionaries carried the gospel far and wide. The prophet is one, the apostles are only a few, the missionaries are a legion. Thus did the new cult spread from door to door throughout the country Much water

had flowed in the rivers of national life since Passive Resistance was talked of. Passive Resistance gave place to Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience, and these in turn to Satyagraha. The movement easily rose in its level from the physical to the intellectual, and from the intellectual to the moral plane. Hardly had a week passed since Gandhi began his march when, seemingly unruffled, the Civil Government of the country suddenly lost balance. Vallabhbhai's arrest in the first week of March, even before Gandhi's 'Mahaprasthan' began, was an illegal act and his punishment of 4 months still more illegal. The police were virtually relieved of their normal duties. All attention was directed towards the non-cooperation.

"In the midst of all this travail and suffering, we had the satisfaction of witnessing the birth of Purna Swaraj. It required no instrumental aid. It is the product of normal labour. There is a show of pain about it, but all the suffering is of Mother India that reproduces herself in a purer, stronger and more glorified form. Let no one imagine that we were out to give trouble to Government, other than moral trouble involved in the loss of its prestige, and the political trouble involved in the impending loss of its despotic powers. This fight between the Government and the people is a clean fight. It is Government that is making it unclean by sending for landed proprietors, house-owners, sowcars and merchants, and threatening them with displeasure if they assist the satyagrahis. To the extent people yield to these threats, to that extent they become demoralised. But to the extent to which they resist, to that extent they hasten the advent of Swaraj. We know that men with a touch of English education and town life are easily brought under; not so, however, men who are unsophisticated and patriotic. It is a real pleasure to notice that villages abound in patriots; and not merely in patriots but also in leadership. When once leadership has been taken possession of in the villages, the success of the movement now in progress is assured."

The *Bombay Chronicle* thus wrote about the march of Gandhiji: "The successes that preceded, accompanied and followed this great national event, were so enthusiastic, magnificent and soul-stirring that indeed they beggar description. Never was the wave of patriotism so powerful in the hearts of mankind, as it was on this great occasion, which is bound to go down in the chapters of the history of India's national freedom as a great beginning of a great movement." P. C. Ray said: "Mahatma Gandhiji's historic march was like the exodus of the

Israelites under Moses. Until the Seer seizes the promised land, he won't turn back."

Crowds, sometimes in thousands, gathered on the wayside to obtain a *darshan* of the Mahatma, who had left the Ashram at Sabarmati with "no intention of returning to Sabarmati until Swaraj was won." He spoke to them about breaking the salt laws as the first step in the struggle, and exhorted them to carry on conscientiously and unremittingly the work relating to the Constructive Programme and to be prepared to make any sacrifice for the country's cause. In one of his speeches to them he said: "The British rule in India has brought about moral, material, cultural and spiritual ruination of this great country. I regard this rule as a curse. I am out to destroy this system of Government. I have sung the tune of 'God save the King' and have taught others to sing it. I was a believer in the politics of petitions, deputations and friendly negotiations. But all these have gone to the dogs. I know that these are not the ways to bring this Government round. Sedition has become my religion. Ours is a non-violent battle. We are not out to kill anybody but it is our *dharma* to see that the curse of this Government is blotted out".

Thus was started by Gandhiji the unique fight for freedom—a fight to the bitter end. Those who scoffed at first at commencing such a mighty struggle with breaking the salt laws in a remote corner of the west coast remained to be fascinated at the sight of the tremendous enthusiasm aroused all over the country. Jawaharlal Nehru writes about this: "It seemed as though a spring had been suddenly released: and all over the country, in town and village, salt manufacture was the topic of the day, and many curious expedients were adopted to produce salt. We knew precious little about it, and so we read it up where we could, issued leaflets giving directions, and collected pots and pans and ultimately succeeded in producing some unwholesome stuff, which we waved about in triumph, and often auctioned for fancy prices. It was really immaterial whether the stuff was good or bad; the main thing was to commit a breach of the obnoxious Salt Law, and we were successful in that, even though the quality of our salt was poor. As we saw the abounding enthusiasm of the people and the way salt-making was spreading like a prairie fire, we felt a little abashed and ashamed for having questioned the efficacy of this method when it was first proposed by Gandhiji. And we marvelled at the amazing knack of the man to impress the multitude and make it act in an organized way."

In this great struggle Karnataka played a glorious part. As soon as the Congress decision to observe the 26th of January 1930 as Independence Day came to be known, it was decided to observe the Day in Karnataka also. The Day was observed with appropriate solemnity and discipline in all the towns of Karnataka. Dr. N. S. Hardikar, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande and a few others had gone from Karnataka to Sabarmati when the meeting of the Congress Working Committee was held there on the 14th of February. After their return a meeting of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee was held at Bellary on the 23rd of February with Shri R. R. Diwakar as President. A Satyagraha Committee was constituted to bring about an awakening among the people and rouse them to the national effort. Shri R. R. Diwakar in Bijapur District, Karnad Sadasiva Rao in Mangalore District, and Hanumantha Rao Kaujalgi with local leaders like Gulavadi and Thimmappa Naik in North Kanara, undertook tours and delivered speeches in which they explained to the people the objectives and methods of the Congress. These leaders submitted the report of their work to the Provincial Congress Committee which met in Dharwar on 16-3-1930. They said that it was their conviction that North Kanara was eminently suited for launching Civil Disobedience; and the people, who were straightforward, earnest and determined, would resolutely carry out the Congress mandate. The villages and towns on the coast were suited for salt satyagraha.

Preparations for the struggle were promptly taken up. Shankar Rao Gulwadi and Ananth Mahale toured all over the district explaining to the people the meaning and objects of satyagraha; Swami Vidyananda, M. P. Nadkarni and Basagod Rama Naik toured in Ankola taluk; while T. S. Naik undertook preparations for salt satyagraha at Ankola. Leaders from Karnataka attended the meeting of the Congress Working Committee which was held at Ahmedabad on the 21st of March. Dr. N. S. Hardikar and Hanumantha Rao Kaujalgi met Gandhiji at Jambusar while he was on his march to Dandi, explained to him what Karnataka was doing, and received his appreciation and blessings. An account of the stirring appeal made by N. S. Hardikar to the youth of Karnataka appeared in *The Hindu* of 29th March: "Dr. Hardikar addressed a huge gathering at Hubli on the 27th. He described the scene in Mahatmaji's camp and the enthusiasm in Gujarat. He announced the decision to start Civil Disobedience without delay in Karnataka and hoped the province would give a splendid response worthy of its historical traditions. He

urged students to join the Congress campaign heedless of teachers' and parents' deadening advice." The Karnataka Satyagraha Committee issued pamphlets about the aims and methods of the struggle started by Gandhiji and describing the Dandi march. It was also mentioned that Karnataka was represented in the patriotic group of Satyagrahis following Gandhiji by Mahadevappa Mylara. A fervent appeal was made to the youth of Karnataka to join the army of non-violent satyagrahis.

The response to this appeal was prompt. Young men came in large numbers to the centres established at Hubli, Belgaum and Mangalore. Leaders toured all over North Kanara spreading the message of the Congress among the people and rousing them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm in the national cause. The whole of Karnataka was agog with the expectation of momentous happenings, though for the present the struggle was restricted to the coastal districts.

April 13th, a date on which British imperialism earned everlasting ignominy by the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, was fixed upon for starting the Salt Satyagraha. This being an all-Karnataka satyagraha, volunteers were to come from Hubli, Mangalore and Belgaum to participate in it ; and groups of participants had already started from Sirsi, Siddapur, Honnavar and Kumta. Gandhiji broke the salt law on the 6th of April at Dandi, and the news of it spread all over the country like wildfire. At Belgaum, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande auctioned contraband salt on the same day, and Narayanarao Joshi, Jeevanarao Yalagi and Anantha Dabade bought it. All these four people were arrested the next day. Hartals, protests and processions followed their arrest in many towns of Karnataka.

A band of volunteers started from Hubli on the 6th bound for Ankola. As they went in procession in the streets of Hubli with Ranga Rao Diwakar and Mrs. Diwakar leading, there was tremendous enthusiasm among the people of that city. After the procession left the town, it was placed in charge of Shri Burli Bindumadhava and Shri Paramanna Hosamani. The trek of the band of volunteers under these leaders from Hubli to Ankola commenced.

Meanwhile, the Government was not idle. The District Superintendent of Police had already camped at Ankola with a posse of experienced and well-equipped policemen, ready for any emergency. The District Magistrate had camped at Belikeri. Smt. Dattabai Narvekar and Shama Rao Shenai had provided ample accommodation for the satyagrahis. Every evening meet-

ings were held in this camp to acquaint the people with the aims and methods of this non-violent war ; people came from all the neighbouring towns and villages to attend these meetings—conspicuous among them being the Nadavar class, who were known for their hardihood, integrity, and unwavering loyalty to a leader or a cause. Bommiah Krishnanaik Bole thus described the atmosphere of the Satyagraha Camp : “ The storm winds of salt satyagraha blew all over the countryside in the months of March and April of 1930. Hanumantha Rao Kaujalgi, Karnad Sadasiva Rao, Shankar Rao Gulavadi toured all over the district. The rousing speeches of Hanumantha Rao Kaujalgi thrilled the hearts of our youth and prepared them for any sacrifice. There was the glow of intense earnestness and ardour in every heart. Everyone was eager to take the front line in the impending satyagraha. Hanumantha Rao was an adept in the art of swaying the minds and hearts of his hearers.”

Day dawned on the 13th of April 1930 in Ankola. The sound of the full-throated song,

Lo ! The drums of war are calling us,

Mahatma Gandhi's call.

rang all over the town, for the Prabhat Pheri had already commenced. The houses had been decorated with green leaves and flowers the previous evening for this festive occasion. Hubli, Davangere, Belgaum, Udipi, had already sent their volunteers ; and more were pouring in from other places. People from the surrounding towns and villages were coming in thousands—men, women and children—eager expectancy of momentous happenings writ on their faces.

It was a long procession that marched towards the coast. They halted in a plain about half a mile from the sea. It had been decided that ten selected satyagrahis should bring salt water and mud. Just then Karnad Sadasiva Rao with the Mangalore contingent, Dr. Hardikar, V. B. Puranik and Sm: Umabai Kundapur from Hubli with their volunteers, arrived. As soon as the satyagrahis had collected water and mud the party left for Ankola. They came to the open space in front of the Taluk Office and prepared salt by boiling the water. The leaders thanked the people for being perfectly disciplined and non-violent, and the guardians of the law also for not interfering in the proceedings. The police were only looking on, perhaps in the belief that all that was being done was only a short-lived ebullition of juvenile excitement which might safely be allowed to spend itself.

But this was only the beginning of the enterprise. The salt

had to be sold to complete it. Nadkarni showed the salt to the assembled people, told them that his long-cherished hope that Ankola would become the Bardoli of Karnataka had been realised, and appealed to them to demonstrate their patriotism and love for Bapuji by buying that salt of freedom. The honour of buying the first packet of salt in the auction for thirty rupees went to Revu Honnappa Naik. The second packet was secured by Bhujale of Karwar, and the third by Srinivasa Setty of Davangere. After the auction Swami Vidyananda addressed the assembly, and said that the wheel of India's destiny had turned in their favour, thanks to the new spiritual power released by Gandhiji, and correspondingly the fortunes of the alien ruler were on the wane; the time was not distant when they would attain their freedom by breaking one by one all the iniquitous laws imposed on them. The discipline, unbounded enthusiasm and patriotic fervour of these people, it is said, evoked from an Anglo-Indian police officer the remark that no government on earth could suppress a people of this type.

Then commenced the retaliatory and punitive measures of the police. M. P. Nadkarni, the leader of the satyagrahis' army, and Swami Vidyananda were arrested early next morning. The former was given simple imprisonment for 6 months while the latter was awarded one year's hard labour. The arrest of these leaders and their conviction only roused the people to more intensive efforts in carrying on their campaign. Lakshman Venkatesh Kamath, at the head of 20 volunteers, brought sea water and prepared salt in the public square. Even when the salt was sold in auction, the police did not interfere. By now the police had realised that the best way to deal with them would be to imprison the leaders. Accordingly, Shama Rao Krishna Shenai, who had given accommodation to the satyagrahis, was arrested on the morning of the 15th on a charge of helping anti-government activities. Before he followed the police he addressed the people assembled and exhorted them to carry on the satyagraha even when all the leaders were arrested and sent to prison. The manner in which he was given a send-off, not only by the people assembled in thousands but also by his 80-year old mother and his wife, was as significant as it was soul-stirring. The people garlanded him and gave him the honour due; but the old mother, exulting in the pride that her son had the good fortune of serving the motherland, blessed him and said: "My son, I am happy, very happy indeed that this honour has been vouchsafed to you. Go, may the cause you serve prosper"; while his

wife, in the manner of Rajput ladies of the heroic period, applied sindur to his forehead, performed arati and gave him a jovial send-off. The effect of this on the assembled multitude was electric.

People in thousands began preparing contraband salt and selling it openly. The Government's policy, however, was to arrest and imprison only the leaders. R. R. Diwakar was arrested on the 16th of April at Dharwar. Leaders and satyagrahi volunteers were sent to jail in large numbers. Still, defiance of the salt laws went on merrily, and even women came out to prepare salt. Sitabai Saroff, sister of Shama Rao Shenai, and Anandibai Hanmattikar, made rousing speeches and called upon women as well as men to use only the salt on which no tax had been given—the salt of freedom. The poet Dinkar Desai was inspired to write poems and songs on this glorious chapter of the struggle, and his songs were on everybody's lips. As more and more arrests and convictions took place, more and more people plunged into the struggle; and leaders of ability and grit arose as if by magic. Students came out in large numbers to prepare salt and sell it from house to house. When Gandhiji decided to raid the salt depot at Dharsana, Karnataka satyagrahis selected the depot at Sanikatte for their raid. In spite of the fact that the police attempted to flood the salt stores to prevent it being collected by the raiders, eighteen volunteers under Sridhar Panduranga Balagi were able to collect a few hundred maunds of salt, which they carried away in carts to Kumta. There the whole stock was sold in 15 minutes. The Collector of Customs, Mr. Seal, looked on at this enterprise like an amazed spectator, perhaps fascinated by the perfectly disciplined orderliness with which the raid was conducted; for no arrests were made.

While events were thus marching merrily in Karnataka, the letter written by Gandhiji to the Viceroy intimating him the proposal to raid the Salt Depots at Dharsana and Charsada brought on a crisis. He was arrested at ten minutes past one in the night of the fourth of May and taken away to Yerawada prison. Before his arrest Gandhiji had issued this message to the nation: “. . . After I am arrested, neither the people nor my colleagues should be daunted. The conductor of this fight is God and not I. He dwells in the hearts of all. If we have faith in us, God will certainly lead us. Our path is fixed. Whole villages must come forward to pick up or manufacture salt. Women should picket liquor and opium shops and foreign cloth shops. In every house young and old should begin spinning on *takli* and heaps of yarn

should be daily woven. There should be bonfires of foreign cloth. Hindus should regard none as untouchables. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis all should heartily embrace one another. The major communities should be satisfied with what remains after satisfaction of minor communities. Students should leave Government schools, and Government servants should resign and be employed in the service of the people, like the brave Patels and Talatis who have resigned. Thus shall we easily complete Swaraj."

The train in which Gandhiji was conveyed stopped at Borivli, and from there he was clandestinely taken to Yerawada. A mighty Government, with enormous resources at its command, was forced to resort to such surreptitious devices for apprehending a single man! Ashmead-Bartlett, of the *Daily Telegraph*, who was a witness of this incident, wrote to his paper: "There was something intensely dramatic in the atmosphere while we were waiting for the train, for we all felt we were sole eye-witnesses of a scene which may become historical—this arrest of a prophet, false or true; for, false or true, Gandhi is now regarded as a holy man and saint by millions of Indians. Who knows whether one hundred years from now, he may be worshipped as a supreme being by 300 million people. We could not shake off these thoughts, and it seemed incongruous to be at a level-crossing at dawn to take the prophet into custody."

The arrest and imprisonment of Gandhiji was the spark that set the whole country ablaze. There were hartals, demonstrations, protest meetings, all over the country. Civil Disobedience, which had so far been confined to breaking the salt laws, was now extended to the other items enumerated in Gandhiji's message to the nation prior to his arrest. In Karnataka, people had imbibed the principles and methods of Gandhiji, and the success of the salt satyagraha had given them confidence. Bureaucratic ingenuity was fully extended to deal with these intractable patriots by bringing out new ordinances. Along with the grim determination to win freedom at any cost, an irrepressible ardour to match their wits against the resourcefulness of the Government seemed to have gripped the masses. Stringent regulations to stifle the press and prevent the dissemination of sedition were countered by making cyclostyled copies of news-sheets which were cleverly made to reach their destination. Helping, shielding or giving asylum to satyagrahis was declared an offence; still satyagrahis could obtain food and shelter wherever they went. The police were vested with unrestricted powers, and this corrupted

them, demoralised them, and often dehumanised them, enabling the more evil-minded among them to perpetrate abominable cruelties against satyagrahis, who would not retaliate.

Webb Miller, correspondent to the *New Freeman*, wrote to his paper : “ In eighteen years of reporting in twenty-two countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable civil disobediences, riots, street fights and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharsana. Sometimes the scenes were so painful that I had to turn away momentarily. One surprising feature was the discipline of the volunteers. It seemed they were thoroughly imbued with Gandhi’s non-violent creed.” Still many satyagrahis took pleasure in evading them and throwing them into confusion and fear. It was often a game of hide-and-seek between the volunteers and policemen ; wits were pitted against wits, and sometimes the volunteer came out the winner.

The scope of satyagraha now extended to the boycott of foreign cloth, picketting of liquor shops, disobeying forest laws and non-payment of taxes. Presidents of Provincial Congress Committees were given powers to carry on the struggle according to local conditions without consulting the Working Committee. To decide upon the next move, the Working Committee of the Karnataka Provincial Congress met on the 17th of May at Hubli. Srinivasa Rao Kaujalgi presided over the meeting. It was decided to take up forthwith propaganda against drink, the picketting of toddy auction sales, and the boycott of foreign cloth. There would be centres in different parts of Karnataka from where satyagrahis would carry on their work. K. T. Bhashyam, T. Subrahmanyam, Mathanda of Coorg, Srinivasa Rao Kaujalgi, D. P. Karmarkar, M. B. Kabboor, Krishnabai Panjekar, would be in charge of the several centres. The over-all supervision and direction of the work would be in the hands of K. A. Venkatramiah.

Events were happening in Mysore also. Many of the leaders of that state had identified themselves with the all-India movement. Some Congressmen had started demonstrations, flag-hoisting, lectures, etc., and the authorities had begun to suppress the movement. Sometimes the eagerness of the police to “ teach these Congressmen a lesson ” outran their discretion, as this extract from *The Hindu* of February 7, 1930 shows :

Independence Day case in Mysore

“ Mr. M. Channaraj Urs, City Magistrate, passed orders refusing the grant of sanction to the police to prosecute Messrs. S. V.

Rajagopalaiengar and Agaram Rangiah for disobedience of the Magistrate's orders passed against the accused by the police in respect of an attempt to hoist the national flag on 26 January 1930 in connection with the celebration of Independence Day. The Magistrate held that mere 'attempt' to hoist a flag was not an offence within the meaning of the notice issued by him which only prohibited any assembly or procession for the purpose of hoisting the national flag. The accused applied for return of the flag seized by the police and the Magistrate ordered that it would be returned to them on a formal application."

As usual, those who were stirred most by the nationalist upsurge were the students, and the Department of Education issued circulars warning the students that any active participation in the Congress activities would be met with punitive measures. Still students in hundreds took part in flag-hoisting ceremonies, processions, etc. Indeed, among the students of the state there was a widespread awareness of the cause which the Congress was fighting for. As soon as news of the proposed Salt Satyagraha spread in the state, a batch of volunteers left to participate in it. Along with the batch of 15 volunteers under the lead of K. T. Bhashyam, a batch of 8 members of the Maruti gymnasium also left for Hubli.

Kodagu was also not behind in answering to the call of the Congress. Satyagraha commenced there in April 1930 under the lead of Pandya I. Belliyappa, K. C. Kurumbiah and Krishniah. These leaders, with only 20 satyagrahis, went on picketting toddy shops and carried on an intensive khadi propaganda in villages.

THE PEASANTS OF KARNATAKA MAKE HISTORY

The Congressmen in Karnataka organized themselves for Civil Disobedience in a thorough manner. The campaign against drink, the boycott of foreign cloth, forest satyagraha, and the non-payment of hulabanni, were the prominent items in their campaign. There was tremendous enthusiasm everywhere, especially after the arrest of Gandhiji ; and it was not difficult to harness this enthusiasm for carrying on the struggle. The visit of Sardar Patel to North Karnataka in September 1929 and his inspiring speeches had had a profound effect on the people. The one he gave at Bailahongal on 15-9-1930, in which he described the heroic fight put up at Bardoli, and exhorted the ryots to stand for their legitimate rights with unity and firmness, and never be cowed by the show of Governmental might, published *in toto* by Kannada papers like *Taruna Karnataka*, electrified the people.

The anti-drink campaign went on successfully. It was common to see the picketers being beaten by the police and also by those who were prevented from drinking. Still hundreds came forward to take part in picketting, and toddy sales fell off considerably. When the vendors adopted the ruse of sending toddy to the houses of their customers, volunteers organized a social boycott and even excommunication against those who persisted in drinking. During the auction of toddy contracts, the fear of confronting the picketers prevented many from attending the auctions ; and the Government, to save its face, had to bring in their own men to take part in the auctions. Still, shop-picketing reduced the sales considerably, entailing losses to the contractors, while the Government lost heavily in revenue. In the boycott of foreign cloth, women took a prominent part under the lead of Smt. Yesodabai Shenai. They went from house to house to gather foreign cloth and held bonfires in every village, spreading at the same time the cult of the charkha.

The forest satyagraha was taken up in the taluks of Sirsi and Siddapur, the people of these malnad parts being eager to emulate the people of Ankola, who had so successfully carried on the salt satyagraha. Sardar K. A. Venkatramiah came to Sirsi in June and made all the necessary preparations. The Assistant Collector of Sirsi, Mr. Jones, issued an order that any violation of the forest laws would be met with severe punishment. No-one took this order seriously. The arrest of Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit

Malaviya and N. S. Hardikar on the 1st of August only strengthened the determination of the people to carry on the satyagraha. It was started on the 4th of August. Women gave a touching send-off to their menfolk with garlands and arati, bidding them carry on the service of the country unflinchingly. As the procession went on, people in hundreds came from the villages and joined it; so that, when it reached the forest, there was a multitude which staggered the authorities who had gone to put down the satyagraha. Sandal trees were cut down, the wood was loaded in carts, and everyone carried branches, the return procession giving the appearance of a moving forest. The wood was brought to Sirsi and auctioned off in front of the Marikamba temple; and the exultation of the vast concourse of people was unbounded. Every village in the taluks of Sirsi and Siddapur followed this example, and the people of these parts had the satisfaction of not falling behind the coastal people of Ankola.

The Government, however, could not allow people to break the forest laws with impunity. They began to arrest the satyagrahis who had come from outside and a few important local leaders. The latter awakened the women to action. Shyambhatta Bisalakoppa of Mukkumbi was arrested even before he broke the forest laws. His wife immediately went to the forest and cut down a tree. She went to the police and asked them to arrest her also, since she had broken the law. When the police would not arrest her, she spoke to an assembly of people in the evening about this cowardly unfairness of the authorities and offered bangles to the officials who were watching the proceedings of that assembly. At Banavasi on the 17th of August, there was a procession of satyagrahis who had been placed under arrest. Ramakrishna Thippasastri was one of the arrested. As soon as he was led out to join the procession, his wife came out and performed arati to him and said, before the assembled multitude: "My beloved is going to the hallowed place where Sri Krishna was born. I pray to Sri Krishna to give me the strength and fortitude to follow him to that place!" The effect of such touching incidents was to rouse the women also to action and to impart dignity and serenity to satyagraha. The jungle satyagraha could not be put down by force, for the people of whole villages would move out in thousands and would vie with one another in getting arrested.

The breaking of salt laws and the forest laws had been successful, in spite of the arrests and display of force by the police. Now came the no-tax campaign, which was more serious, entail-

ing considerable hardship and suffering. Leaders like Shri R. R. Diwakar, Shri Karmarkar, Shrimati Krishnabai Panjekar came to Ankola to find out if the people were prepared to launch the struggle and bear the tribulations which would indubitably follow. They toured the villages and spoke to the Nadavars who would be the foremost in the fight. A conference of all the leading men of the villages was called at Surve. All the leaders that mattered, like Basagod Ramanaik, Vandige Hammannanaik, Bole Bommayyanaik and Bhavikeri Ramanaik, attended the meeting. Just before the meeting commenced, Setageri Joginaik, who had been released after eight months of imprisonment for carrying on salt satyagraha, arrived and joined them. Shri Diwakar spoke to them at length describing the campaign carried on at Bardoli under Sardar Patel's lead and the suffering and sacrifice which those ryots were undergoing on account of the savage ferocity of the Government's measures of repression, and asked them if they were prepared to remain true to the creed of non-violence like the people of Bardoli. Basagod Ramanaik, in his inimitable and impressive manner, told them that their corporeal existence might be brief and transient, but glory was imperishable; and his words worked like magic on their earnest and impressionable minds. Setageri Joginaik appealed to them to discard doubts and hesitations and plunge into the struggle with unwavering faith in the Mahatma's lead. He also read out to them a message which Dr. Kabboor had sent with him.

At last Surve Bommayya Pokkanaik, one of the leaders, clinched the issue by standing up and declaring in a voice tremulous with emotion that he, for one, would unhesitatingly follow Gandhiji's direction whatever might be the consequences. This worked like magic. Bole Devannanaik rose and declared that he would not pay taxes even if he should lose all his property. One by one all who had gathered vowed to carry on the no-tax campaign.

This meeting of the village leaders was a landmark in the history of the struggle for freedom in Karnataka. They had been made aware of the dangers involved and the sacrifices they would have to make. They had no assurance of help to their families if they were taken to gaol or if their meagre possessions were confiscated by Government. They answered the call of Gandhi in a spirit of complete devotion and unquestioning faith in his leadership.

News of this decision soon spread to the villages. The leaders visited Hichkada, Vasare, Hosakeri, Setageri and all other

important villages and prepared the Nadavars for the fight. Shrimati Krishnabai's glowing speeches moved the women, who decided to take part in the struggle equally with the men. After the leaders had left for Dharwar, the Nadavar leaders visited all the villages and finalised the preparations for the campaign. It had been already announced that Shri Karmarkar would be the leader of the campaign. Only one thing remained to be done before launching the struggle, and that was the resignation of the Patels. Vasare Subbarayanaik was the first to write the letter of resignation of his office of Patel, and other resignations followed soon after. The duty of inducing Patels to resign was taken up by Basagod Ramanaik, Setageri Naik and a few other leaders.

Volunteers began to pour in from all places. About the middle of January 1931 Karmarkar, Krishnabai Panjekar and Bheema Rao Bevoor returned to lead the struggle. Satyagraha camps were established in many places, and volunteers were placed in charge of them. The duties of these volunteers were manifold; they had to keep accounts, carry on correspondence, distribute handbills, encourage the people, help in hiding the movable property of satyagrahis, and send reports to the central camp. Krishnabai Panjekar moved from village to village, explaining to the women the nature and importance of the struggle, and infusing courage and a spirit of sacrifice into them. The result of her unceasing work was seen later when the women of North Kanara played as glorious a part as the men in the fight. On the 26th of January 1931, Independence Day was celebrated in Ankola and other places with the hoisting of the national flag, and hundreds of people took the oath of non-payment of taxes. Patels who had not resigned earlier, during the jungle satyagraha, now submitted their resignations, in spite of the efforts of Government officers to induce them to continue.

Meanwhile, on the same day the Government issued orders for the release of Gandhiji and the members of the Working Committee of the Congress. This release of Gandhiji and the top Congress leaders in January 1931 was in conformity with the policy which was pursued all along by the Government—repression, along with offers of small instalments of reform. The Labour Party had come to power in England with Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister. But MacDonald as the Prime Minister of England was a different political personality from the earlier Labour statesman whose voice thundered uncompromisingly against all forms of imperialistic exploitation. The Labour Party was in office, but certainly not in power; for, not com-

manding an absolute majority in the House of Commons, it had to retain its precarious position in the face of Tory opposition by wooing the Liberals, who were not much different from the Tories in so far as England's overseas interests were concerned. An undaunted champion of the liberation of subject peoples and author of *The Awakening of India*, MacDonald in office had to compromise with forces which openly repudiated all the beliefs and principles which he had so long held.

Efforts had been made to induce the Congress to participate in the first Round Table Conference in London, for the purpose of arriving at a settlement regarding the future constitutional advance of India. For the Congress, which was committed to the goal of complete independence, the suggestions were too vague and nebulous for acceptance, and the negotiations failed. So, while the Congress was carrying on the struggle in the country and the Government was employing all its means, including lathi charges, to suppress it, liberal leaders like Sapru, Jayakar and Sastri, and representatives of vested interests, went to England to participate in the Round Table Conference, and delivered platitudinous speeches on behalf of their country, ignoring the absence of the only organisation which could speak for the Indian masses, the Congress. The Conference was doomed to failure, for it was composed of representatives from all the three British parties and formed a heterogeneous medley of conflicting political principles, ideas, opinions, and even of interests. Its object was not to work out (like a Constituent Assembly) a well-defined constitution for India, but only to formulate some proposals for consideration by Parliament. Most of the Indian leaders were aware of the farcical character of their position as representatives of the Indian people; Maulana Mohammad Ali, in his famous patriotic speech in the plenary session, declared with tragic irony that the Round Table Conference was a "wonderful" conference, that he represented no one but himself, and hoped that he did not misrepresent himself. They tried to play *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark.

It was clear that efforts at conciliating India could never succeed without the cooperation of the Congress. Another attempt was made to bring about conciliation between the Government and the Congress. Lord Irwin was the Viceroy at the time. After protracted negotiations between Gandhiji and Lord Irwin, it was settled that Gandhiji should go to London as the sole representative of the Congress to attend the Second Round Table Conference. Civil Disobedience would be suspended, while the other

activities of the Congress, such as the no-rent campaign for economic reasons, the boycott of foreign cloth, picketting before liquor shops, etc., could continue. The Government undertook to release political prisoners not guilty of violence, and to examine cases of harassment and cruelty by the police. The Second Round Table Conference also could not evolve anything definite. The object of the Congress leaders in sending Gandhiji as the sole representative was clear. The aim of the Congress was independence and there was no question of going back from that position. So what was left for Gandhiji to do at the Conference was to present the Congress view to the statesmen of England in unmistakable terms and to do his best to induce the other Indian delegates to make a united demand for the "substance of independence". But the latter he was not able to do, though he presented the Congress case categorically. There were secret manoeuvrings initiated by vested interests; there was an unbridgable gulf between the demands of the different groups; and fundamentals were lost sight of in futile discussions and bargainings over inessentials. Very carefully had the British Government selected a number of reactionary leaders, and ensured a lack of agreement among the delegates. Gandhiji tried to impart some sanity to the deliberations of this motley group, and failed. The communal issue was given primary importance by the elements of reaction, and this was the rock on which the ship of the Second Round Table Conference foundered.

Gandhiji returned to India, frustrated, disappointed and sad. In India, Lord Willingdon had succeeded Lord Irwin as Viceroy. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact had been resented by the rank and file of the administration as a victory for the Congress and an affront to the Government, and the arrival of the diehard Viceroy gave them the opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the Congress. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was thrown to the winds, and persecution and ill-treatment of the nationalists became the order of the day. Gandhiji reached Bombay on the 28th of December 1931, and the very next day he wrote to the Viceroy requesting an interview. The Viceroy categorically demanded the complete abandonment of all anti-Government activities as the condition precedent for any talks. Willingdon was out to destroy the Congress, and the Congress was in no mood to allow him to fulfil his wishes. The Tories had come to power in England; though they made platitudinous assertions about their desire to take India along the road to self-government, they backed the Indian Government in their policy of reaction.

The Congress Working Committee met on the 1st of January 1932, and passed a resolution sanctioning Civil Disobedience, and called upon the people to be ready to undergo suffering and make any sacrifice, at the same time never deviating from the path of non-violence. The Liberals met in conference on the next day and appealed to the Government to save the country from the grim consequences of the coming struggle, and to withdraw their Ordinances which gave unrestricted powers to the administration. But the Government was adamant; it believed that it could suppress the Congress and stifle all nationalist opposition. Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai Patel were arrested on the 4th, and hartals and demonstrations in every city commenced in full fury. All the Congress leaders were arrested one by one, and the Government declared the Congress Working Committee an unlawful assembly, constituting a danger to peace. Government demonstrated its inability to bring the situation under control through normal legal means by promulgating ordinances like the Emergency Powers Ordinance, the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, the Unlawful Associations Ordinance and the Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinance. War on the Congress was resumed all over the country. Arrests and convictions of nationalists went on increasing, and the police took to the pastime of lathi charges and breaking the heads of non-violent resisters. The British statesmen believed that the sun of Empire would remain eternally in the ascendant, and Sir Samuel Hoare had the bad grace as well as bad taste to say in a broadcast talk on the 28th of January 1932: "Though the dogs bark, the caravan passes on." He could not see that the roles of the barkers and the caravan would be reversed in less than two decades.

The Gandhi-Irwin agreement had not materially altered the nature of the struggle in North Kanara. Hoping that the agreement would enable them to collect the land tax, Government officers toured all over the taluk, only to find that they were social outcasts everywhere. In some places they could not obtain even provisions or vessels for cooking. Vessels, stocks of grain and other movable articles of any value were transferred to safe places with the help of the ever-vigilant volunteers; and the officers who came to search and seize property found only mud vessels and ragged clothing. Even where they found a few bags of grain there was no-one to bid in their auction or to carry them to the taluk headquarters. Newly appointed officials were afraid to go to their villages for fear of the unrelenting social ostracism which would be their lot.

While the no-tax campaign in Ankola had been undertaken for political reasons, the campaign carried on in the taluks of Sirsi, Siddapur and Hirekerur was for economic and political reasons. The latter therefore could be continued even after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The people of the taluks of Sirsi and Siddapur in North Kanara and Hirekerur in Dharwar district were not in a condition to pay their land-tax on account of the failure of rains. They represented their plight to the Government and appealed for exemption from tax payment. But the success of the recent forest satyagraha in these taluks had taught the Government that the people were resolute and determined, and the plight of the peasants now offered a chance of taking revenge upon them. So the Government refused to show any concession, and the result was that satyagraha was taken up in all the three taluks. Group rivalries and petty quarrels were soon forgotten when leaders like Veeranagowd Patil, Gudleppa Hallikeri and T. R. Neswi undertook the lead. A small volunteer army was gathered and these enthusiastic young men rendered invaluable service in cheering up the depressed, carrying messages, and rendering help to the villagers wherever needed. The struggle in these three taluks was really an all-Karnataka struggle, for volunteers had come from distant places. The struggle of Hirekerur, like that of North Kanara had the sympathy and support of the whole of Karnataka.

During the talks with Lord Irwin, Gandhiji had specially insisted on including a clause relating to tax concessions to all those people who had been hit by drought or the fall in prices and were not in a position to pay taxes. He had the people of Sirsi, Siddapur and Hirekerur also in view when he insisted on that condition. Their non-payment of taxes was due to economic reasons and not political reasons as in Ankola. The Government was, however, making all preparations to enforce the payment of taxes in these places also. Conferences of leaders of these taluks were held in which resolutions were passed that they should request the Government to show concessions with regard to the amount and period of payment. But the authorities took up an unrelenting attitude. Shri R. R. Diwakar met Gandhiji on the 8th of March 1931 and gave him a full account of the conditions in these taluks. As a result, the Government granted a slight concession to the people of Hirekerur, but refused to show any concession to the people of Sirsi and Siddapur on the ground that their agitation had been prompted by political reasons. Searches, forcible seizure of properties, Government offi-

cials buying at auction sales since no person of the locality would come forward to bid—these became common. The efforts of leaders to induce the Commissioner of the Southern Division to look into the deplorable condition of the ryots of Sirsi and Sidapur succeeded in April 1931, and there was a temporary lull in the “methods of legalised Government terrorism”. The agitation of the people of these two taluks, carried on even when there was comparative calm elsewhere, with a single-minded determination to sacrifice or suffer anything in the cause of justice, was an achievement which brought glory to Karnataka.

Leaders were sent out to tell the people that they should pay up the first instalment of the tax and apply for concession or remission where it was impossible for them to pay. But soon the local officers resumed their house searches, seizing all movable property including milch cattle, and evaluating them for much less than their real value. At Soogaum they went to collect the tax on the temple lands. A few Congress volunteers were temporarily lodging in the temple. The officers seized the belongings of these volunteers, including two bicycles.

In April the Collector of North Kanara was transferred and a new Collector by name Aminuddin took charge. He was a hard-boiled bureaucrat, and started collecting the taxes in all manner of ways with scant regard for the agreement arrived at with the Commissioner. He made himself so intolerable that *Kannada Vritta* of 4-5-1931 wrote a leader demanding the transfer of this officer to another district. Search warrants were issued and seizure of property went on indiscriminately. There were cases of people dying of starvation; and still worse, cases of heads of families (as for instance Narayana Bhatta of Sigalamane) poisoning themselves to avoid seeing their families perish from starvation. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj visited these taluks in May–June 1931 and sent a report of the harrowing situation to Gandhiji. The Commissioner for the Southern Division issued a confidential circular to the Collectors and Superintendents of Police on the 1st July 1931 to collect full details about the Congress activities in the division, those who were in sympathy with the Congress, and the part played by the members of the Hindustani Seva Dal in anti-Government work, so that the Government might be prepared for the coming struggle. This circular, so comprehensive and implying that the Government would go all out to crush the Congress in the near future, must have originated in Delhi, and shows that the authorities considered the Gandhi–Irwin agreement a mere scrap of paper, and explains also the

brazen indifference shown by the officers of the Government towards honouring the Pact.

The all-India situation as it existed after the return and arrest of Gandhiji has been well summarised by Pattabhi Sitaramayya : " The Government offensive commenced on the 4th January 1932. Every Congress organisation and every allied organisation was banned, and Congressmen, whether they did any overt act or not in defiance of the law or the Ordinance, which came to be spoken of as the Lawless Law, were got hold of, arrested and sentenced. We had no reason to complain, either. The truce was at an end and the drill-master said, " As you were ! " In fact, if only the Congressmen had been so minded, they would have found their way to their old jails and taken their lodgings in their old quarters. But Government had apparently not the courage required for such unusual and ' illegal ' course. Nor would they like the dramatic setting which it would give to the Civil Disobedience Movement.

" While Government began where they had left, the Congress had to begin it all over again. The lathi-charge of Government was a later development in the first movement (1930). In 1932 it was the first friend that greeted the satyagrahis. Lord Willingdon, it was widely believed, hoped to be able to put this outbreak down in six weeks, but six weeks are such a short time and satyagraha is such a long drawn struggle that his hopes could not be realised. Gandhiji was intending to go to the talukas in Gujerat which had borne the brunt of the struggle in 1930, but before he could do so, he and his trusty lieutenant Vallabhbhai were both arrested and spirited away as state prisoners in the small hours of the 4th of January 1932. Khan Sahib and Jawaharlal had already led the van. The rest of the Indian politicians led the rear. The satyagrahis came forward in their thousands. In 1921 they were thirty thousand in number and that was considered a big number. In 1930-31 within a short interval of ten months, ninety thousand men, women and children were convicted and sentenced. No-one knows how many were beaten, but the number cannot be less than 3 or 4 times the number imprisoned. People were either beaten down into paralysis of all activity, or simply tired down by a ' cat and mouse ' policy. The old game of beating prisoners was renewed. Office secrets were asked to be divulged. " Where are your papers, your books, and your lists of subscriptions and volunteers ? " That was the demand of Government, and young men were harassed and unutterable things were said, unspeakable punishments were planned and

executed. Imagine an advocate of the High Court being subjected to the torture of his. . . .” (the rest is unprintable, Ed.) (*The History of the Congress*, Vol. I, p. 521).

The British Government had marshalled all the forces at its command to fight so that it might be able to retain for ever this “brightest jewel in the British crown”, and the Congress was fighting so that Indians might live to be free. To England, India was “a reserve bank of the British Empire in men and material”, as had been amply demonstrated, especially in the First World War; and to Indians the conviction had come that freedom to manage their own affairs was the only solvent for all the ills from which their country was suffering. The motive power for the success of any government is supplied by the goodwill and cooperation of the governed; beyond the pale of the services (some Indian personnel even there were secretly in sympathy with the Congress) there were very few Indians who wished for the perpetuation of British rule. The statesmen of England, in their complacent confidence in the physical might which had won for them a large empire, failed to see this fundamental principle of successful administration, and tried the policy of frightening a whole people into submission.

While in North Kanara the people of Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola taluks were writing their history in letters of gold by their epic struggle against “the little tyrants of their fields”, the fight was carried on in other parts of Karnataka also, but on a less imposing scale and in a different way. In these parts many Non-Brahmin communities did not join the Congress for a long time under the mistaken notion—sedulously fostered by a few interested leaders—that freedom from British control would inaugurate an era of Brahmin domination. But sectional or parochial considerations were forgotten in the rising tempo of the national struggle, and leaders like Veeranagowd Patil, Siddappa Hosamani and G. V. Hallikeri roused the youth to join the ranks of the Congress. It was decided in the Non-Brahmin Conference of May 1930 at Belgaum under the presidentship of Siddappa Hosamani that Non-Brahmins should join the Congress in large numbers; and the President said towards the end of his speech: “Independent India will attend to the rights and interests of the minorities far better than the British Government has ever done.” Rao Bahadur Angadi, who was stoutly against the Non-Brahmins joining the Congress, himself joined it later. Thus the way was prepared for united action for freedom in Karnataka.

The youth of these parts were fired with enthusiasm for the

fight, and the enthusiasm spread to schools and colleges. In Bangalore the Ganapati festival in the Sultanpet school had taken on a political complexion, and as a result communal feeling had been aroused between the nationalist-minded people and reactionaries, which led to the tragic disturbances of the 30th July 1929. The Visvesvaraya Committee which was appointed to investigate reported that the chief cause of the disturbance was political, and the local nationalist press also took a prominent part. The Bardoli satyagraha, the adoption of communal electorates for the Central and Provincial Legislatures in British India, the agitation for responsible government were the chief factors behind this seemingly communal disturbance. In the opinion of the Committee, "The political-minded public in Mysore are conscious of the fact that while the British provinces which have already got the dyarchical system are putting forward a demand for the Dominion form of Government, their own system is even behind dyarchy. There is an agitation therefore for a fuller and a truer form of responsible government in Mysore. It is true that the associations between the Government and people of Mysore are closer than in British India and the public have great confidence in and entertain feelings of loyalty and respect to the person of the Ruler of the State. Nevertheless, the demand for political privileges has been insistent and is bound to increase." Discussing ways of allaying political discontent, the Committee remarked: "In order to promote contentment, either the State should have a government of the Mussolini type or a regular constitutional monarchy approaching the British model in which responsibility for the administration of the people is thrown for the most part on the people themselves." The Committee, further discussing the feasibility of introducing reforms, said: "Mysore has always been in the forefront of Indian States and it would be in consonance with its past traditions if, instead of drifting with the times, it anticipated what was coming and conferred some measure of responsibility on the people in good time. The attachment to the Ruler will only grow with the introduction of timely beneficent reforms." The report finally made an earnest plea for securing the goodwill of the people in these words: "Without the moral backing of the people they will find it more and more difficult to carry on even the ordinary work of administration. On the other hand, if the lessons of the disturbances are taken to heart and the remedial measures suggested in this Report are vigorously and consistently pursued, they may prove a starting-point for the regeneration of Mysore. In

this way, out of evil good may come : the disturbances may prove a blessing in disguise."

Mysore had identified itself with the rest of India in the political struggle, and many leaders were in constant touch with the fighters in other parts of Karnataka. Volunteers had gone from Bangalore and Mysore to help the fighters wherever the struggle was keen. Thus a sense of community of interests and a feeling of kinship grew as time went on, leading first to the movement for a separate Congress Province and later to an integrated Karnataka State.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, called a conference of representatives of Southern States on 19-8-1930 before his departure for the Round Table Conference, to discuss with them the problems of Indian constitutional advance, especially the position of the states in the new set-up. After giving a lucid account of the problems that had to be tackled at the Round Table Conference in his characteristically charming but non-committal manner, he said with regard to the position of the states : "The keenness on the part of the Indian States to retain their individuality, crystallised by history, and to safeguard their internal autonomy, is accompanied by a frank and cordial recognition of identity of interests with the rest of India. It is only as friends and neighbours, by mutual understanding and goodwill, that we can succeed in evolving the greatest partnership that the world has ever known." In India there would be a partnership of friends and neighbours only and not an integrated union of people, as he suggested here. But at the end of his speech he hastened to say : "India may be to some still a geographical expression, but to Indians it is their motherland, *Matru Bhumi*. It is a single, undivided whole. It is one and only one, and none can divide it, now or ever." In a memorandum submitted to this Conference, popular leaders of Mysore, referring to the federation proposal which the states were endorsing with vehement enthusiasm, quoted the words of Lord Meston, "Now, federation is a blessed word : but it cannot cause oil and water to mix. What type of structure are we to find for a federation which is to unite provinces under a democratic parliamentary system with states governed by absolute monarchy?" and remarked : "More than half of the difficulty of the problem of India will have been removed if the ruling princes make it plain that they are willing and that they are preparing themselves to come into line with British India—if indeed they cannot set an example to it—in the promotion of democratic Government." (*The Hindu*, 21 August,

1930). On the second day of the Conference, T. Raghaviah, President of the Council of Regency of Pudukottah, in contrast to the guarded and wary manner of Sir Mirza on the previous day, declared in a forthright manner : “ The time has come when Indian States cannot stand apart. They must integrate with British India.” This view was shared by all sections of the House. (*The Hindu*, 21 August, 1930).

The States Peoples' Conference and the Mysore State Youth Conference were held in Bangalore on the 2nd September 1930, and the need to introduce democratic administration in the states was stressed in both. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao was the President of the Youth Conference. A man of outstanding honesty and intense patriotism, he was never known to mince matters when giving expression to what he thought right. Referring to a homily administered to students at Tiptur recently by Sir Mirza Ismail, he said : “ We are today face to face with a great national struggle. Advice is given by high-placed men that students should not take part in political movements. Our Diwan thought fit to administer a dose of his advice to students in Tiptur recently. In his speech the Dewan had to say some harsh words about the ‘ professional agitators ’. What does the Dewan mean by ‘ professional agitator ’? I challenge him to show if there is any man in Mysore who conducts the agitation as a career or a profession. Agitation there is, and it will grow in violence and intensity unless irresponsibility and autocracy are removed. I do not want the Dewan or any other university man to tell us what the Austrian Emperor stated to the professor of a university in the eighteenth century : ‘ Gentlemen, I want you to give us useful servants and docile citizens ’.” (*The Hindu*, 2nd September, 1930).

Thus in Mysore the people were politically wide awake, and they responded to the call of the Congress at every opportunity. They not only went to participate in the struggle for freedom in the northern parts of Karnataka, but they also afforded to the people of other princely states an example of fighting for democratic institutions in order to bring the Government on a level with the Government in British India. The statesmen of Mysore perhaps hoped to delude the people by coining the term “ responsive government ”, which meant that the Government was always responsive to the wishes of the people. About this and the situation in Mysore, St. Nihal Singh, the famous journalist, wrote in March 1931 : “ It was ‘ sub-clear ’—as Mr. Garvin of the London *Observer* would put it—that the ‘ responsive ’ government in

which the state of Mysore is said to specialize is not regarded as a satisfactory substitute for 'responsible' government. . . . The politically conscious persons in the state may, for the moment, consent to federation of Indian India with British India without demanding responsible government in Indian India as an essential condition of federation. They will not, however, be content to remain under 'responsive' government for any length of time. They will, moreover, insist upon popular representation in the federal organs.

"It is a pity that the Dewan, who is himself progressive and rules under the guidance of an enlightened Maharaja, did not make an explicit statement in regard to these matters. Such a statement would have set the minds of Mysoreans at rest and given a lead to other Indian rulers."

Another event which stirred the people of India and especially the people of Karnataka and Maharashtra profoundly and intensified the opposition to British rule was the punishment meted out to Mallappa Dhanasetti, Srikisen Sardar, Jagannath Shinde and Abdul Rusool Kurban Hussain, who had been charged with murder of two policemen during the Sholapur riots between the 8th and the 15th of May, 1930. It was said that they were really innocent; and when the death sentence was delivered, people were shocked. Appeals to the Privy Council failed, and the Viceroy refused to commute the sentence to life imprisonment. Dhanasetty was a very popular man in Sholapur and had taken a keen interest in public activities. When people saw him in prison and shed tears before him, he told them; "I am dying in the service of my motherland. If I had died of some disease no-one would have even remembered me. God knows, and the people of Sholapur know, that I am innocent. Still, I am glad that I am given the death penalty. You all hear speeches that one must be ready to sacrifice one's life for one's country. Such a fortunate occasion has now come to me. Why should you weep for this? Everyone born must die. You should not feel unhappy over my death. It displeases me to see your dismal joyless faces. You weep before me instead of reassuring me and cheering me up. I really cannot look at your doleful faces. If you can come with cheer on your faces you may visit me; if you cannot, do not come to see me. God has vouchsafed this good fortune to me, and given me the conviction that my country's cause will be strengthened by this sacrifice of mine" (Translation from *Taruna Karnataka* of 20-1-1931). Those who visited these intrepid patriots on 18-1-1931 brought this message from



Dhanashetti Mallappa, who died for freedom. Read his inspiring message on the eve of his being hanged.

them to their countrymen : “ We who were unknown till recently, have now won celebrity. We are going to meet death gladly, with no fear in our hearts. We are innocent. We have the right not only to live, but also to have cordial relations with others. We are denied this. Still, we are not sad that death takes us away instead of our having to live a lonely life for twenty years confined within the four walls of a prison. We must die that the cause of our motherland may prosper. If it is the purpose of divine dispensation that the injustice and iniquity which fell to our lot should not happen in our land hereafter, our immolation will not be in vain.”

The effect of this on the people may well be imagined. Throughout Karnataka, in Bombay, Poona and many other cities, hartals, demonstrations, and meetings were organised. The police found ample occasion to indulge in their pastime of lathi charges. Instead of adopting the long and cumbersome method of arrest, charge, trial and imprisonment, they now adopted the summary course of delivering lathi blows on the heads of people and leaving them stunned and bleeding. But nothing could stop the people from coming forward in large numbers to face the charge. Just as the death of Bhagat Singh provided the stimulus to greater effort in the North, the example of Dhanasetty and his brave comrades inspired the patriots of the South and the West to make greater sacrifices and carry on the struggle till the goal was reached. The numerous ordinances, by giving the executive unlimited powers, only served to demoralise, and dehumanize, the guardians of law and order, who in their attempt to suppress sedition could now indulge with impunity in any inhumanity. To what depths of degradation the police and other executive officers can descend when vested with unlimited powers would be shown in their handling of the no-tax campaign in Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola taluks.

As soon as Lord Willingdon revealed his intentions by the arrest of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders and issued ordinances to enable the local executive officers to deal with the Congress effectively, the country got ready to face the ordeal in store. Anticipating the arrest of all Congress leaders and the banning of the Congress and other allied organisations so that the national movement might be stifled by making it leaderless, the Working Committee of the Congress and the President, Sardar Patel, had already made arrangements for the continuation of the struggle. After the struggle commenced, the Government was surprised to find that, with unfailing regularity and prompt-

ness new leaders took the place of those whom they threw into prison ; and in spite of the ban on the nationalist press, news-sheets, bulletins, leaflets, reports, were either printed (without the name of the press or the printer), cyclostyled or handwritten, and circulated with amazing regularity. The Government, in spite of its vigilance and the large numbers of spies and informers, was at a loss to locate the headquarters of the Congress Working Committee and the Provincial organisations. Provincial Congress meetings were held and a Congress Session was organized without giving the police an inkling of them. Great was the chagrin in the official ranks when it came to be known, and equally great was the buoyant enthusiasm among the Congress workers who had outwitted the Government.

Arrangements were made to start the no-tax campaign in Karnataka. Shri Diwakar was deputed to Sirsi and Siddapur taluks and Shri Karmarkar to Ankola taluk to prepare the people for the fight. Dictators were appointed to lead the movement ; as each dictator was arrested, the next in the list would take his place. Bands of volunteers were organized to carry on the innumerable duties connected with the struggle. The people were clearly informed of the seriousness of the situation and the sufferings that they might have to undergo. Sardar K. A. Venkatramiah established a directing centre at Thagadahalli in Mysore State, and the police could not arrest the workers who went there for relief or shelter, without obtaining the permission of the Mysore Police. An army of women volunteers was organized to picket at auction sales of property seized by Government, and offer satyagraha before the houses of those who bought the property. Smt. Gouramma (Mrs. Venkatramiah) was placed in charge of these lady volunteers. Shri Karmarkar roused the Nadavars of Ankola taluk to action.

The story of the struggle may be told by quoting the Report presented by the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee for the year 1931-32 during the Seventh Karnataka Provincial Conference held at Bagalkot on 28-5-1932 :

“ 1. Immediately after the Hukkeri Session and in accordance with the resolution passed thereat, Sjt. V. V. Patel, the Secretary of the K.P.C.C., started work at Haunsabavi with the object of preparing one taluka on the lines of Bardoli. The progress made thus far is appreciable and work will be resumed as soon as normal conditions are restored.

“ 2. The economic no-tax fight which had been started by the people of Sirsi and Siddapur talukas in North Kanara brought

no relief even after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. So it had to be continued and relief had to be organised for the sufferers. Sjt. Diwakar as the Secretary of the Gandhi Seva Sangha, assisted by his comrades, secured what is commonly known as the Diwakar-Commissioner settlement. This brought some relief to the holders of garden lands in the two talukas.

“ The other area which sought agrarian relief was the Hirekerur Taluka in Dharwar District. It succeeded in getting remissions of revenue to the extent of a lakh of Rupees.

“ 3. The Hindustani Seva Dal became an adjunct to the All-India Congress Committee with its headquarters at Hubli and each province organised its branch of the Dal. The branch for Karnataka was formed during the year with R. R. Diwakar as member in charge. Sainiks were trained in all parts of Karnataka except in the Districts of South and North Kanara and the States. A Volunteer Convocation was held at Hubli on the 17th of December 1931, under the presidentship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

“ 4. The Government failed in many ways to observe the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Truce. In Pachchapur and some other parts of Karnataka, the attached properties were not returned, the orders of suspension and dismissal against Patils and others were not cancelled. The K.P.C.C. reported case after case to the A.I.C.C. The Collectors concerned to whose notice such breaches of the truce were brought afford no redress.

“ The confidential circulars issued by the Commissioner for the Southern Division to the Collectors and Superintendents of Police are proofs positive that during the truce period and after the 2nd Round Table Conference, the Government intended only to perfect their plans to crush the Congress.

Satyagraha in Karnataka

“ The country was unprepared for such flagrant breach of faith on the part of the Government. Nevertheless, like other provinces of India, Karnataka accepted the challenge and declared the 12th January as the All-Karnataka Satyagraha Day ; and from that day onwards, the province has kept up the fight in every detail.

“ 1. The several provincial and All-India Days are being observed with the usual programme.

“ 2. Swadeshi and Boycott work has made very good progress and taken deep root. Stocks of foreign cloth have been

sealed in Nippani, Athani, Chikkodi, Gokak, Sankeshwar, Hukkeri, Belgaum, Udipi, Kasargod, Mangalore, Kundapur, Hubli, Dharwar, Gadag, Ranibennur, Bijapur and other places.

“ Picketting before foreign cloth shops was necessary in only a few places in order to have the stock sealed ; it is still continuing in the District of Mangalore. The picketters are, of course, beaten brutally by the police. The number of volunteers thus assaulted by the police while picketing is about 300.

“ The Swadeshi Sabha of Bangalore has helped other parts of Karnataka by circulating its bulletins. Volunteers who have distributed these have been convicted in the Dharwar District.

“ 3. Liquor shops have been successfully picketted in Mangalore District. The excise revenue has suffered a big drop also by the picketting of annual auction-sale of shops ; in some cases the bid has been only from 2 to 4 Rupees per shop.

“ In the District of Karwar, Ankolataluka has run ‘ dry ’. In Kumta and some other places, trees in private ownership are not available for tapping.

“ The cutting of Shendi trees has been intensively carried on in the Districts of Belgaum and Dharwar.

“ 4. Newspapers have refused to furnish the security demanded. For this reason and owing to the arrest of the Editors, the following papers have suspended publication :—

“ *Udaya* and *Karnatak Vaibhava* of Bijapur, *Taruna Karnataka* and *Janmabhumi* and *Karmaveer* of Dharwar, *Karnatak Kesari* of Bellary and *Samyukta Karnataka* of Belgaum.

“ The Editor of *Karnataka Vritta* has been fined Rs. 200 for having published the Congress Programme.

“ Sjt. R. R. Diwakar, the Editor of *Karmaveer*, has been convicted to 3 years’ rigorous imprisonment for sedition, and the press has been forfeited. Press Law has been openly broken.

“ 5. All the active centres are issuing their periodical bulletins regularly either cyclostyled or printed. These news-sheets have a very large circulation.

“ 6. Though every political organization has been declared unlawful the work has been carried on with ever-increasing vigour. Sir Gregory Clerk, formerly Dy. Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, says : ‘ The Congress is the most powerful, it is the only properly organised political body in the country. The area directing Congress is the most difficult to locate. It continues to exercise its authority although all the visible leaders are incarcerated. It has its tentacles spread wide even into the most remote villages.’

“ The Government has been so scared that even institutions without any trace or touch of politics have been declared unlawful, *e.g.*, the Hudli Ashram, which is only a khadi production centre in Belgaum District, the Bhagini Mandal of Hubli, which is a ladies' association, the Tilak Granthamala of Hubli, which is only a public library. The police have taken charge of the 'unlawful' premises and are zealously guarding them.

“ 7. Arrests and convictions are proceeding galore. Reports of these figures have not been received at the head office from some places due to strict censoring, change of address or other cause. Convictions are a small fraction of the arrests, which themselves are only a small portion of the number charged and chased away with lathis and even with bullets as at Karwar. So the figures for convictions given below are only a poor approximation of the actuals for the first 4 months of the movement :

Belgaum District	...	650
Dharwar District	...	625
Bijapur District	...	200
Bellary District	...	25
Mangalore District	...	50
Karwar District	...	570
Coorg District	...	100
Bangalore Cantonment	...	137

2,375

“ The appallingly low figure for Mangalore, which has been turning out splendid work, is due to the faith of the police in lathi charging and unwillingness to fill their prisons. Arrests are, on a modest estimate, somewhere in the region of 6,000. The number of participants in the mass satyagraha against the forest laws for the second time in Ankola taluka last month was 4,000.

“ 8. Lathi charges are reported from Mangalore, Udipi and Kasargod of Mangalore District, Kottur of Bellary District, Gadag, Hubli and Haveri of Dharwar District. The beating in Mangalore and Kottur, is from all accounts, more inhuman than that given to mad dogs, and the lathi charge still holds sway in Mangalore district—as a means calculated to intimidate and strike terror. The merciless beating given to Prof. Rama Rao

of St. Aloysius College has moved even the moderates of Mangalore to memorialise the Collector and the Government.

“ 9. Atrocities on lady satyagrahis are committed mostly by the police of Siddapur in the North Kanara District, where women, mostly of the upper classes, have joined the ranks in the largest numbers and have also taken the lead wherever necessary. The police canes and lathis have not spared the ladies.

“ The brutal beating of women satyagrahis on the 17th April and 9th and 10th May are questions for the womanhood of the world, no less in magnitude than the ‘ Thali ’ incident at Tellicherry. The satyagrahi ladies at Akkunji and Mavingundi in Siddapur taluk were dragged along the road, beaten with lathis and canes and even whipped. Their sarees were pulled and torn and they were abused in the foulest language. At Mavingundi, on the night of the 9th May, the Police Havaladar is reported to have threatened two satyagrahis, Smt. Manjamma Karajgi and Devamma Hemagar with the words : “ Do you want lathis ? Do you want husband ? or do you want me ? ”

“ Smt. Gouramma, wife of Sjt. K. A. Venkatramiah of the Hindustani Seva Dal, had been very badly ill-treated by the same police. She was convicted to 6 months S.I.

“ As against these and other unending series of police excesses, only one instance of departmental action against the sinning subordinates is reported. The Police Inspector of Kottur, Bellary District, has been officially found guilty of using excessive force in handling the satyagrahis and the Collector seems to have recommended the man for punishment, while the expectation of the over-zealous individual was to reap a reward.

“ No-tax campaign on a political basis as distinct from the campaign of 1930 which had its foundation in economic distress, has been seriously taken up in the taluks of Ankola, Siddapur, Sirsi, one after the other in order of time in North Kanara (Karwar) District. In Ankola about 700 Khatedars have signed the pledge and have withheld the revenue from the first kist beginning on the 5th February. Out of a total of Rs. 40,000 the amount withheld is Rs. 7,000. In Siddapur the demand for first kist was about Rs. 60,000. Out of this Rs. 30,000 has been withheld.

“ As for the second kist, which expired on the 15th April, the amount withheld is sure to be more than Rs. 30,000 though the figures are not yet available. The Government is using all its force and machinery.

“ Properties have been attached and sold. Some of the ryots

have lost their all. The police, the patels and other Government servants are ruling the taluka with lathis, canes and whips.

“Some of the villages, particularly those in Heroor area, in Siddapur taluka, have been depleted of all adult male population by arrest, detention and conviction.

“Our brave sisters in those places are managing the campaign no less effectively. This aspect of the movement is a special feature. The people have not lost heart ; on the other hand, their determination has deepened with their difficulties. Their faith in the Congress and in the ultimate triumph of its cause has taken firmer root.

“Treatment of political prisoners in jails is reported to be very bad. At Bangalore central jail and in the jail of Bellary, there was a general charge with cane and lathi. In the jails of Hindalgi and Bijapur the number of convicted persons is more than the capacity and water supply is inadequate.

“In short, the movement in Karnataka is very strong in spite of the Government's utmost care and best efforts to crush the Congress. Breaking of all ordinances, orders under the Criminal Procedure Code and Police Act, breaking of forest and salt laws singly and in mass and refusing to pay land revenue have become the order of the day. The Nadavars of Ankola and the Havyaks of Sirsi and Siddapur deserve special mention for their sacrifices. Persons from all communities (without any distinction) are today in the movement. One of the special features of this taluka is that our sisters have come forward more than during the last fight and about 35 ladies are today in jails. Karnataka will in no way stand behind in any respect in the fight for freedom, and we have every hope that this fight will end in victory.

Dated 28th May, 1932

Joint Secretaries.”

(Compiled and sent by the Bombay Office for a History of the Freedom Movement in India from file No. 5|INC|32 of the C.I.D. Bombay).

The authorities thought that the struggle in Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola taluks would be brought under control, if stern measures like arrests, confiscation of property and lathi charges against the demonstrators were made. But they were soon disillusioned. When they arrested those who took part in a flag procession and seized the flag, within a few minutes another procession would

appear, to their confusion and dismay. The second procession would be in its place ready to face anything. This determination on the part of the people and their readiness to face lathi charges made the police adopt sterner measures like beating on the head, and more cruel ways of dealing with the resisters. This was only like adding fuel to the fire.

The part played by women in the satyagraha of North Kanara is written in letters of gold. Their work was confined mostly to picketting, taking part in processions, and satyagraha before the houses of those who bought seized property at auctions. The story of their courage, determination and amazing endurance before the inhuman brutalities of the police is a glorious chapter unsurpassed anywhere in the history of the Freedom Struggle, and Karnataka is really proud of these daughters, who showed as much patriotism, endurance and spirit of sacrifice as their menfolk. A few incidents are given below.

The first attempt at satyagraha for recovery of properties bought at Government auctions took place at Hechche in the Soraba taluk of the Shimoga District. It was at the instance of Shri Venkatramiah, who was directing the campaign in Siddapur taluk, with his headquarters in Mysore State, to make it difficult for the police to take action against him, that his wife Gouramma undertook the work of organising satyagraha by ladies. The first place chosen for offering satyagraha was Hechche. The success or failure of this initial attempt would have a profound effect upon women's satyagraha in North Kanara. She decided to lead the satyagraha herself in this place along with Kaveramma and Lakshamma, who had full faith in her leadership.

Patel Ramappa of Hechche had bought a few vessels and a few buffaloes at an auction of property seized by the Government. At first he did not listen to the advice of the people of his village that his action was reprehensible. The three satyagrahis came to his house and sat before it, stating that they would not leave the place until he returned to the owner the articles and the animals he had bought. They would fast till their object was achieved. For three days the ladies remained there fasting, but Patel Ramappa did not relent. Venkatramiah was there, but he was in hiding because there was an arrest warrant against him. He could not do anything in the matter. At last on the third night he came to the house and saw the pitiable condition of the ladies. Ramappa's wife could not see these ladies die in her house in a righteous cause. Her pleadings and suffering at last touched the heart of her husband, who returned the animals and

the articles and repented for his folly and obstinacy. The satyagrahis returned after staying as his guests in his house for three days. The news of this successful satyagraha by ladies spread like wildfire and roused the women of North Karnataka to action.

At Akkunji one Mahadevappagouda had bought a buffalo at an auction, but as soon as he learnt that Gouramma, Kaveramma, Bhagiratamma and Duggamma were coming to offer satyagraha before his house, he resold it to a friend. The ladies came and sat before the house, saying that they would fast till the buffalo was restored to its owner. Mahadevappagouda sent for the police. The Shanbhog, the Circle Inspector and the Foujdar promptly arrived with constables. The ladies and a few lookers-on like Annappa Hegde and Krishna Shiralgi were beaten by the constables and taken away to Siddapur. At this place satyagrahis gathered round the ladies and shouted slogans. They were also beaten. The ladies were taken to the taluk office. The police told them that only Gouramma was under arrest and the others must return home. But the three other ladies refused to go leaving Gouramma alone. The Inspector had to let all of them go home, with a strict injunction that they must be present in the office the next day. Like true satyagrahis the ladies presented themselves at the office the next day. They were detained till seven in the evening and were told that only Gouramma should stay and the others must go. But the ladies replied that they would either return together or stay there together. The police, however, dragged Gouramma into the lock-up, after severely beating her and kicking her, all the while using the foulest language against her. Gouramma spent the night alone without taking any food or drink. As soon as this was known, a number of women went to Akkunji and started satyagraha before Mahadevappa's house. Even he could not stand this new menace. The women of his own house spoke harsh words to him for his obstinacy and brutish callousness. Even his heart melted at last and he restored the buffalo to its owner.

This is the statement given by Gouramma on 21-4-32 before Mr. V. A. Telang, Magistrate of Sirsi :

“ It is a fact that I had gone with my party to Mahadevappa's house that day ; at that time, the inmates of his house had taken their meals and slept. On our going they offered us a mat to sit upon. We accordingly sat and were talking with them. Meanwhile, the witness Circle Inspector, the Shanbhog and two policemen came there. They told us that we were going from house to house on Congress work, and that if we are disgraced we will

stop doing so. I told them that we would commit suicide if they disgraced us. The women in my party then proceeded to go for making water; the police prevented them from going.

“They then let the smoke of their beedies fly on our faces. After this we left the place. The policemen then abused us, and the C.I. and the Shanbhog kept laughing. They then said that we were under arrest and told us to go to the Sub-Inspector of Police. We refused to go on foot. They then took us in a cart to Siddapur. A person named Devidas beat me with a cane on the back. The Police Inspector then abused me. The Sub-Inspector then gave me a stroke with a cane on the left leg. Then some other policemen beat me on the neck, back, and also pushed me on my back with the butt-end of the gun. Then somebody beat me on the right knee. Somebody then dragged me from the road. One of my companions came to my rescue, she was also beaten. The Police Inspector then kept us waiting in the katcheri and let us off at about 11 p.m., asking us to come on the next day. On the next day (Sunday) at 10 a.m. we went to the police katcheri. The Police Inspector again abused us and asked us what we would do if disgraced. For four or five hours he abused us and asked me to tender an apology. I refused to do so. He went and we kept ourselves in the katcheri. In the evening the Inspector again came, and he beat me again though the Sub-Inspector told him not to do so. My clothes were then changed and I was put in the lock-up. Again he was coming to the lock-up and verbally abusing me. The P.S.I. then stopped the Inspector from coming to the lock-up. It is true that I had told Mahadevappa that he should restore the she-buffalo or give me its price. This I did in the interest of the poor defaulter whose animal had been attached. It is also a fact that I had told Mahadevappa that unless he met our demand we would keep ourselves on the doorway of his house fasting till famished to death.

Sirsi
21-4-32.

(Sd.) V. A. Telang
M.F.C.

Harrowing accounts are given of the satyagraha offered by women at Mavingundi. A Police Havaladar had bought a buffalo at an auction. To get the animal back from the bidder, Bhuvan-eswaramma and Kalyal Lakshamma offered satyagraha before his office, the former for 31 days and the latter for 22 days. Before the house of a customs clerk who had bought another buffalo at

an auction, Gangamma, Sitamma, Devamma and Bhagiratamma offered satyagraha. All these ladies were beaten and kicked, and the most insulting language was used towards them. The satyagrahis bore it with amazing patience but with a grim determination to succeed in their object or to die in the attempt. At last, even these people returned the animals they had bought.

The police atrocities against women satyagrahis in Ankola taluk were equally gruesome. The police used to drive the satyagrahis out and lock up their houses. These satyagrahis would break the locks and re-enter the house. The inhuman treatment of women satyagrahis by the police was almost unthinkable. They would carry babies sleeping in the house and place them on the ground in the open, they would drag women out by force, they would throw goods from the house into the streets, and there was no limit to their beating and kicking of women. Once a few satyagrahi ladies broke open the lock of Bommiah Naik's house and sat inside to offer satyagraha. The police came and dragged them out. Manu Devi, one of the ladies, ran back and sat in the house. The police dragged her out again. When she tried again to get free from their hold and run into the house, the police got hold of her hair, threw her down brutally, slapped her on the face, kicked her and trampled upon her body. The poor lady fainted. Taking her to be dead and fearing complications, the police ran away from the place. Manu Devi was immediately taken to the hospital, and she regained consciousness only the next day. As soon as she was fit to walk about, she went to the same house to offer satyagraha. This time she was arrested and jailed.

The India League Delegation of London toured in September 1932 in the taluks of Ankola, Sirsi and Siddapur and wrote a report of the conditions in these taluks during the struggle for freedom. The following is taken from their Report :

“Caning of women.

“The Delegation arrived at Siddapur, Bombay Presidency, Kanarese Area, on 1st September 1932. The officials and the policemen we met assured us that all that appeared in Congress Bulletins were untrue. The policemen never seized stocks of foodstuffs, grain or funds as alleged by Congress and in no case were women beaten.

“While we were with the Mamlatdar and Circle Inspector of Police shouts and cries were heard in the street below. An old woman approached us and spoke in Kanarese. This was interpreted to us. She said that many were beaten by the police. The

Inspector and Mamlatdar were unable to give any explanation. The latter asked us to go with him to see the police compound and see the prisoners. Squatting on the verandah were fifteen women and two girls, the latter aged seven and nine. The Sub-Inspector who had been with us at the beginning was now here and was walking up and down before the women and looking at them fiercely.

“ The women’s story.

“ They had come into the town half an hour after the arrival of the Delegation. They were determined to make a demonstration. A crowd had followed them. The shouting we heard in the bungalow was the shouting of the police. The Sub-Inspector and his men dispersed the men crowd, arrested the seventeen women who had come from outlying villages and had caned them on the way to the police station. They made no resistance and were non-violent, and yet they were struck by the police behind as they were marched off. Injuries on the right shoulder of one were plainly visible, a recently caused stripe, another had a contusion on the head, a third showed a mark on the arm and the widow who seemed to be in charge of the demonstration displayed a badly bruised arm which she said had been caused by police.

“ Official Admissions.

“ We inquired if they were arrested. The reply was, they are not arrested sir, they are only detained, they will be released tonight. Further questioned why they were held at all in police custody, the Mamlatdar replied these women must not come into town making demonstrations. Asked about the beating, he replied, I know nothing about that, I was not there. He however agreed that the women were beaten and the Police Sub-Inspector who was still present did not deny that the women had been caned. On being further pressed for the reason for beating the women the Magistrate said, ‘ Others must be shown that they cannot do this sort of thing. They will be released and no harm will come to them ’.

“ While discussion was going on the women protested against the Sub-Inspector (who had done the beating) and he shot out, ‘ You will get worse than this.’ The women defied him to do his worst. We took up the case with the Circle Inspector at the Bungalow, later, and he denied knowledge of the facts of the case, but warned us that he knew of a case in which complaints had been made to Mr. Clee, Home Secretary to the Bombay Government, and in this case it was found that one woman had beaten

all her arrested companions in order to make out that the police beat women. We subsequently learned that the women were released at dark that night when it was raining very heavily. No food was given them and then they were sent out of town to walk many miles back to their villages.

“ At Ankola—Magistrate’s version.

“ Ankola is the centre of a No-Tax area. There is much agrarian discontent. The Delegation was met by the Mamlatdar. He stated that out of a total population of 38,000 in the taluka, at least 15,000 were Congress and very active. Most of the people sympathised with Congress. Practically all toddy shops have been closed. There is some violence in the area, and recently the Patel’s house was set on fire by six people. Demonstrations had been stopped, but the situation was very bad. The people raided the lands and buildings which had been taken away from them or from which they had been evicted, and were now used for police camps. The movement was entirely non-violent when there were Congress leaders to control it but when they were all sent to jail it was taking a violent turn.

“ It appears that crowds had gathered the previous day, having heard rumours of the Delegation’s arrival. Popular estimates put it at seven thousand ; the Mamlatdar said it was 1,500 and after his hearers laughed he made it 2,000. Anyway he was not on the spot and had only police reports to guide him. But he agreed that even 2000 was a large gathering for a small place like Ankola. We had been informed on arrival that there was a lathi charge on the crowd. We asked for the official version, which was that the Delegation was expected the previous day ; some thousands of men, women and children had gathered ; they were breakers of the forest laws and carried a piece of wood cut from the reserve forest—the sticks were symbolical of Forest Satyagraha and not weapons. They gathered on the maidan. There were ten or fifteen policemen on duty who ordered the crowd to disperse. The people refused. They said that they had come to greet the Delegation and have a view of a friend who had come thousands of miles. They stayed, in spite of rain, for hours. The police made a light lathi charge with their light canes. Some of them might have received blows from the canes or by falling during the rush. He had also heard that the “ Congress boys ” took a few of the injured to the local hospital.

“ Further Official Admissions.

“ After the official version had been given, we asked several questions and elicited in the Mamlatdar’s replies :

“ 1. That the crowd was non-violent and that the lathi charge was made to disperse them.

“ 2. That it was no offence to gather to see the visitors.

“ 3. That there was no retaliation by the crowd ; the people stood the caning and stuck to the spot.

“ 4. That the pieces of wood (sticks) in the hands of the men and women were thin pieces and mostly less than a cubit in length.

“ 5. That the breaking of the Forest Laws is only symbolic.

“ 6. That the members of the crowd could be arrested for the breaking of the Forest Law.

“ 7. That if all the law-breakers were arrested there soon would be no room in the jails.

“ 8. That the civil resisters are non-violent and no malice is harboured against officials. It is said by some of the people that the firing of the Patel's house mentioned before, was due to a private grudge.

“ The Facts of the Case.

“ Our enquiries showed that the Mamlatdar, who was not on the spot, had only such information as the police gave him. The police used their lathis and canes. Men and children were beaten. The President of the District Board of Ankola told us that the lathi charge was in fact decided on, directed and carried out by the police official and the fifteen constables and neither the Mamlatdar nor the Police Inspector had given any orders. The crowd was mercilessly beaten. One man's arm was broken, five or six others were seriously hurt and at least a hundred were severely beaten. Where the police only used the canes, the canes were broken to pieces on the bodies of the people. We saw some of the casualties, one had a wound on his hand and was in great pain, while another had his right arm covered with strips from shoulder to elbow.”

Women coming forward to undergo suffering and to sacrifice for the sake of the motherland had a tremendous effect upon the movement itself. It steeled the men to greater endeavour and led to their determination to “ do or die ”. Very rarely do we find such heroic endeavour for a cause and such loyal devotion to a leader as among the women satyagrahis of North Kanara during the fight for freedom.

Congress workers had perforce often to remain in hiding in order to despatch help to the families of satyagrahis who were in

prison, to despatch information and directives to workers in different places and to move among the people and speak to them in order to ensure that there would be no slackening of resistance to Government on their part. Many youths spread themselves all over the country to carry on these duties. Their life was very hard indeed. The police were in search of them everywhere and these young men had to escape their vigilance by hiding themselves, sometimes in jungles infested with wild beasts. Often they had to go without food, for it was extremely difficult for the volunteers to bring food for them and they had to keep on the run to escape the eye of the police. There were instances of these men going without food and shelter for days together, and yet carrying on their duties with grim determination. Their fortitude in the midst of their troubles, dangers and hardships was truly amazing. Still in the midst of all these many workers forgot their sufferings and created diversion for themselves, not only by hoodwinking the police but also by playing pranks upon them.

It was easier for the Congress workers to hide in jungles and carry on their work in the Sirsi and Siddapur taluks, for both the taluks are forested areas. But in Ankola it was not so, since most of the taluk is a plain region. The police also established stations at vital points and were able to watch the movements of the people. Their station at Kanagilahally was in a very central place and it was necessary to oust the police from this place in order to facilitate the movements of Congress workers. A few intrepid and buoyant spirits among the volunteers thought of a plan. Hammanna Naik of Kanagila, their leader, was an inventive genius in fun and frolic. He thought of a plan.

It was the harvesting season and full-moon day of the Holi feast. The farmers of those places were used to worship "Kari-devru" and go out in a procession on that day. Hammanna Naik suggested that they should organise a procession in the guise of farmers carrying their God, and the man who carried the image should pretend to be possessed by the God and warn the police that they must shift the camp from Kanagilahally as otherwise they would suffer dire consequences from the God's displeasure. After due preparation the fake procession came to the police camp. The man carrying the image shouted before the police as if possessed by the God, "Who is the wretch that has made his camp where I have to pass? Which is the human worm that has dared to obstruct the path of my progress? I will destroy him and all his followers." This cry in a loud voice was followed by a show of contrition on the part of the other members

of the procession, who prostrated themselves before him and begged him to forgive them. The policemen, not less superstitious than anybody else, were struck with fear and dismay, and falling in front of the God craved his pardon. The God now spoke through the mouth of the carrier. He said, "You must go away from this place at once. If you do not, I shall send my minions to destroy you." The police promised to obey. But they realised after the procession passed that it was not easy to shift camp without the permission of the higher authorities. They sat thinking. The authorities would be angry if they left without permission: their God would destroy them if they remained. While they were in this fearful dilemma, in the darkness of the night many of the youths stationed themselves around the camp and began to make fearful noises, cry out in a weird voice, throw stones, and shake the branches of trees, to make the policemen think that the God was true to his word and had sent devils to destroy them. They begged the God to spare them till the next morning, when they would remove the camp and go away far from the place. Gradually the sounds and the noises subsided. One of the policemen was so terrified that he developed a fever the same night and died a few days later. The police induced their officers to permit them to leave the place.

A few more details connected with this battle between organised might and indomitable spirit may be given before closing this story of the fight of the people of the three taluks of North Kanara. The Nadavars of Ankola taluk and the people of Sirsi and Siddapur, poor, unlettered and lacking in leaders of the calibre of Vallabhbhai Patel, still showed a loyalty to Gandhiji, a love of the motherland and a spirit of sacrifice in her cause, which are unsurpassed in the history of any country. As the satyagraha was intensified the Government adopted sterner and more cruel methods of suppressing it. Prabhat Pheris and flag satyagraha went on increasingly along with the No-tax Campaign. On the 4th March 1932, in Siddapur, there was an observance of Gandhi Day. A brutal lathi charge was made upon those who took part in the Prabhat Pheri in the morning. In the evening 30 women came out in a procession, and they were all arrested. There were processions again of women from the neighbouring villages. The police showered lathi blows indiscriminately upon these women. Perhaps not satisfied with this, they attacked people who were looking on from a distance and even those who stood at the doors of their houses.

Flag Satyagraha came to be associated with car festivals at

Herur and many other places. The police indulged in their usual excesses in these places also without discrimination between young and old, men and women, in the hope that the resisters would at some stage be roused to retaliate with violence and thus give them an excuse to justify their action. But there was never an instance of the satyagrahis using violence. At Sonde in Sirsi taluk, there was a Prabhat Pheri on the 8th of May 1932. Even before the Congressmen and women came, the police appeared and tried to remove the flag-post. Soon a crowd gathered and surrounded the police. As usual the police indulged in their game of dealing blows all round. The children and women of the place ran to another flag-post near by and stood around it to prevent the police from carrying it away. When the police arrived at the place the women coolly said : " You may carry away the flag-post along with our dead bodies." A few people were arrested and taken to Siddapur police station. But, seeing that matters might take such a turn as to make it impossible for the police to keep them in control, the Foujdar of the place quietly released the arrested people. He gave them sumptuous food and arranged for a cart for their return. At last the authorities realised that the safer course for them was to wink at satyagraha rather than try to suppress it. The Forest Satyagraha and the preparation of contraband salt were also going on regularly. The indifference of the police made the satyagrahis think ; for people might conclude that the laws and ordinances against satyagraha were no longer in force. So the Satyagraha Council of Sirsi decided in its meeting on the 10th of May 1932 that all satyagrahis should give previous intimation to the police before they started Forest Satyagraha. At first the police tried to arrest a few of the leaders, and often had recourse to lathi charges. But when Smt. Sitabai came with about a dozen women satyagrahis to inform the police that they were going to offer satyagraha, the guardians of law and order seem to have decided that the limit had been reached and from that time stopped interfering with the Forest Satyagraha.

The satyagrahis, encountering no police opposition, eventually became indifferent to these forms of satyagraha. But in June 1932 the police themselves roused them to activity. They began to seize the houses of all those who refused to pay taxes and locked them up after driving the inmates out. Soon the monsoon set in, and for some time there was an enforced lull in the satyagraha campaign. But the authorities knew that it would again be in full swing during the harvesting season. The Deputy Inspector-General of Police wrote to the Government already in June that

the Nadavars of Ankola and the people of Sirsi and Siddapur were determined to fight the Government, that by about October satyagraha would commence in right earnest, and that Venkatramiah was ably directing these satyagraha operations from his headquarters in the Mysore State.

The rain increased and the condition of those who had been ejected from their houses became deplorable. Most of them did not have enough to eat, although relief work was carried on assiduously by Venkatramiah and his band of volunteers. When satyagrahis who returned after completing their terms in prison and others who were let out on parole joined them, the situation became acute, for they had no work to do and there was a fear of their ardour cooling down. Now Venkatramiah called a conference of these people. They told him that if only he could give them some satyagraha work they would be ready to go to jail or suffer police cruelty. It was decided that they must go to the houses of those who had bought property at auctions for non-payment of taxes and recover them, remove or destroy the crops on land which had been seized by the Government, and wherever possible raise crops of rice.

This was ample work for these enthusiastic young men. A batch of satyagrahis would suddenly appear before the house of a man who had bought movables at an auction and demand those articles. Very often the articles were promptly returned, and then the money paid for them was given. A few appealed to the police. In these cases the satyagrahis were arrested and imprisoned. Those who had come out on parole and failed to return to jail organised "raid parties" to carry away crops from fields and plantations which had been seized by the Government. The Government thought of getting coolies from the coast regions to harvest the crops. A man was appointed to obtain a thousand coolies and the Government promised him the title of Rao Sahib. Congress volunteers disguised themselves and went to Honavar and Kumta taluks, where the coolies had to be found. They told the people that there was Congress rule in Siddapur taluk and that they would die of accident or disease if they went there, for even the water in those plantations was poisoned. A few wandering mendicants had come to Siddapur; they had been induced by the police to find out the whereabouts of Venkatramaiah, Nagesh Hegde and others, and had been caught and produced before Venkatramiah, who had threatened them and sent them back; they corroborated the story of Congress Raj in Siddapur. In place of 1000 coolies hardly 100 came, and the title of Rao

Sahib for the worthy contractor remained a dream. Even when betelnut was being sent in motor vans under police escort the volunteers would devise means of taking possession of it without fighting. Still some betelnut was brought to Sirsi and one or two dealers bought it in spite of the warning. Now Venkatramiah informed the dealers in Bombay about this and made them warn the dealers in Sirsi that they would not buy goods taken from satyagrahis. Thus this method of selling seized articles also failed.

The Government once again tried to sell the betelnut at Byadgi. A few merchants bought it in spite of the threat of Congressmen to picket and offer satyagraha. Hundreds of Congress volunteers stood around their shops. The dealers of Bombay wrote to them that they would not buy the goods. The trade in betelnut came to a standstill in Byadgi. The merchants now appealed to Venkatramiah to save them from this situation, and an agreement was reached. A Congressman would be placed in Byadgi to see that the sale of satyagrahis' property did not take place. The merchants had to give him his monthly maintenance charges. They had also to pay for the Congress fund an amount which Venkatramiah would specify. The merchants had also to pay the travel and boarding charges of the hundreds of satyagrahis who had come to Byadgi. They could sell only those goods for which there was a Congress permit. The merchants, driven to the corner, had to accept these conditions.

There was no-one to purchase lands forfeited to the Government for non-payment of taxes. The Government induced three ruffians, Bahadur Khan, Idroos Khan and Mahmatali Jabuddin to buy these lands, promising to make them permanent zamindars in the taluk. These people brought Konkani and Maratha coolies from Karwar and with the help of the police attempted to suppress the satyagrahis who tried to prevent harvesting and transport of the crops. With the help and encouragement of the police these three men perpetrated horrible atrocities on the satyagrahis. When the latter set fire to the sugarcane crop of Bahadur Khan at Ulavare, the Government imposed a punitive tax, which came to be called the "Bahadur Tax", upon the neighbouring villages. The correspondent of the *Hindu* of Madras exposed the heinous doings of the police and the administrative officers, and the world learnt with amazement of the grit and courage of the people of these taluks.

In a message to the peasants of Gujarat, Sardar Patel spoke thus of the sacrifices of the satyagrahis of Ankola, Sirsi and Sidda-

pur : "The brave peasants of Karnatak have vied with you in their sacrifices, in their loss of lands and property, in their privations and their sufferings. They have courted attachments, confiscations, imprisonments and worse. Both men and women have shown utter disregard of sufferings and privations and they are today as ruined and resourceless as can be imagined. The tales of their bravery and their sacrifices have filled me with admiration and pride and the news of their sufferings at times unhinged me."

It is now necessary to review the events at the Second Round Table Conference. As we have seen, Gandhiji tried his best to present a united Indian demand to the British Government. He spent the major part of his time and energy working to this end. But the British Government had with great astuteness gathered communalists and reactionaries and cleverly tutored them to obstruct all efforts at unity. Exactly what the British Government wanted happened. Gandhiji returned disappointed and frustrated. Meanwhile the formation of the National Government in England had profoundly affected the course of the negotiations between the Indian representatives and the British. Ramsay MacDonald was still the Prime Minister but he was more helpless than before in the mixed team of Labourites, Conservatives and Liberals. It was natural therefore that still less consideration should be shown towards the Indian demands than formerly. The constitution was whittled down still further and was not much different from the Simon Commission product. This Simon Report was, as it has been aptly described, a mountain of report based upon a molehill of evidence. And the scheme which now emerged for the better Government of India was a poor shadow of what many of the Indian delegations had conceived at the beginning.

CONGRESS RESTS AWHILE ON ITS OARS : PERIOD OF RECUPERATION

On January 26, 1932, Independence Day was celebrated all over India. Every city, town and village of any importance celebrated the Day with Prabhat Pheris, flag-hoisting and salute and processions. The police reaped a harvest of repression by their lathi charges, arrests, and even shootings in some places. But the celebration went on with unabated enthusiasm and demonstrated that India was quite awake, alive and kicking also. Anyone who saw these celebrations in the midst of Government's bans and blows had to conclude that no force could succeed in suppressing this national resurgence.

Terrorist activities also increased in intensity. These misguided youths who sought to terrify the British into quitting India were nonetheless patriots of the purest ray. They staked their lives for the cause of the country. They gambled with death like children sporting with toys. Their courage, their determination and total indifference to danger were remarkable. The case of Bina Das, a teenage girl of Bengal, may be given here to illustrate this point. She shot at Sir Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal, when he was addressing the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University. Five shots were fired but all of them missed. She was arrested on the spot. Before the Tribunal which conducted her trial Bina Das pleaded guilty to the charge and read out this written statement : " I fired at the Governor impelled by my love of country, which is being repressed. I thought that the only way to death was by offering myself at the feet of my country, and thus make an end of all my sufferings. I invite the attention of all to the situation created by the measures of the Government which can unsex even a frail woman like myself, brought up in all the best traditions of Indian womanhood. I can assure all that I have no sort of personal feeling against Sir Stanley Jackson, the man, who is just as good as my father, and the Hon. Lady Jackson, who is just as good as my mother. But the Governor of Bengal represents a system which has kept enslaved 300 millions of my countrymen and countrywomen. . . . " A better understanding of the mind of these revolutionaries, a less uncompromising attitude towards their activities, would undoubtedly have weaned them away from their dangerous activities and they would have become the staunchest supporters of Con-

gress policies. Indeed the terrorist movement in India would have grown beyond all bounds had it not been for the influence of Gandhiji's personality. It is rightly said, Gandhiji was the best policeman in India and the Government failed to understand this.

On the 17th of August, 1932, Ramsay MacDonald issued his "Communal Award" setting up separate electorates for the Harijans. It cannot properly be called an award, for an award is something decided and binding upon two parties both of whom have consented to having a third person settle a dispute. Still it was called by the grandiloquent title of award. But the results of MacDonald's award were tragic. During the Round Table Conference Gandhiji had declared in unmistakable terms that he would fight with his life against any attempt to separate the Harijans from the Hindus. The seriousness of this assertion had gone unnoticed then. But now Gandhiji at once wrote to MacDonald that unless the grant of separate electorates to Harijans were withdrawn, he would begin a fast unto death on the 20th of September. The whole nation was shocked to its depths at this announcement of Gandhiji while letters were being exchanged between Gandhiji and MacDonald.

Gandhiji began his fast on the date he had specified. It was now the sole aim of the leaders in India to save his life. A united demand for the abolition of the separate electorate would enable the Prime Minister to withdraw his award. Every leader of any importance in India took part in the meetings and conference held to present a united demand, and Ambedkar at last agreed to accept joint electorates. MacDonald withdrew his award and Gandhiji's life was saved. It is not the fast itself so much as the results of the fast on the Indian political situation that are of importance. Acceptance of the award would have separated a large section of the Hindus into another community and perpetuated a social injustice. It would have been a disgrace to Hinduism, which had grown for milleniums into a tolerant, all-embracing and humanitarian faith. Further, it would undoubtedly have given further encouragement to fissiparous tendencies and perhaps divided Hindus into a number of sections to the total detriment of the cause of freedom. Now a new non-political field of work was opened to Congressmen and also to those who did not subscribe to the Congress creed, and the enthusiasm to work for the removal of untouchability was unbounded.

As a result of the deliberations of the Third Round Table Conference and the squabbles of conflicting interests in innumer-

able committees, the White Paper came out, giving India the semblance of a constitution in which the safeguards and special powers completely vitiated the scheme of Indian representation and responsibility which it sought to introduce. The Calcutta Congress of 1933 would have none of it. It resolved upon continuing the boycott and strengthening of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It appealed to the people not to be duped by the offers made in the 'White Paper'. The whole country was busy discussing this sickly child of the Round Table Conference. Even the Moderates were disappointed, while the Congress scorned it.

Meanwhile the Harijan Movement was going on all over the country. In many places sincere efforts were made by earnest workers for the abolition of that social curse. In some places over-enthusiastic workers were exceeding the limit and were an annoyance rather than help in promoting the movement. The public mind was now centred upon Harijan work. On the 8th of May 1933 Gandhiji suddenly announced that he would undertake a self-purificatory fast for 21 days. The country was taken by surprise. About the fast Gandhiji himself said that it was "a heart prayer for purification of myself and my associates for greater vigilance and watchfulness in connection with the Harijan cause". The Government immediately released him. The whole country watched with anxiety the progress of the fast and the news about the deterioration of his condition as the fast progressed. Messages came from all over India appealing to him to break his fast. Rabindranath Tagore sent this message: "Great anxiety darkens the country owing to your tragic resolve. Pray reconsider your decision for the sake of humanity which cannot spare you now. We claim your living guidance in these fateful days of India's history, when our future is being shaped and our millions depend upon your wisdom." Gandhiji broke his fast on the 29th with prayers, and just before breaking fast he gave this message to the people assembled: "Within a minute or two I break my fast in His name and with faith in Him. In His name it was taken up. In His name it terminates. My faith in Him is not less today, but more. You will not expect me to make a speech on this occasion. It is an occasion for praising the name and singing the glory of God."

As has already been said, the White Paper was greeted with repugnance by all sections in India. Even in England, except in Conservative circles it was looked on with disfavour. Mr. Attlee in his note said:

"They (the Labour Party) stand by the declaration made

at the Blackpool Conference of 1927, the effect of which was to reaffirm the right of the Indian people to full self-determination. Therefore the policy of the British Government should be one of continuous cooperation with the Indian people with the object of establishing India as early as possible by her own consent as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The new constitution should contain within itself provision for its own development. It should contain the principle laid down in the Irwin-Gandhi Pact that such safeguards as are necessary should be in the interests of India and should be agreed to in cooperation with the leaders of Indian opinion. The Indian Constitution should adopt the principle laid down by the Labour Government at the first R.T.C. and repeated as their policy by the National Government at the second R.T.C., that the reserved powers should not be such as to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own Government. The Labour Party stand by the principle that a settlement cannot be reached without the cooperation and consent of all sections in India. Therefore, I ask for the release of all political prisoners. The Labour Government's policy was cooperation, free discussion and agreement and it achieved a remarkable triumph when Congress representatives were present at the R.T.C. A change followed under the National Government. The R.T.C. was dismissed. An era of repression against the Congress was started and the whole structure of conciliation was shattered. The third R.T.C. contained a small number of handpicked unrepresentative delegates. It was a mistaken policy because it was impossible to smash the Congress by force and reach a satisfactory conclusion with a few Indian representatives. The White Paper seemed directly to conflict with the principle laid down and our pledges. The whole idea of Dominion Status was gone, as also of progressive advance towards self-government. There was no suggestion that the powers of the Governor General and the Secretary of State would lapse. . . . The only basis for an interim constitution was complete agreement with the politically minded people with whom we would have to work. . . . In the White Paper there was no central responsibility and no suggestion of progress towards responsibility or relaxation of the existing control. There was no approach to Dominion Status, while every vested interest was protected, as a result of which the banker would reign in Delhi as in London." His voice was lost in the reactionary concourse, but the same voice prevailed in 1947.

The White Paper made the safeguards safe while it whittled down the concessions to ineffectiveness. Even the Liberal Federation of India for once abandoned its usual moderation and declared in its resolution on the White Paper : “ The National Liberal Federation of India deems it its duty to record its strong conviction that the White Paper proposals, as they stand, cannot possibly satisfy even the most moderate section of progressive opinion, and will, far from appeasing unrest and allaying discontent, aggravate the present unhappy conditions and further alienate public opinion from the Government and greatly intensify the present acute and widespread discontent. A generous, far-reaching measure of real reform, on the lines of a Dominion Constitution, which will make India an equal member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, will alone meet India’s requirements and satisfy the national self-respect of the people of India.” *The Leader* of Allahabad made the cryptic remark : “ The scheme may be anything. It is certain it is not a scheme of self-government.” Many leaders of the Congress, however, were not disappointed, for they had not expected anything better. But the Conservatives, in order to pacify public opinion at home and to demonstrate to the world that their sincere efforts to achieve constitutional advance in India were not bearing fruit because of lack of unity among the Indian parties, cleverly camouflaged the fact that they themselves were responsible for this.

Thus, in the midst of gloom and uncertainty in the political atmosphere consequent on the attitude of the Government, which while suppressing nationalist activity tried also to make a show of constitutional advance, the 47th Session of the Indian National Congress met on the 1st of April 1933 in Calcutta. The Congress had become Government’s Enemy Number One. The meeting had been banned, and expecting that it might be held in spite of the ban, there were on that day more policemen in the streets of Calcutta than common citizens. As the delegates poured in from different parts of India they were arrested and carried away. But the stream of Congressmen flowed into the city and the Congress was held in spite of arrests, lathi charges and attacks by the police. Amongst the resolutions drafted by the Subjects Committee the following were the most important :

1. Congress reaffirms that complete independence is its goal.

2. It resolves to carry on Civil Disobedience with greater vigour and intensity.

3. It calls upon people to boycott foreign cloth and all British goods.

4. It declares that the White Paper is not worthy of acceptance or even of consideration, since it seeks to perpetuate foreign domination.

The fight put up by India's sons and daughters for their motherland's freedom in the face of Government's brutal suppression and barbarous methods of fighting non-violent crowds, was as glorious as it was unprecedented. However, over a lakh of people were behind prison bars and as many families suffered from want and starvation; the floggings, the lathi charges and the shootings of unarmed people, some of them women and boys, and other brutal methods of punishment meted out to Indians for their sin of being patriots, had to some extent created a mood of depression and frustration in the country. The Congress itself had become war-weary. It was as if the suffering undergone for the country was felt to have passed the limit. Some of the leaders felt that the ordeal which the country had passed through was excessive and a period of rest and recuperation was necessary. The Civil Disobedience movement slowly waned, and the Government thought that they had crushed Congress effectively, perhaps for ever. But in their complacency the bureaucracy could not realise the simple fact that a national upheaval is like a volcano erupting intermittently, each time acquiring greater momentum than on the previous occasion. The Civil Disobedience movement might wane, or even die out, but the Congress and national dynamic urge which the Congress signified would never die.

For the time the political struggle was in a condition of stalemate, and some of the leaders like Dr. Ansari thought of altering the plan of fight. An informal conference of Congressmen met at Poona on the 12th of July 1933 and decided to give up mass civil disobedience and take up individual disobedience. Gandhiji had successfully gone through the ordeal of three weeks' fast, but was now physically incapacitated from taking up any activity. He wrote to the Viceroy requesting an interview, but received a categorical refusal. Realising what the country had suffered and was suffering, he decided upon greater austerity for himself and his followers and gave up the Sabarmati Ashram which he had built up with such loving care and which represented all his thoughts and aspirations as it represented those of the whole of India. In November of 1933 he started on his Harijan tour.

The year 1933 was at last rung out, but the year 1934 did not hold cheerful prospects for India, or for the matter of that, the world. The political condition of Europe was like a seething cauldron, with the rise of the Nazi movement in Germany with its megalomania of racial purity and political vindictiveness, with the ominous march towards dissolution of Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, which had initially held out the promise of making the world safe for democracy, with an unprecedented economic depression all over the world, and with a portentous unpredictability in all corporate human efforts. Lloyd George portrayed the world situation in these words: "Mankind is getting gradually nearer the brink, year by year, revolution by revolution, conference by conference, and it is near enough to singe its wings."

Thus, while all over the world people were waiting upon events in ominous expectancy, in India things were so shaping themselves as to render a look into the future impossible. In place of mass civil disobedience, individual disobedience had been started, and the people who offered it were being arrested and thrown into prison. On the 4th of August, Gandhiji too was arrested and thrown into prison. Mrs. Gandhi was arrested three days later along with fifteen other women and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. On the question of giving him facilities for carrying on Harijan work from prison, as he had been given earlier, Gandhiji had to undertake a fast on the 17th since the Government refused to give him the facilities. But on the 23rd he was released unconditionally since his physical condition was alarming. As soon as he recovered his strength to a slight extent he plunged into Harijan work; he had written in *Harijan*, "whether in prison or outside prison, Harijan service will always be after my heart, and will be the very breath of life for me, more precious than my daily bread".

The slowing down of the tempo of resistance by the Congress had given to the Government a somewhat false assurance that the national movement had been crushed. On the 30th of August the Viceroy in his address to the Legislature stated that the civil disobedience movement now continued in a precarious condition, but the mass of the people had discarded it. The Government failed to realise properly that the Congress was the only organised political body functioning in India, and by the irresistible power of Gandhiji's personality it had become compact and widespread and also developed a forcefulness of purpose which could not be repressed by any physical might. The urge for action and the

determination to achieve the end had spread to the masses. It was impossible that the Congress should be crushed. In fact just for a while the Congress was resting on its oars waiting for the opportune time to make another supreme effort for progress towards its objective.

As soon as he had recovered, in November 1933 Gandhiji took up his Harijan tour. He came to North Karnataka in February 1934 and toured in the taluks of Sirsi, Siddapur, Ankola and Karwar. To the people of these taluks, who had undergone unbearable suffering and offered their all as sacrifice in answer to his call of civil disobedience, the physical presence of Gandhiji was the cause of supreme joy and unbounded enthusiasm. The people feasted their eyes in looking at the great man at whose call millions of people had offered themselves as a sacrifice in the cause of the country, and thus his Harijan tour served also to rouse the spirit of the people and to prepare them for still greater sacrifices if necessary. The political fight in North Kanara was entirely non-violent and strictly according to Gandhiji's directions, and the suffering undergone and the sacrifices made by the thousands of men and women in that district constitute an epic of heroic struggle. We may here relate an incident of loyalty and sacrifice which brought tears to the eyes of Gandhiji.

Nagesh Hegde of Kelaginamane and his brothers possessed a substantial quantity of valuables in the form of gold and ornaments. Expecting arrest and imprisonment at any moment, they arranged that the youngest of the brothers should guard the treasure carefully until they returned from jail. They were all duly arrested for satyagraha ; and the care of the treasure fell to the youngest. He was also a volunteer and did not know what would happen to him. He buried the treasure in a garden and kept a watch on it. But he also was arrested and sent to jail for six months. He returned while his elder brothers were still in jail. He ran to the garden where he had buried his family treasure and was shocked to find that it had been carried away. He now thought of what his brothers might think of him when they returned from jail and found that their treasure had disappeared. The prospect of being called a liar and a cheat by his own family unhinged his mind, and he began to wander in the streets shouting that the treasure that he had buried in the garden had disappeared.

Immediately the police were on the alert and active. They dug up the whole garden. Near by was the cottage of a man named Shivappa. Their suspicion fell on him. They took him

to the police station and applied their usual third degree methods to him to learn the whereabouts of the treasure. But he was innocent and could only say that he did not know. They left him more dead than alive and turned upon his wife Devi. She also was subjected to whipping and torture, but maintained that she knew nothing. Meanwhile the young man was wandering about the streets. When his wife came out of prison he could not even recognise her. At last Nagesh Hegde himself arrived after serving his term. He reached his house rather late at night. When he sat with a number of friends in the house Devi came with a vessel in her hand. Offering it to Nagesh Hegde, she said that she had found it in the garden with the brim of the pot visible and had taken it home and guarded it, not speaking about it even to her husband. As a result of beating and torture by the police her husband had contracted a fever and died. Nagesh Hegde was deeply touched by the loyalty and firmness of the woman and asked her to take whatever she wanted from the pot to help her in her destitute condition. She flatly refused to touch anything.

When Gandhiji was at Siddapur this woman was brought before him in a procession and her story was related to him. With tears in his eyes Gandhiji remarked that it was the loyalty, incorruptibility and honesty of such people that enabled the world to go on living.

The White Paper emerged from the scrutiny of the Select Committee with few changes in March 1934. It then passed through Parliament; and became the Government of India Act of 1935. Gandhiji was now engrossed in Harijan activities and was given less and less attention to the political situation. Meanwhile the calamity of the Bihar earthquake on the 15th of January 1934 came like a bombshell, and every Indian felt deeply for his brethren in that unfortunate province. Naturally every politician's attention, including Gandhiji's, turned towards giving relief to the stricken people of Bihar. In this manner the country's attention was diverted from the struggle for freedom, already attenuated as it was from mass to individual satyagraha. Gandhiji also saw the trend of events and the temper of the people, and he decided to suspend civil disobedience for Swaraj. On the 7th of April 1934 he issued a statement in which he said, "I feel the masses have not received the full message of satyagraha, owing to its adulteration in the process of transmission. It has become clear to me that spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media. Spiritual messages are self-propagating. The reaction of the

masses throughout the Harijan tour has been the latest forcible illustration of what I mean. The splendid response of the masses has been spontaneous. Workers themselves were amazed at the attendance and fervour of the vast masses, whom they had never reached.

“Satyagraha is purely a spiritual weapon. It may be used for what may appear to be mundane ends and through men and women who do not understand its spirituality, provided the director knows that the weapon is spiritual. Everyone cannot use surgical instruments. Many may use them if there is an expert behind them, directing their use. I claim to be the satyagraha expert in the making. I have need to be far more careful than the expert surgeon, who is a complete master of his science. I am still a humble searcher. The very nature of this science of satyagraha precludes the student from seeing more than the step immediately in front of him.

“Introspection prompted by conversation with the Ashram inmates has led me to the conclusion that I must advise all Congressmen to suspend civil resistance for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. They should leave it to me alone. It should be resumed by others in my lifetime only under my direction, unless one arises claiming to know the science better than I do and inspires confidence.

“I give this opinion as the author and initiator of satyagraha. Henceforth, therefore, all who have been impelled to work for Swaraj under my advice, directly given or indirectly inferred, will please desist from civil resistance. I am quite convinced that this is the best course in the interests of India’s fight for freedom.”

The following extract from Jawaharlal Nehru’s *Autobiography* makes the situation as far as the Government was concerned, clear : “Politically India was more or less quiet ; public activities were largely controlled and suppressed by the Government, and arrests occasionally took place. But the silence of India then was full of significance. It was the ominous silence which follows exhaustion after experiencing a period of fierce repression, a silence which is often very eloquent, but is beyond the ken of Governments that repress. India was the ideal police state, and the police mentality pervaded all spheres of government. Outwardly all non-conformity was suppressed; and a vast army of spies and secret agents covered the land. There was an atmosphere of demoralisation and an all-pervading fear among the people. Any political activity, especially in the rural areas, was immediately suppressed, and the various provincial Govern-

ments were trying to hound out Congressmen from the service of municipalities and local boards. Every person who had been to prison as a civil resister was unfit, according to Government, for teaching in a municipal school or serving the municipality in any other way. Great pressure was brought to bear on municipalities, etc., and threats were held out that Government grants would be stopped if the offending Congressmen were not dismissed."

The Congress had become exhausted by its fight with Government's physical might and thought of suspending the fight for a time ; some people may even have supposed that Gandhiji and his methods had proved their futility. The Government of course believed with self-satisfaction that it had crushed the elements that sought to obstruct the even tenor of its imperialist policy. But few people realised that at this stage of the fight the continuance or the discontinuance of civil disobedience was not the fact that mattered ; what really mattered was the moral defiance of the people, and this was firmly established. Gandhiji, in his unique way, had released mighty forces which had extended to every part of the country and roused a sense of self-respect and character among the people. As Nehru says, he had made the Indian problem a world problem, and no force, however mighty, could retard the rush towards fulfilment of the aim of this resurgent India. The Government failed to see and appreciate this. While the physical strength of the Congress had declined for the nonce, its spiritual strength and vigour remained to carry on the fight and to stop not till the goal was reached.

While thus the struggle was in a quiescent phase, attempts were made by some top-ranking Congressmen like Ansari, Dr. B. C. Roy and Bhulabhai Desai to give shape to the future course of events and take up activities in conformity with it. Civil Disobedience could not be revived immediately ; many Congressmen (the more earnest among them) had diverted their attention to the Harijan cause, the spread of khaddar, combatting drink and reviving village industries. Those who remained without any such activity thought of reviving the Swaraj Party and entering the Councils in order to fight the communal, careerist, reactionary forces by constitutional means. These people arrived at this decision in a meeting held at Delhi on the 1st and 2nd of April 1934. In this Conference it was resolved to contest the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly and to sweep the polls, in order to prove that the Congress was still a live force, refusing to be extinguished, and also to secure the repeal of all

repressive laws and to replace the proposals of the White Paper by the national demand of the Congress. They consulted Gandhiji in the matter and he gave his approval. This was what *The Hindu* of 6th April 1934 wrote with regard to this reorientation of Congress policy.

“ The statement issued by Dr. Ansari and his colleagues, describing the results of their conference with Gandhiji, will be received with supreme satisfaction in the country. Though carping criticism of the Delhi decision to revive the Swaraj Party has not been lacking from quarters which were wont to regard themselves as exclusive custodians of Congress honour and prestige, the very cordial and widespread welcome which has been given to that decision, as may be seen from press reports, shows how keenly the country desires that the Congress and Congressmen should again take their rightful place in the fight for freedom. Gandhiji, who is no worshipper of prestige but a consummate judge of affairs, who can read the nation's pulse as no-one else can, realises the intensity of this feeling and has not hesitated to acknowledge it. He observes : ‘ I have no hesitation in welcoming the revival of the Swaraj Party and the coming elections to the Assembly ’. To those who had, for reasons best known to themselves, hoped that Gandhiji would either denounce the Delhi decision or, at the least, take up a coolly non-committal attitude, this cordiality may come as a painful surprise ; while those who have so long pleaded for the resumption of constructive political activity by the most progressive and powerful body of opinion in the country must feel profoundly gratified that Gandhiji has not contented himself with blessing the Delhi decision but has promised that, consistently with his well-known views on civil disobedience and on the utility of the legislatures in India as she is now circumstanced, he would be at the disposal of the party at all times and render such assistance as it is in his power to give. . . .

“ We trust that the Government will not persist in an intransigent attitude under the mistaken impression that Gandhiji's decision represents a climb-down and that it has been brought about solely by the Government's display of strength. It is, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, unnecessary to join in the game of guessing whether Gandhiji or the Congress leaders in Delhi ‘ spoke first ’. The fact remains that Congress opinion is now definitely in favour of a change of political method and programme which opens the way for its cooperation anew in the task of finally shaping the new constitution and working it. The Government have unvaryingly professed a desire to gain this co-

operation, but pleaded that they could take no steps in this behalf so long as the Congress was wedded to what they maintained were unconstitutional methods. This plea is no longer available, and a duty is therefore cast upon the Government to bespeak the active support of that large body of public opinion for which the Congress stands. The *Manchester Guardian* observes that the Congress leaders' decision calls for 'an answering gesture by Britain'. We would only add that such a gesture would be also sound policy and as much in Britain's interests as in India's."

The All-India Congress Committee which met at Patna on the 18th and 19th of May, 1934, put its seal of approval on the formation of the new party and a Parliamentary Board to carry on elections to the Legislatures and to help the conduct of affairs by Congress members in the Legislatures on a concerted plan. It also formally suspended civil disobedience. The nation was quite awake, and the Congress also; but the intensity of the recent struggle and the exhaustion which it caused necessitated a change in methods of fighting and not total abandonment of fighting. The resignation of Gandhiji and his ceasing to be even a member of the Congress caused some confusion in the minds of many Congressmen who could not understand the real situation. Gandhiji had carefully studied the whole trend of events. He was fully aware of the minds of his co-workers. In addition to the general exhaustion caused by the fight, there was discernible a new way of thinking among many of his followers. Leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru had studied the principles and methods of socialism and sincerely believed that they could be applied in India for national regeneration, perhaps not grasping clearly the Gandhian doctrine, which was fundamentally socialistic in character, and the Gandhian methods, which would ultimately take the country to the socialistic goal. There were again quite a substantial number of Congress members who would not go the whole way with Gandhi in regard to the Harijan movement. There were even some who had ceased to believe in the efficacy of the spiritual weapons of truth, non-violence and satyagraha against the organised physical might of Imperial England. Thus the whole situation was, as it were, in the melting pot. Gandhiji felt that he should no longer be a drag upon those who would choose a path somewhat different from his. Training in political warfare was the paramount need of the hour, and Congressmen should not be made to follow him blindly out of regard and respect for his personality. It is thus that he dissociated himself from the Congress. But it did not mean that he would have

nothing to do with the Congress programme and activities as some people thought. He had withdrawn Civil Disobedience unto himself ; he had not abrogated it. The All-India Spinners' Association and the All-India Village Industries Association would be in his hands, but there was nothing prohibiting Congressmen from working in them. What is more, the Congress had full power to start Civil Disobedience whenever it wanted, and Gandhiji had assured the country that his help and cooperation would be available whenever the nation wanted him. Thus, Gandhiji's resignation was only a slight alteration in the methods and procedure of national work ; and what was more important, he was allowing his associates to think independently, to plan without another's guidance or pressure, and to work without hindrance.

That a few leaders were not unaware of the implications of Gandhiji remaining aloof from Congress political activities, can be seen in the address delivered by Babu Rajendra Prasad in the Congress of 1934 at Bombay :

“ Independence is the natural outcome of all that the freedom movement in India has stood for. It cannot mean isolation, particularly when we remember that it has to be achieved by non-violence. It means the end of exploitation of one country by another, and of one part of the population of the same country by another part. It contemplates a free and friendly association with other nations for the mutual benefit of all. It forebodes evil to none, not even to those exploiting us, except in so far as they rely upon exploitation rather than goodwill. The sanction behind this independence movement is non-violence, which, in its positive and dynamic aspect, is goodwill of and for all. We already see signs of how it has begun appealing to a certain extent of world opinion. This appeal has to become irresistible. It can do so according as the element of distrust and suspicion, which has its birth in fear, is eliminated and replaced by a sense of security born of confidence in the goodwill of India. India having no designs on others, will not then need a large army either for its protection against foreigners or for internal peace, which will stand guaranteed by the goodwill of her inhabitants. Having no designs on others, she will be able to claim immunity from the evil designs of others, and her safety will be buttressed and protected by the goodwill of the world at large. Conceived in this light, our Independence ought not to frighten even the Britishers, unless they aim at perpetuating the present unnatural conditions.

“ The method too is crystal-clear. It is active, dynamic, non-

violent mass action. We may fail once, we may fail twice, but we are bound to succeed some day.

“Many have already lost their lives and all. Many more have sacrificed themselves in the struggle for freedom. Let us not be deterred by the difficulties which confront us nor diverted from our straight course by fear or favour. Our weapons are unique and the world is watching the progress of our great experiment with interest and high expectation. Let us be true to our creed, and firm in our determination. Satyagraha in its active application may meet with temporary set-backs, but it knows no defeat. It is itself a great victory, for, as James Russell Lowell put it :

Truth for ever on the scaffold,
Wrong for ever on the throne,
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow,
Keeping watch above His own.”

MYSORE ON THE MARCH

Satyagraha continued in different parts of Karnataka until the Civil Disobedience Movement was stopped. As we have already seen, women as well as men underwent suffering and sacrifice on an unprecedented scale and wrote a glorious chapter in the history of the Freedom Movement in India. In princely Mysore, the condition of affairs was slightly different from that in other parts in as much as people were associated with the Government, though on a small scale, by the existence of the Representative Assembly. But the people of Mysore were somewhat more advanced than the people of the other parts of Karnataka, thanks to a benevolent ruler who identified himself with them. But it was impossible that one part of India should advance while the other parts lagged behind. The British would not allow the advanced part to constitute an object-lesson in political struggle to the less advanced portion. Thus the Government was forced to place obstacles in the way of the people's fight for responsible government. The Mysoreans were in full sympathy with the movement in other parts of India and had gone in large numbers to participate in the political fight in other parts of Karnataka. The fight for representative government took a serious turn when Mysoreans came to demand a fully democratic constitution for Mysore, with the Prince reigning but not ruling, as in England. As the agitation quickened, the attitude of the Government also stiffened. Repression went on in Mysore also, and this only incited the people to still greater effort. In the minds of some Mysore leaders there were doubts about the correct attitude of the Indian National Congress towards political struggle in the State. These doubts were cleared by the Working Committee of the Congress at its meeting held at Wardha on the 29th, 30th and 31st July 1935. The committee declared in its resolution :

“ Although the policy of the Congress regarding the States in India has been defined in its resolutions, a persistent effort is being made by or on behalf of the States to get a fuller declaration of the Congress policy. The Working Committee therefore issues the following statement concerning the policy of the Congress with regard to the Princes and the people of the States :

“ The Indian National Congress recognises that the people in the Indian States have an inherent right to Swaraj no less than the people of British India. It has accordingly declared itself in

favour of the establishment of representative responsible government in the States and has in that behalf not only appealed to the Princes to establish such responsible government in their States and to guarantee fundamental rights of citizenship, like freedom of person, speech, association and the press to their people, but has also pledged to the States' people its sympathy and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government. By that declaration and by that pledge the Congress stands. The Congress feels that even in their own interests the Princes will be well advised to establish at the earliest possible moment full responsible citizenship to their people."

The following extract from the resolutions passed at the private meeting of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee (file No. 5|INC|37-III in the office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., Bombay) describes the situation in Mysore in 1937 :

"(1) This meeting feels sorry about the orders that are in force in Mysore State about the processions, movements and meetings in connection with the Congress Committee. By these orders, they have prohibited meetings and speeches. The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee is of opinion that the speeches that were delivered by the Diwan of Mysore are going to be rather suppressive. The K.P.C.C. is always ready to aid and suffer the hardships regarding the people of Mysore to get the freedom of speech and the freedom of holding meetings.

"(2) The K.P.C.C. opines that the hoisting of the National Flag does not do any harm or put in shame the Mysore State Flag. It also expresses its opinion that its aim and ideas are not against Mysore State. So this meeting resolves that the orders issued by the Government of Mysore against the hoisting of the National Flag are needless and should be withdrawn at once.

"(3) The K.P.C.C. is of opinion that the requests made by the people of Mysore are reasonable and the K.P.C.C. is at all times ready to help them.

"(4) These suppressive orders should be withdrawn soon. This meeting hopes that the Mysore Government will not give any trouble about the resolutions passed by the Congress and so the K.P.C.C. requests the Mysore Government to withdraw their suppressive orders and the cases that are now pending trial.

"(5) The leaders of Mysore are requesting the K.P.C.C. to help them and give them backing to encourage them in their efforts

“(6) This meeting bestows power upon the Congress people of Mysore to get their freedom and abolish the suppressive rule of the Mysore Government.

“(7) *Unification of Karnatak* : The aim and object of the K.P.C.C. is to have a separate province. Now it is very easy for them to get a separate province as they have a Congress ministry. It is necessary for the Working Committee members to approach the ministers and put the question before them regarding the separate province. This Committee proposes to send R. S. Hukkerikar on behalf of this Committee to Calcutta and have their aim fulfilled. It also declared that he should take with him the advisory members of the K.P.C.C.

“(8) *States and Congress*. The All-India Congress has passed necessary orders regarding action to be taken by the K.P.C.C. in the adjoining Native States. This Committee has selected the following persons to be the members to take necessary steps in the Native States—1. Changalaraya Reddy, the President of Mysore Congress Board, 2. Dr. D. R. Hulyalkar, 3. H. B. Gadgoli of Lakshmeshwar, 4. R. S. Hukkerikar of Dharwar, 5. Jeevanrao Yalagi of Belgaum, 6. S. K. Hosmani of Haveri, 7. H. S. Kauljagi of Bijapur. The above-mentioned members are authorised to select some more members if necessary. The K.P.C.C. has sanctioned Rs. 500 for the necessary expenses.

“(9) *Observing Mysore Day*. The meeting also declared that the people should observe Mysore Day as the people in the State are much harassed and imprisoned. It is left to the choice of the above-mentioned members to choose a day for observing as Mysore Day. Congress has full authority to take necessary steps in the activities of the States. This Committee hates the laws and regulations passed by the Native States in connection with the political leaders. It is the duty of the K.P.C.C. to look after the welfare of the subjects in the States and to take necessary action to redress their grievances.

“(10) *Regarding “Bande Mataram”* : “Bande Mataram” is the holy prayer of the motherland. Now there has arisen some party spirit regarding the same. The K.P.C.C. recommends this song to be the only national song to the A.I.C.C.

“(11) *Regarding bribery* : Now the Congress has come into power. It is of the opinion that Government servants are extracting bribery from the poor and the uncultured. In order to stop this corruption the K.P.C.C. suggests that every taluka and district committee should undertake necessary actions to root out corruption. Among the members of the Committee some are of

opinion that the work should prolong without having any committee, and some are of opinion that one or two employees should be appointed in this connection. But the former proposal was accepted."

Thus, after about four years of hectic struggle in the cause of freedom, the Congress suspended its political activities for a while and confined itself to constructive activities, which were of as great importance as political activities in as much as they served to prepare the people for the struggle if it were to be resumed in future. But participation in the parliamentary activities did not mean a cessation of the fight on the political plane. Congress was out to show and demonstrate to the world the inadequacy of the political advance doled out in the Act of 1935, and also to falsify the British contention that Indians were not advanced enough to bear the burden of administration.

About the British drama of passing of the Act of 1935 which received the Royal assent on the 2nd of July, Pattabhi Sitaramayya writes as follows :

"On the 5th of June, Major Milner, speaking on the India Bill, compared Mr. Churchill and Sir Samuel Hoare to the villain and the hero of a play. The hero (Sir S. Hoare), said he, had beaten the villain. He will doubtless finally dispose of him today (5-9-1935) without any loss of blood. Then," declared Major Milner, "the two protagonists will be found to leave the stage door arm in arm." Verily, this is the drama enacted in Parliament not only in 1935, but in 1920 as well. While it is broadly true that there is an ultra-conservative section in the English Parliament which in popular parlance is known as the 'die-hard' party, the fact remains that ultimately the object of all the parties is the same, namely, to evolve a picture which, as the *Manchester Guardian* once urged, looks like Swaraj to India and like British Raj to England. For this purpose, the different parties stage a quarrel on the floor of the Houses of Parliament, some appearing inclined to give, others appearing to resist, and the former prevailing upon the moderate elements in India to accept whatever is possible of being given under the circumstances, as the latter would not allow them to go even thus far. The party in power plays the part of the hero, and the party in opposition plays the part of villain. The two stage a quarrel within the walls of Westminster, and once they leave the arena they congratulate each other on the magnificent, realistic turn given to their feigned differences. Between the two, India is befooled."

In the year 1935 Congress completed fifty years of existence.

It may not be out of place to make a brief resume of its achievements during this period. Originally started with the object of placing before the British Government the grievances and needs of the country, it became at the end of half a century a virile, dynamic and determined fighter for complete independence. It had had as Presidents a galaxy of outstanding men of India and even of England, men of different faiths and coming from different parts of India. Even women were represented when Annie Besant and Sarojini Devi graced the presidential chair and added elegance and charm to the high office. At first the attitude of the Congress was one of petitions and requests prefaced by a solemn affirmation of loyalty and obedience. But with the coming of Bal Gangadhar Tilak it became aggressive and began to demand instead of requesting. A revolutionary attitude replaced one of subservience, and "the dull brigade", as the moderates were called by Jawaharlal Nehru, receded to the background and later left the Congress altogether. As if to continue the policy initiated by Tilak, Gandhiji arrived on the scene towards the end of the second decade of this century. He elevated the Congress to a higher plane by infusing the mundane and vulgar matters of politics with moral and spiritual ideas and gave an unshakable strength to the forces which sought to fight British imperialism. What Prof. Gilbert Murray said of Gandhiji applied to all Congressmen : " Be careful in dealing with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasures, nothing for comfort or praise or promotion, but is simply determined to do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy, because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase over his soul."

The old and almost neglected values of sacrifice and service, non-violence and truth, were brought to bear on the work of building up a new India ; honest physical work done in a spirit of dedication and attachment to old ideals sanctified by time and tradition became under him the means of reviving patriotism among the masses. Simple living and high thinking, which were characteristic of old Indian life and had given stability to Indian society and sublimity to Indian thought, were revived and the result was that the Indian mind caught the value of self-reliance and self-respect.

These were indeed the truest foundations upon which the temple of freedom could be raised, and with unerring instinct Gandhiji had realized it. To oppose successfully the British policy of " divide and rule, rule and divide ", the vital moral

values, which had rendered the stability of Indian life invulnerable in the face of repeated attacks in the past, had to be revived and made to spread among the masses. To accomplish this Gandhiji took up a few age-old precepts with which every Indian was familiar ; “ ahimsa paramo dharmah ”, “ satyameva jayate ”, “ sarve janah sukhino bhavantu ”, and made them the watchwords of political as well as social conduct. It was thus that the message of Gandhiji reached the masses ; it was thus that the nation was enabled to shed fear against the tremendous physical might of imperialist Britain ; it was thus that the people were prepared to receive and act upon the final message of “ do or die ” in 1942.

The decision relating to office acceptance had created a certain amount of confusion among Congressmen, since some of them were in favour of an uncompromising attitude towards the reforms. The situation was further complicated by the rise of the socialist party, its ablest exponent being Jawaharlal Nehru himself.

It is necessary in this connection to have a clear understanding of the forces at work, forces of far-reaching significance, underneath the placid and unruffled social and political life of India, for these forces were the pointers to the events of 1942. The British Government had tried, and was even now trying, to mould the minds of Indian youth to an admiration for, and acceptance of, its bureaucratic system of administration. On November 30, 1936, Sir John Anderson spoke thus at St. Andrews Dinner : “ There is no civilized state in the world today that can afford to neglect the physical and recreational education of its young people ; Germany for one has shown to the world what can be done to remould a rising generation ; whether the policy there followed will ultimately lead to good or evil we here are not qualified to say ; but nobody can deny its effectiveness or ignore its lessons.” This attempt to mould the minds of Indian youth to the acceptance of Western standards of value was effectively countered by Gandhiji in his system of New Education in harmony with our cultural values, in the All-India Spinners' Association, All-India Village Industries Association, the Harijan Sevak Sangh, and various other associated activities which aimed to develop a humane, disciplined and well-ordered life in conformity with India's millenniums-old heritage, described by Will Durant as “ the tolerance and gentleness of a mature mind, the quiet content of the unacquisitive soul, the calm of the understanding spirit, and a unifying love for all things ”. To all outward appearances, India was calm and undisturbed, but the mighty

forces of antagonism to injustice and self-aggrandisement and the desire for freedom, could never disappear.

In the political field, there was a new orientation in Congress policy. Under the Reforms of 1919, the Congress had boycotted the elections at first, but later the Swaraj Party had entered the councils "to fight the reforms from within". But this experiment failed, since a large number of Congressmen who had entered the councils were blinded by the prospect of gaining power and pelf and forgot their original objective. Thus the Swaraj Party experiment had come to an inglorious end. After 1935 it was slightly different. The larger powers now given to the Indian ministers offered a prospect of serving the people to some extent, if only the Governors exercised restraint in the use of their power of veto. Quite a large number of Congress leaders felt that this chance of serving the people at least to some extent should not be discarded, and they must show that they could rule as well as fight. It would also demonstrate to the world the extent of Congress popularity in the country, and would serve to quieten the British official diatribes about the waning prestige of the Congress. The fight put up by the people in 1930-32 had already shown that the whole country was behind Gandhiji and the other national leaders, and that the message of the Congress had spread to the masses; and freedom was not far distant, though in the interval the country might have to pass through another bath of blood. Experience in administration would be a valuable asset. The time had come to replace negative tactics like boycott, non-cooperation, civil disobedience and satyagraha by positive constitutional methods, the ultimate objective of both being the same.

Nehru had returned to India after the death of Kamala in Europe, a sad, unhappy man. Still the onerous burden of presidency of the Congress had been thrust upon him, for everyone felt that he was the fittest person to be at the helm of national affairs at a time when new ideologies and new lines of policy had to be dovetailed into the Congress objective of complete independence. H. N. Brailsford wrote to him from London on March 8, 1936: "Don't undervalue yourself in this hour of misery. India has great need of you—especially, personally, of you. For I think I know, more or less, the other possible leaders. No one has your courage, your mental power and above all, your vision of a humane classless society. Try to draw strength from the belief that history has named you to lead." And Gandhiji, to whom the call of national duty always took precedence over personal feelings and considerations, wrote to him on the 9th of

March thus : “ So you return leaving Kamala for ever in Europe. And yet her spirit was never out of India and will always be your precious treasure as it will be of many of us. I shall never forget the final talk that melted our four eyes. Heavy responsibility awaits you here. It is laid on you because you are well able to bear it. ”

The affairs of the Congress had attained a baffling complexity on account of the attitude of its younger members. These men and women were dissatisfied with the slow and halting manner in which their elder leaders were conducting the fight for freedom, and had become impatient. Most of them had imbibed the ideas of Western socialism, and had come to believe that India could come into her own and obtain due respect in the comity of nations only through the socialist dispensation and a classless society. They chafed under the restraints imposed by their conservative elders, and openly expressed their preference for a more dynamic and uncompromising leadership. Jawaharlal Nehru, too, was convinced, as the result of his recent contact with socialist leaders in Europe, that India's regeneration could come about only through some form of socialism, adapted though it might be to conditions in India. He became thus the undisputed leader of the younger generation of Congressmen. Gandhiji had shrewdly noticed this trend in Congress politics, and had thrown his weight in favour of Nehru for the Presidentship, knowing that with his intellectual honesty and moral integrity, in spite of his socialist leanings Nehru would never compromise on the fundamentals of Congress ideology.

But this brought Nehru into trouble with some of the valued elderly leaders in the Congress, who could not accept the new change in outlook. They could not work with a President whose perspective of the country's future differed so radically from theirs. Trusted colleagues like Rajendra Prasad, Rajaji, V. J. Patel, Kripalani and others wrote to him on June 29, 1936 : “ we feel that Congress should still follow the ideals and the line of action and policy which it has been following since 1920 and which we consider to be best suited to our country particularly in the present conditions and which have already shown great results. We are of opinion that through your speeches and those of other socialist colleagues and the acts of other socialists who have been emboldened by the speeches we have referred to, the Congress organisation has been weakened throughout the country without any compensating gain. The effect of your propaganda on the political work immediately

before the nation, particularly the programme of election, has been very harmful, and we feel that in the situation created we cannot shoulder the responsibility of organising and fighting the coming elections. It is not without much reluctance that we have therefore, decided to tender our resignation from the Working Committee." To Nehru, who had accepted the responsibility of guiding the destiny of the country as President of the Congress in spite of his recent personal calamity, not only out of a sense of patriotic duty but also in the belief that his trusted colleagues would lend him all support and strength, this defection of the best of them was a grievous blow, and his sensitive heart was deeply wounded. As soon as these colleagues came to know how much he had been grieved by their attitude, they, with characteristic magnanimity, withdrew their resignation in a letter written to him on the 1st July, in which they said : " We are sorry for having hurt your feelings and I only hope that this letter will help to smooth matters and not make them worse as nothing is further from our mind. I am writing this as a result of consultation and on behalf of all of us. So far as we are concerned this is an episode for which in the best interest of the country as we conceive it we were responsible and you may treat the letter of resignation as never having been tendered by us. " Thus a first-class crisis in the Congress, involving calamitous consequences to the struggle for freedom, was averted as a result of the loyalty and spirit of accommodation shown by his colleagues. In this connection, it is interesting to quote a few lines from the paternal admonition given by Gandhiji to Nehru in his letter of July 8 from Wardha, with reference to the letter of withdrawal of resignation : " I wish you could take a juster view of that letter. In any case I am firmly of opinion that during the remainder of the year, all wrangling should cease and no resignations should take place I would urge you to consider the situation calmly and not succumb to it in a moment of depression so unworthy of you. Why should you not allow your humour to play upon the meetings of the Working Committee ? Why should it be so difficult for you to get on with those with whom you have worked without a jar for years ? If they are guilty of intolerance, you have more than your share of it. The country should not be made to suffer for your mutual intolerance. "

In Karnataka men like N. S. Hardikar were against office acceptance and openly expressed their sense of frustration at the changed Congress policy. But before the new vigorous youthful



SCENES FROM HAMILTON BUILDING
SATYAGRAHA IN MYSORE





SCENES FROM HAMILTON BUILDING
SATHYAGRAHA IN MYSORE



socialist forces arrayed against the conservative element, the Congress could not help giving in to the new change. The somewhat confused situation in Karnataka at this stage is reflected in the police report of June 1936 to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, Poona, though we may not agree with the assessment made.

“As personally ordered by you, I visited Dharwar, Hubli, Gadag, Bijapur, Bagalkot, and Belgaum and minutely observed the political situation in Karnatak.

“The people have no sympathy with the local Congress leaders in the Dharwar District and they therefore want to keep up their influence and prestige through the medium of outside leaders but that has not been possible. Dr. N. S. Hardikar and R. S. Hukkerikar toured in Karwar and Bijapur Districts, but as they could not organize a meeting in Karwar, they only held personal discussions with some Congress leaders. In Bijapur they held a meeting in the Pleaders' Union Club but the attendance was poor. Only about 50 old Congress people and some others participated in the meeting, and there was no enthusiasm at all, so much so that while the meeting was going on, actually some pleaders could be seen playing cards, unperturbed in the least. Messrs Albal and Kembhavi only were seen to be enthusiastic and they gave Rs. 100 each to the Congress fund and promised to secure Congress members. Perhaps they have a motive behind all that they did or have been doing in enlisting Congress members, since they want to contest the coming elections on behalf of the Congress.

“In these districts of the Karnatak people have no confidence in the Congress people and they make allegations against them of having cheated the public in raising funds and utilising them for their own kinsmen or people. The news about the Congress and its activities published in some of the local papers here are all one-sided and exaggerated. In fact these papers are all Congress papers more or less. The Congress people try to create some agrarian trouble, especially instigating the ryots to apply for remission of water rate and so on, but they have not succeeded so far in thus enlisting the sympathy of the ryots, as Government have not failed to do some favour to the ryots wherever their grievances are genuine.

“The Congress cannot collect any funds in these days, especially as people take serious doubts about the utilization of funds and they have learnt a bad lesson in the past regarding them. All India Congress Committee is also not likely to give

any monetary help and without funds it is not possible for Dr. Hardikar to raise a corps of national guards.

“The Congress people have now confined their activities to enlisting more voters for the coming elections and they are trying for registration of voters in the lists that are being prepared. Now and then criticising Government and reforms, they try to show that people’s rights have been disregarded and that they have been doing all they can do to secure them. It is their ambition to capture almost all the seats and with this end in view they lose no opportunity to please the electorates, by any means possible. In this respect, they can get money also from candidates.

“There is mutual distrust and envy among the Congress leaders themselves and with Congress Socialist Party trying to assert itself ; more so since Jawaharlal has become President and the right wing of the Congress who are Gandhites out and out are being thrown into background. The result is that parties or groups in the Congress have been harming each other. G. B. Deshpande of Belgaum had sent his resignation to K.P.C.C. Gudleppa Hallikeri and Venkatesh Magadi also had sent their resignations to D.C.C., Dharwar. But as the elections are ahead, they are anyhow trying to avoid a split. The Congress is organizing for the coming elections and if leaders of parties other than the Congress do not wake up in time and fail to work on right lines and principles, it is likely that the Congress candidates may overpower in the elections. Karnatak is mostly a country of Lingayats and if their leaders work sincerely and for the good of their people, Congress has no place ; but at present the Lingayats are quarrelling among themselves.”

Poona,
18th June, 1936.

K. N. Kamath
P.I., I.B.

The above letter shows that the Government had been totally misled by the lull in the open struggle of the Congress. They could not understand that even in the absence of a positive opposition to the Government, the Congress was making itself more and more broadbased and popular through its propaganda against drink, through the spread of khaddar and through the All-India Village Industries Association, which had been started recently for the amelioration of the economic condition of the masses through the spread of rural industries. The police officers who were deputed to observe and report on conditions could see only

the superficial differences, inevitable in a large country of great diversity and in its formative stage, and failed to observe the slow but steadily strengthening forces of national opposition.

Meanwhile the new socialist ideas were slowly being spread in Karnataka and socialist groups were being formed. While in the Congress itself a powerful body of socialist views was making itself felt, it is no wonder that Karnataka should be influenced by it. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya toured all over Karnataka in 1935 and helped the dissemination of socialist doctrines. A police report of 26-8-1935 gives the following account of the socialist propaganda in Karnataka (File No. 5|INC|35 C.I.D., Bombay, pp. 187, 188).

“Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya is down over this side for the socialist propaganda in Karnatak. She is touring all round the important places in Karnatak and is delivering lectures on ‘Socialism’ with a view to create awakening in the masses. Her speeches are impressing the people to a great extent. Dr. Hardikar is all along accompanying her and he too is carrying on the same propaganda among his workers and followers. R. R. Diwakar too has joined hands with them and he too is on tour with the same object though apparently he says, he is touring in connection with increasing the sale of ‘Samyukta Karnatak’ a Kanarese daily of Belgaum the control of which has been recently relegated to him. It is likely that socialism may gain ground in Karnatak if propaganda of this type were to continue. Most of the youths in Hubli are imbibing socialist ideas day to day.

“Dr. Hardikar has gone to Bagalkot and Bellary along with Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya for carrying on socialist propaganda. They are expected at Hubli on the 31st instant and they are going to convene a meeting under the auspices of the Congress Socialist Party either at Hubli or at Dharwar on the 1st proximo. Dr. Hardikar and R. R. Diwakar are taking prominent part in this connection. They are also going to appoint persons for carrying on the propaganda work at various places. Their names will be communicated in due course.”

The problem of the states vis-a-vis the Congress had attained considerable importance because, with their rapidly growing political consciousness, the people of the more advanced states had begun to realise that it would be wrong to confine attention to the political movement in British India. Mysore was one of the leading states which brought this question before the Congress Session at Haripur in 1938. The Congress had to pass the following resolution :

“The Congress, therefore, directs that for the present Congress Committees in this state shall function under the direction and control of the Working Committee and shall not engage in any Parliamentary activity or direction in the name of or under the auspices of the Congress. The internal struggle of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. Subject to this, the organization must be started and continued, where the Congress Committees already exist.”

The Government of Mysore had popular representation already and contained the beginnings of a democratic set-up. But the Government did not want the political struggle of British India to spread into the state and for that purpose tried by all the means in its power to suppress what were compendiously called the “subversive activities” of the Mysore Congress. Repression was rampant in the state and the culmination of this policy came in April 1938 at Vidurashwatha. The occasion was a religious fair, at which people from distant places gathered in thousands for worship. The Mysore Congress decided to carry on some propaganda at the place. The District Magistrate and the Tahsildar seem to have been frightened at the prospect of a few non-violent Congressmen gathering in the place and conducting a flag salute and a procession, and passed orders prohibiting these demonstrations. The procession started, however, and immediately, without any provocation, firing was resorted to, which resulted in the death of 32 persons and a large number of people being wounded. Gandhiji was distressed to hear of this tragic incident and immediately sent Vallabhbhai Patel and J. B. Kripalani, two members of the Working Committee, to investigate and to bring about a compromise between the Congress and the Government. The following extract is taken from the authoritative publication of the Congress on the incident at Vidurashwatha.

“An order was issued under Section 144 by the District Magistrate banning the hoisting of national flag, prohibiting holding of meetings and making speeches. The order was defied by residents of the Vidurashwatham village in Kolar District (about 50 miles from Bangalore) when they assembled at a public meeting estimated at 10,000. The gathering was declared an unlawful assembly by the District Magistrate and ordered to disperse. The meeting not having dispersed, the police opened fire which resulted, as is alleged, in 32 persons being killed and 48 seriously injured. The official accounts of the casualties varied, the estimate being between ten to twelve killed and some

injured. The news of this indiscriminate firing sent a thrill of horror through the whole country. The Working Committee of the Mysore State Congress passed a resolution condemning the indiscriminate firing and giving liberty to Congressmen to disobey prohibitory orders in order to vindicate fundamental rights and maintain their self-respect. The Mysore Government issued a communique giving the official version of the facts surrounding the tragedy. It justified firing as a measure of self-defence against mob violence. It however appointed an inquiry committee of three judges. The Mysore State Congress also appointed a committee of inquiry. Mahatma Gandhi in the course of a press statement made an appeal to the Mysore Government to read the symptoms of popular awakening in Mysore and divest itself of its autocracy.

“ To study the situation at close quarters and also if possible to bring about a settlement between the Mysore Congress and the Mysore Government, Shri Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri J. B. Kripalani proceeded to Bangalore. They had several consultations with the leaders of the Mysore Congress and also interviews with the Diwan, Sir Mirza Ismail. As a result of these talks a compromise formula was evolved the terms of which are as stated below. The terms of settlement comprise all the demands made by the State Congress at their Conference held at Shivapura shortly before.

“ (1) Recognition of Mysore Congress ; (2) declaration by the Mysore Government that it is open to the Reforms Committee to discuss and recommend responsible government for Mysore State ; (3) four Congressmen who resigned from the Reforms Committee to be renominated with three additional Congressmen to be selected by the State Congress ; (4) the Satyagraha to be called off by the State Congress ; (5) general amnesty to political prisoners and withdrawal of all repressive orders ; and (6) the Flag dispute to be settled on the lines suggested by Mahatma Gandhi, namely, that the Congress flag should be flown along with the State flag on all ceremonial occasions. But at purely party functions of the Congress only the National Flag is to be flown.

“ On May 17, the Government of Mysore passed orders declaring their policy in regard to recognition of the Mysore State Congress, and cognate matters. The order accorded recognition to the Congress party in the State ; accepted the addition of three new members selected by the Congress party to the Constitutional Committee ; accepted Gandhiji's compromise formula on the

flag issue, and provided assurances regarding the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of prohibitory orders. These acts, Government hoped, “will mark the inauguration of a new era of progress and prosperity in the State.”

Nor was the Provincial Congress Committee of Karnatak blind to the urgent necessity of agrarian reform, which alone would improve the economic condition of the masses and help to strengthen the political struggle. The following extract from file No. 5|INC|37 C.I.D., page 381 gives a clear account.

“S. B. Sind, C.I.D., Karachi, 13th July 1937. . . . It is learnt that Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, Dharwar, has favoured the adoption by the Congress of the proposed agrarian programme, and is of opinion,

“(i) That there should not only be full freedom of organisation but also greater facilities for such organisations. If the authorities permit the peasants would certainly be encouraged to form such organisations. The Committee regretted to mention that in 1936, even peasant conferences were banned in Mysore State. Similar action was taken in 1937 in one case by the State of Jamkhandi.

“(ii) As the prevailing system of tenure in Karnataka was Rayatwari, there were so to say no intermediaries as such in Karnatak. But if intermediaries were to mean absentee landlords, there were enough of them. It would very much minimise the burden of the peasant, if the system of giving rent in kind was established.

“(iii) The problem was immediate and Government ought to take it up. Till then, however, Congress Committees or influential Congressmen should, wherever possible, set an example by relieving debtors of at least a part of the debt by mutual consent between the debtor and the creditor, by reducing or by cancelling the interest, or by liquidating the debt on the system of small instalments. Preventive measures were also necessary in the nature of increase of the agriculturists' income, reduction in his wasteful expenditure and arrangements for cheap credit at the proper time.

“(iv) All feudal and semi-feudal levies should be abolished.

“(v) Rent and revenue, wherever excessive or oppressive, should be substantially reduced.

“(vi) A certain percentage of village revenue should be earmarked for the improvement of villages in the matter of water provision, sanitation, roads, education, grazing and breeding cattle and medical relief.

“(vii) Forest laws are more solicitous of wild animals and forest trees than of men and cattle. This forest policy must change, and facilities consistent with the protection of forests should be given for the use of fuel, manure and grazing.

“(viii) Government officials harassed the agriculturists in a number of ways, especially at the time of revenue collections, when people who had to pay revenue dues were refused water from village tanks. Such practices should be made a criminal offence.

“(ix) Rural unemployment could be removed only by fostering village industries and by a determination on the part of the Government and of the people to use village-made articles to the utmost extent possible. There were many small industries which had died out or were dying, for instance spinning and weaving, blanket weaving, bangle making, etc.”

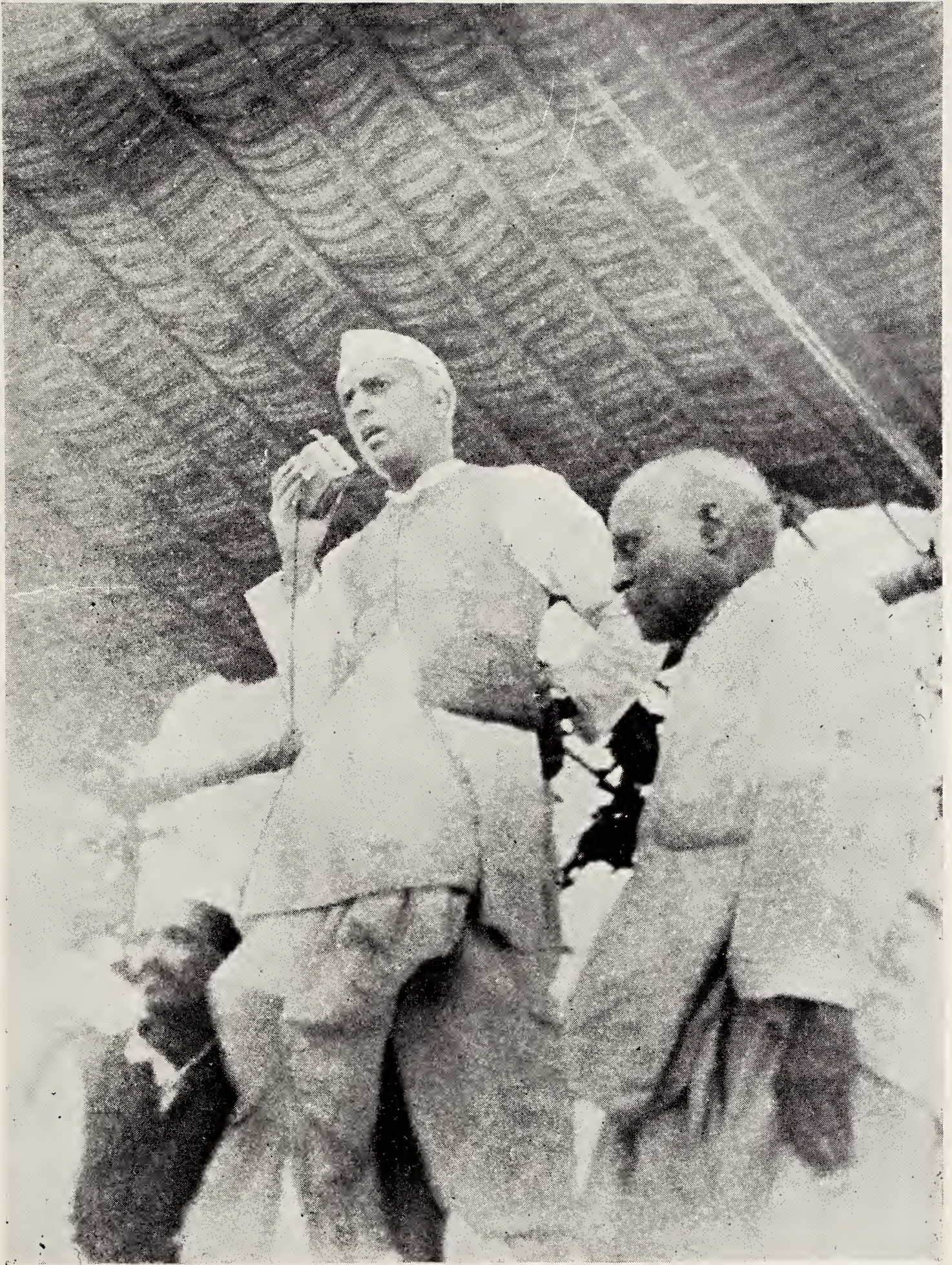
CONGRESS IN POWER

The lull in political activities after the abandonment of civil disobedience in 1934 did not mean, however, that Congress was idle. The constructive programme of the Congress was pushed on with greater vigour, and this helped the spread of the Congress message to every nook and corner of the country. In 1935, the new Government of India Act came into operation. A large body in the Congress was in favour of working the constitution in order to show not only how defective and unacceptable to Indians it was but also to demonstrate that Indians were well able to undertake the responsibility of governing their own country. In 1936, Lord Linlithgow became Viceroy—a nobleman, polite in behaviour, polished in talk and seemingly considerate towards his opponents, but firm as a rock in having his own way. The Congress however, was convinced that the salvation of the country depended not on the character and attitude of individual Viceroys or British Prime Ministers, but on the steadfastness with which Indians would strive for attaining their objective. The Congress must show to the world that it was not merely the educated section of India that wanted freedom for the country, but the large masses of the people. The elections would clearly prove the truth of this. Extensive tours were undertaken by Congress leaders to place before the electorate the ideology and objectives of the Congress, and Nehru undertook a whirlwind tour of the country with his characteristic energy and drive.

Nehru toured Karnataka between the 10th and 17th of February 1937. In every place he visited, thousands gathered, and waited for long hours to hear him speak to them about the message of the Congress. In his reply to the Civic Reception given to him by the Municipality and District Local Board at Mangalore on 11-2-37, he said that he had brought to them the Congress message of freedom and eradication of poverty in the country, and though the elections had gained importance for the present, they were only a means of achieving the national objective of freedom and improving the economic condition of the masses. Representatives of the people would go to the Councils, not so much to enable the legislature to function as to strengthen the Congress, whose objective would thus be attained sooner. They should carry the Congress message to every nook



During his tour of Karnataka in 1928, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with Kamala Devi, Karnad Sadashiva Rao and Kaujalgi Srinivasa Rao.



Nehru addressing with mike in hand, a public meeting at Haveri, during his 1936 - 1937 election tour of Karnataka. Shri Mudaveedkar is translating Nehru's speech into Kannada

and corner of the country, and thus strengthen the organisation. Individuals cannot achieve much for the good of the country by themselves, but they can contribute substantially by joining a long-established political organisation like the Congress. Well-knit political parties alone could fight a government like that of the British, and Congress was the only political body in India organised effectively. Congress did not stand for any section of the people, but for the whole nation, without any distinction of race, creed or sect. Those who for the sake of power or pelf supported the Government and worked against the Congress were traitors to the motherland. He concluded his speech by stating that much would remain for Congressmen to do even after winning the elections, and Gram-Samitis should be established all over the country to turn the attention of all the people to national service.

Nehru's tour in Karnataka was a triumphal march. His speeches, clear, precise and often impassioned, made a deep impression on the people. They waited for hours together unmindful of physical discomfort and with unabated eagerness for his arrival. He reached Kumta seven hours late. Though it was near midnight more than 20,000 people were there to greet him and listen to his message. This gathering which he addressed was his thirteenth that day. After a rest for three hours there, he moved on to Karwar and Dharwar. To stand the rigours of this whirlwind tour and the strain of addressing mammoth public meetings, Nehru derived stamina and energy from the people themselves; and the people realised that freedom of the motherland demanded every ounce of energy and every kind of sacrifice from them. Nehru's tour in the district of Bellary had to be cancelled for unavoidable reasons, and this caused not a little disappointment to the people of that district. His work, however, was carried on by Professor Ranga in the district.

At Mangalore, before a mammoth gathering, Nehru said that he was only performing his duty as President of the Congress in going round the country explaining to them what the Congress stood for and why they must vote for the Congress candidate. The true strength of the Congress would be demonstrated and its policy vindicated when they elected Congress candidates. Political freedom and freedom from want for all classes of the people were the only considerations which had made him undertake the election campaign, and the real task of Congressmen would begin only after winning the elections. At Puttur, Udipi and other places also he made fervent appeals to the people to rise

above caste, communal or regional attachments, think of the freedom and welfare of India first and foremost, and vote for the Congress.

It was estimated that during his tour of Karnataka Nehru covered more than ten thousand miles and addressed at least fifty lakhs of people. The great sacrifices he and the other members of his family had made for the country, his remarkable gifts which had made him the unquestioned successor to Gandhiji, had imparted such distinction to his personality that people would come from far and near and patiently wait for hours to see and hear him. At Nippani there was an assembly of 20,000 people to hear him at 2.0 a.m.; at Kokar a crowd of thousands waited from the evening, braving the cold of winter, to hear him at 1.0 a.m. At Dharwar, where he addressed a gathering of 15,000 people near the Cotton Market on the 13th of February 1937, he said that the eradication of the poverty of the masses and imparting hopefulness and cheer to their lives was the paramount problem before the country and its achievement was impossible till the Government came into the hands of Indians. It was on that account that the elections had attained importance. Anti-social and anti-national elements impeding the work of the Congress had to be eliminated, but this could be done only when Congress had the reins of Government in its hands.

Rajendra Prasad also toured in Karnataka and visited many places, such as Belgaum, Chikkodi, Kagawad, Shedbal, Mangasooli, Athani, Bijapur, where his genial and gentle manners, persuasive eloquence and charming personality made a deep and lasting impression on the people. These election tours of eminent national leaders had a profound effect on the people of Karnataka and prepared them not only for the election ahead but also for the grim struggle of 1942.

The new Act came into actual operation in January 1937. Doubts as to the misuse of the reserve powers by the Governors made Congress hesitate in forming ministries. After assurances were given that the Governors would not use their special powers to the detriment of normal working, Congress ministries were formed in seven out of the eleven provinces.

In bureaucratic and official circles, it was thought that the display of rigorous punitive measures by the Willingdon regime had broken the back of national resistance and that the Congress had realised the futility of standing against a mighty empire. That this was only wishful thinking was realised when Congress swept the polls and secured a large majority in seven out of the

eleven provinces ; and their complacency was shattered when, before accepting office, the Congress demanded clear assurances that the reserve powers of the Governors would not be used to hamper the work of the ministries. To those British statesmen who had fondly thought that by introducing the reforms of 1935 they had succeeded in making the world believe that only the intransigence of the Congress stood in the way of the country's progress, this demand of the Congress was an unwelcome surprise. The controversy over this question of an assurance dragged on for three months, and the world came to know the real state of things about the benevolence of the British Government and the reasons for India's rejection of it. But no-one can help feeling happy over the sequel. At the end of these discussions over the Governors' reserve powers, British statesmanship prevailed and saw the Indian point of view ; and Congress had the generosity to accept the assurance that the Governors would not use their special powers to upset the normal working of the ministries. It was a gentlemen's agreement, respected in a gentlemanly way by both parties. The Conservative newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, wrote : " The Congress Ministers will discover the extent of their authority by experience and will discover also that the manner of its exercise will be determined by the electorate rather than by the Governors."

The new ministers, accustomed until now only to fighting autocracy and not carrying on the administration, amazed everyone by their industry, by their grip over the problems of government, and by the zeal which they showed in working for the popular welfare. Prohibition of drink, agrarian reform, liquidation of agricultural indebtedness, educational reform, were among the numerous problems which they tackled with remarkable efficiency. This was really good going, and even the Governors frankly acknowledged their admiration of the industry, efficiency and integrity which these ministers brought to bear upon their duties. The country was happy and grateful. The Congress membership, which was less than five lakhs in 1936, rose to fifty lakhs at the end of 1939. The only line of policy which produced adverse results was the mass contact movement undertaken to win over the Muslims to the Congress. This was considered a challenge to its prestige by the Muslim League, and the reaction was unfortunate. Jinnah had accepted the principle of federation at the centre and was even willing to cooperate in the provincial scheme of government. But now he repudiated both, and stood out as an open enemy of the Congress. Coupland writes : " If

the language of the Congress leaders was restrained, Mr. Jinnah's grew bitter. And at the League Session at the end of the year—the most crowded and enthusiastic that had yet been held—he declared that all hopes of communal peace had been wrecked on the rocks of Congress fascism. Atrocity stories against the Congress Governments were circulated, and the call of the Congress ministers to establish the truth of these allegations went unheeded by the Muslim leaders. When the Congress ministries resigned at the commencement of the war, the Muslims celebrated it as a 'day of deliverance'. Though well-intentioned, the mass contact movement thus widened the gulf between the Muslim League and the Congress."

Meanwhile, the clouds of war were thickening over Europe. Hitler was becoming more and more irascible and petulant as Chamberlain became more and more accommodating. The Congress was clearly aware of the impending crisis in Europe. Subhas Chandra Bose, presiding over the Haripura Session of the Congress, declared that fascist aggression was repudiating all international obligations and drifting towards war, and "India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her man-power and resources to be exploited in the interests of British Imperialism. Nor can India join any war without the expressed consent of her people." On May 1st, 1939, the All India Congress Committee expressed its disapproval of the dispatch of Indian troops to Aden without consulting the popular Governments. Meanwhile, in preparation for war, an amendment to the Government of India Act was hurried through a restless and distraught Parliament to vest all executive authority in the Governor-General. In virtue of this amendment, the Defence of India Ordinance was promulgated by the Viceroy and Indian troops were sent abroad. In August 1939, the Working Committee, in order to facilitate prompt measures in case of emergency, instructed all Congress members not to attend the next meeting of the Assembly and warned the Ministers to be prepared to offer resignation. The Congress had given ample warning to the British Government.

In September 1939 the storm clouds over Europe burst, and war broke out in all its hideous intensity. Lord Linlithgow immediately declared that India was at war with Germany. Educated India was now placed in a dilemma. On one side there was the flagrant defiance of public opinion in declaring India a belligerent in such a precipitate manner without consulting the legislatures, and in disregard of the warnings issued by

the Congress as stated above. On the other hand there was also a love of and sympathy for England in the heart of every educated Indian, born of the admiration of the Englishman's achievements in science, his democratic traditions and the enchanting panorama of the world of thought and feeling which English literature had opened out for him. This explains why repeated attempts were made by Congress leaders to come to an understanding with the British Government in this crisis.

When war broke out in 1939 and England found that she had to fight against a ruthless enemy, the spirit of accommodation and compromise which she showed in regard to the exercise of the Governor's reserve powers was absent. If only British statesmen had understood the Congress point of view, seen the eagerness of Indian leaders to co-operate in the war to defeat Nazi Germany, realised the value of an India willingly contributing all its strength in the war effort, perhaps Japan would have thought many times before undertaking its adventure in South-east Asia, which ultimately brought about its sudden collapse ; and if the demand of the Congress for an unequivocal promise of independence after the war had been conceded, the tragic incidents of 1942 might have been avoided. But the Churchill-Amery-Linlithgow group still cherished the hope that the brightest jewel in the British Crown could be retained for England in perpetuity.

The Working Committee met and after long discussion only asked for a declaration of war aims by England, whether the freedom for which the allies were fighting would imply freedom to India also. Govind Vallabh Pant declared in the Provincial Assembly of the United Provinces : " How very galling it is to us that we should not have any say in those matters of vital importance which are of intimate concern to everyone amongst us. We are asked to fight, not because we choose to fight, but because England wants us to fight. . . . None of the Provincial Governments were even shown the courtesy of being consulted in this matter or in any matter pertaining to the war. Even that nominally representative body, the Central Assembly, was not consulted. Is our position not better than that of a vassal or of a serf or a galley slave, whose life is at the disposal of his master ? He cannot say whether he will enter the lists or not. He must when he is asked to. Mr. Chamberlain said that the New Order would be based on mutual confidence and mutual trust. This is the trust that has been reposed in us."

The Working Committee of the Congress, which met about the same time, after long and deep deliberation issued a statement

which is “destined to take a permanent place in the literature of freedom” (Edward Thompson : *Enlist India for Freedom*). In this statement it is said : “cooperation must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both considered to be worthy” and invited a clear and unmistakable declaration of the aims of the allies in fighting the war. The Committee further said that “they do not look forward to a victory of one people over another or to a dictated peace, but to a victory of real democracy for all the people of all countries and a world freed from the nightmare of violence and imperialist oppression.”

There was no response from the Government to the appeal issued by the Congress, and the inevitable followed—resignation of the ministries in eight out of the eleven provinces. In the turbulent meeting of the Ramgarh Congress, there was a demand from a large section of Congressmen for launching Civil Disobedience, and it was very difficult for the saner section to control the temper of the assembly. The war in Europe had become violent and stormy and a menace to the allies. The doddering and ineffective regime of Chamberlain came to an end as soon as the first thrusts of the Nazi *Blitzkrieg* commenced. Winston Churchill became premier of England. This was a man with an irresistible love of power, indomitable energy, iron will and remarkable genius. His genius could, however, show its best only in war ; Lord Oxford’s remark about him, “he has genius without judgement”, summed up his personality correctly. He was an uncompromising imperialist and nothing would shake him from his belief that the British Empire was a blessing to mankind and should exist for ever.

This man selected as Secretary of State for India his contemporary of school days, Leopold Amery. This man had already acquired a reputation for being a diehard of diehards and a formidable man. A. G. Gardiner sums him up correctly when he says that he was “able, industrious, brave, sincere, with the philosophy of a barbarian, the vision of a heathen world and the sombre frenzy of a dervish of the desert”.

The Working Committee meeting at Wardha on 17th June, 1940, was momentous. England was in trouble and the Congress did not want that country to collapse before the onslaught of fascist tyranny. But at the same time it was committed to the creed of non-violence and could not go against all that Gandhiji held dear by declaring that India was prepared actively to participate in the war if England proclaimed her independence. Gandhiji saw the dilemma in which his most trusted colleagues

were placed. There was a parting of the ways between Gandhiji and a large body of Congressmen. But he parted company from these colleagues with magnanimous grace and blessed them for success in their new approach.

The British Government however, like the Bourbons, would neither learn anything nor forget anything. Amery declared categorically that "India cannot be unitary in the sense that we are in this island, but she can still be a unity. India's future house of freedom has room for many mansions". With reference to the Congress demand his answer was : "It is a demand which really raises the whole unresolved constitutional issue and prejudices it in the sense favoured by the Congress and rejected by the minorities." It was now clear that a peaceful solution of the national problem was out of the question. Meanwhile, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha, the two reactionary communal organisations, had become increasingly vociferous in their denunciation of the Congress policy, and their pronouncements and activities thwarted all efforts at unity.

The Government had refused to grasp the hand of cooperation offered by the Congress. It now went still further and started its usual work of arresting Congressmen under the all-embracing Defence of India Act. The nation was roused to fury at this attitude of the Government. Popular meetings were convened all over India to condemn the policy of the Government. There was a demand from all parts of the country that the Congress should act and act with unrelenting firmness. But saner counsels in the Congress top ranks were still unwilling to launch a full-scale struggle which would definitely embarrass the British Government in its hour of trial. It would be inconsistent with the moral and spiritual values of Indians to take advantage of the present distress of the British in any manner. Educated India's love and respect for England still remained.

For some days Gandhiji was at a loss to decide what to do. He must evolve a plan of action without embarrassing England, and also satisfying to a large extent Congressmen's demand for a struggle. He decided to see the Viceroy. The request for an interview was immediately granted and the Viceroy welcomed him with characteristic grace. Gandhiji told him that for the present he would demand from the British Government a single elementary right of any democratic people—freedom of speech. Indians would exercise this freedom to express their candid views on the war. Lord Linlithgow sat like a sphinx and heard him with patience, and said "No" in the end. Gandhiji return-

ed frustrated. He wrote after this interview : " It is my firm conviction that the British statesmen have failed to do the right thing when it was easy to do it. If India is wholly in favour of participation in the war, they could have easily disregarded any hostile propaganda. But the determination to gag free expression of opinion, provided it was not the least tainted with violence, shatters Britain's claim that India's participation is voluntary. Had the Congress proposal been accepted, such aid as Britain would have got from India would have been an asset of inestimable value. The non-violent party would have played an effective part for honourable peace when the proper time for it was in sight, as it must be some day."

Thus arose Gandhiji's Individual Satyagraha, as a symbolic protest against the repressive laws in force. The plan which he chalked out was accepted by the Working Committee on the 11th of October. Satyagraha was confined to individuals of approved worth, and no-one could offer satyagraha without the previous approval of Gandhiji. Previous notice to the Government also was a necessary condition. The struggle against bureaucratic high-handedness would go on, but this Individual Satyagraha would in no way embarrass the Government. Vinoba Bhave was the first satyagrahi to be selected, and Jawaharlal Nehru was to be the second. On the 21st of October 1940 Vinoba Bhave was arrested, and some ten days later Jawaharlal Nehru also. This Satyagraha continued for fourteen months.

Meanwhile an attempt was made by non-Congress leaders to find a way out of the impasse between the Government and the people. These leaders held a non-party leaders conference under the presidentship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and passed a resolution requesting the Government to form a composite Executive Council composed of men from all important Indian parties and to specify a date before which India would be allowed to enjoy full Dominion Status. Amery was intractable, and held out the bogey of lack of unity among the main communities in India. There was implied cynicism in the remark which he made that the resolution was " directed to the wrong address ". He was placating the Muslim League to hamper India's political advancement. Sapru remarked on Amery's reply : " Bluntly put, Mr. Amery is mortgaging our future to certain intractable leaders." The Standing Committee of the Congress was more explicit when it is said : " Practically the present position of the Secretary of State is that until it pleases Mr. Jinnah to approve of any scheme His Majesty's Government can do nothing to give effect even to their

own intentions as announced in August last." The sense of disappointment and disillusionment created in the hearts of Indians can well be gauged from a message which the Sage of Shantiniketan gave at this time. It was his 81st birthday. With deep feeling he said in the message, "It is no longer possible for me to retain any respect for that *mockery* of civilization which believes in ruling by force and has no faith in freedom at all. By the miserly denial of all that is best in their civilization, by withholding true human relationships from Indians, the English have effectively closed for us all paths of progress." The gulf between India and England had widened too much to admit of any bridging hereafter. The Linlithgow-Amery-Churchill team was doing its best to lose India for England, not knowing that the second world war would be the grave of imperialism.

Karnataka which had been alive to the realities of the situation was active. The people of Karnataka were determined to go ahead with their work, the most important aspect of which was to spread the Gandhian message among the masses and to keep the fire of freedom burning in the hearts of the people. They undertook with zest the constructive programme of the Congress. The spread of khadi, prohibition, Harijan uplift, village industries, and all such constructive activities were taken up and carried on. This helped to keep the minds of the people centred on Congress and its activities and to prepare them for the final struggle when it should come. Nor were Prabhat Pheris, flag salutes, processions and lectures stopped. The following extracts from police records provide a picture of Karnataka, apart from Mysore, of the period from 1935 to 1941.

"620. S.B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, July 12. The Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee Conference which commenced on 30th June 1935 at Gadag under the Presidentship of Shri S. K. Hosamani (para 582) terminated on 1st July, 1935. The following were the prominent persons who attended the Conference: (1) Kamaladevi Chattopadhaya (para 526), (2) R. S. Hukkerikar (para 456), (3) Umabai Kundapur (para 10), (4) Dr. N. S. Hardikar (para 503) (8), (5) Dr. V. R. Huilgol, (6) Gudleppa Hallikeri (para 384) (4), (7) Gangadharrao B. Deshpande (para 612), (8) R. R. Divakar (para 582), (9) Dr. N. B. Kabbur (para 10), (10) D. P. Karmarkar (para 582), (11) S. Venkatapathayya (para 30).

"The main object of convening the Conference was to discuss the following important resolutions which were passed at the Provincial Political Conference held at Mangalore ;

“ 1. Whereas it is the inalienable right of the Indian people to determine their own constitution and whereas only a Constituent Assembly elected by the entire nation and convened when the nation has acquired sufficient strength to achieve its object of complete independence can frame such a constitution, the constitution which is sought to be forced upon this country should be wrecked. To this end the Indian National Congress should make it its object to make the operation of that constitution impossible by capturing the legislatures set up under the new constitution and by refusing to accept ministerial offices, followed by persistent obstruction, compelling the Government to suspend the constitution, and by preparing the country for direct action through which alone it can realise its right to self-determination.

“ 2. This Conference considers that in the event of an outbreak of any imperialistic war involving the British Empire the Congress should declare its opposition to the participation by India, in any manner, in such a war.

“ 3. While this Conference is of opinion that the political and economic objective as embodied in the Karachi resolution of Fundamental Rights and Duties forms a very sound basis for carrying on an educative propaganda as regards the ideal regarding the organization of India's future society, this Conference recommends to the Congress to add the following items to the rights and duties enumerated in the Fundamental Rights :

“ (i) Development of the economic life of the country to be planned and controlled by the state.

“ (ii) State monopoly of foreign trade.

“ (iii) Planned liquidation of debts owed by peasants and labourers.

“ (iv) Work to be provided by the state to each able bodied adult.

“ (v) Social insurance against unemployment, old age, illness, maternity, etc.

“ 4. In as much as the Indian States constitute a military support to British Imperialism and a source of feudal backwardness and reaction, this Conference declares that their continuance in their present form is harmful to the growth of Indian nationality and therefore invites the people of the Indian States to fight side by side with the people of British India in their struggle for independence.

“ 5. This Conference recommends to the All-India Congress Committee that with a view to relieving the economic distress among the peasants and workers and to mobilise them as a force

in the Indian struggle for independence, the Congress should undertake the organisation of the peasants and workers into strong unions on the basis of their economic grievances.

“6. As the manual labour clause is likely to make it very difficult for manual labourers to become members of the executive, this Conference recommends to the Indian National Congress that the labour class may be exempted from the operation of this clause.

“Dr. A. N. Jalihal (para 747) (7) of 1934), suggested that resolution No. 1 be divided into two parts. G. B. Deshpande, K. Gururaj and Narayanrao G. Joshi (para 463 (10) supported him and the suggestion was carried by a majority. Then S. Venkatapathayya of Bangalore moved the second part of the resolution and proposed the substitution of the word ‘reject’ for ‘wreck’ as wrecking of the new constitution would mean the restarting of the Civil Disobedience Movement which was against the principles of the Congress. N. S. Hardikar, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and a few other Socialists spoke against this suggestion, saying that British Imperialism was trying to strengthen its position by inventing new shackles in the form of a new constitution. G. B. Deshpande expressed that the substitution of the word ‘ reject ’ for ‘ wreck ’ should be carried out. The amendment was put to vote and was carried.

“Resolution No. 2 was then discussed and dropped as premature and inexpedient.

“Resolution No. 4 then came up for discussion and R. R. Diwakar suggested that this also be dropped as it put the Congress in an awkward position. It was however put to vote and passed.

“The remaining resolutions were passed unanimously.”

“(*Extract of a police report from file No. 5/INC/36 II, C.I.D., Bombay pages 101 to 104*).

“Submitted.

In connection with my recent tour in Karnataka, I beg to bring to your notice the following observations of mine :

“At present the main feature of Congress activities in Karnataka election propaganda is the enrolment of Congress members. As regards the election propaganda in public life of Karnataka there are two parties functioning, *viz.*, the Congress Party and the non-Brahmin Party. The non-Brahmin Party is really predominant in Karnataka in view of the fact that there

is a clear majority of non-Brahmin votes in the three districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar. The Congress Party, too, has realised the strength of the non-Brahmins and that is why it has decided in the K.P.C.C. held recently in Dharwar to put up as far as possible the non-Brahmin Congress candidates to contest the coming elections.

“The question of finance has been a formidable barricade to the progress of the Congress Party. I hear the monetary condition of the Congress Party in Karnataka is more unsatisfactory this time and that it is at present in a state of confusion. That is why the party is trying to catch hold of rich non-Brahmin Congressites. But it is difficult to get sufficient rich non-Brahmin Congressmen. Besides, it is difficult to collect funds in Karnataka due to depression and also due to lack of confidence in the local Congress leaders on the part of the public. I hear that the Bombay Provincial Parliamentary Board has promised the Karnatak Provincial Parliamentary Board to lend all possible monetary help. I doubt, the B.P.P.B. will be able to donate such a big amount as would be required for the election propaganda.

“Taken for granted that the K.P.P.B. will get sufficient money from the B.P.P.B., I do not think that the Congress Party will get the better of the non-Brahmin Party. In three districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar the non-Brahmin parties are strong enough to compete with the Congress Party. If the non-Brahmin parties in the three districts were to organise themselves and conduct an united propaganda the non-Brahmins are sure to beat hollow the Congress Party. But this is not possible in view of the state of affairs prevalent in Karnataka.

“At present, the only party that is carrying on an organised propaganda is Congress Party. The non-Brahmin Parties are still silent, they may spring up like mushrooms only at the eleventh hour and with their intensive and expensive propaganda will enter the field of contest, confident of their success. The causes of their success are manifold, social, financial and obligatory.

“The question of Kanara District is altogether different. The majority of the people are Congress-minded and as such the party is sure to sweep the polls there.

“As far as the Muslim Constituency is concerned there are no pro-Congress Muslims who could be put up by the Congress party on its ticket. As such, the Muslim seats in Karnataka are sure to be captured by the anti-Congress Mohomadans (Muslim Leaguites).

“ Under the above circumstances, I think it is an uphill task for the Congress Party to top the polls as a whole in Karnataka as they already appear to overvalue their estimation. They are already declaring to the people that they are sure to secure at least 19 seats out of 30 seats allotted to Karnataka. I do not think that they will be able to capture 19 seats as they profess to do.

“ By the end of this month the position of Congress members, it appears, will be as under :

Belgaum District	... 10,000
Dharwar District	... 8,000
Bijapur District	... 5,000
Karwar District	... 3,000

The work of enrolment of Congress members is in vigorous progress all over Karnataka.

“ I hear that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is likely to visit Karnataka at the end of October when he is expected to attend the Karnatak Provincial Political Conference to be held at Ranebenur. It is further learnt that the Congress people in Karnataka will avail themselves of his visit in collecting funds by organising public meetings and soliciting public help through him.

“ The names of candidates for election are not declared as yet by both the parties and prudently.

24-9-'36.

“ F. D. Dodagar,
S.I.I.B.

“ Respectfully submitted through the Dy. S.B.I.B.

“ This is a comprehensive survey of the present situation in Karnataka as far as the Congress strength is concerned. The Congress position in Karnataka appears to be at present in the position of a flapping bird and rather restive of actual results. At any rate Karnataka is not going to be an easy game for the Congressites, in view of the party interests.

“ Congress is afraid of the Lingayat community, who are wealthy and not sympathetically inclined towards Congress. It all depends on the calibre of the Congress candidates whether they can appeal to the Nationalist section of the Lingayat community.”

(Extract from a public Report on page 87-217-18, File No. 5/ INC/37 II C.I.D., Bombay).

“ Extract from the confidential diary of the D.S.P., Belgaum, for the week ending 7th August 1937.

“ Celebration of the 17th Death Anniversary of the late Lokamanya Tilak and the observance of the Congress Ministry Day on August 1st.

“ Prabhat Pheris, flag hoisting functions, processions and public meetings were arranged in the following places on August 1st, to observe the Tilak Day and the Ministry Day :

Belgaum City, Hudli, Bagewadi, Khanapur — Belgaum Taluka P.S. ; Bailhongal, Sampgaon, Chandgad—Bailhongal Taluka P.S. ; Gurlhosur, Yekkundi, Saundatti, Chikodi, Kittur —Saundatti Taluka P.S. ; Mugatkhan Hubli, Hosur, Murgod—Kittur P.S. ; Yadwad—Kulgod P.S. ; Mangsuli—Kurchi P.S.

“ Messrs K. G. Gokhale, K. S. Patil and M. P. Patil, Congress M.L.As. of Belgaum, attended and spoke in the meetings at Bagewadi, Bailhongal, Sampgaon, Gurlhosur, Yekkundi and Saundatti. In other meetings local Congress workers spoke. In all meetings, the speakers explained that Congress acceptance of office did not mean the end of struggle for Swaraj but it was only a new path that the Congress has decided to tread in its fight for Swaraj. They urged the people to enrol themselves as Congress members, form Congress committees in every village and imbibe the ideal of Lokamanya Tilak. They appealed to the people to give their wholehearted support to the Congress ministers in the great task that lay before them. They further exhorted the people to cooperate with Congress in carrying out the programme chalked out for the struggle for freedom.

“ The following draft resolutions of the A.I.C.C. were passed in all the meetings :

“ This meeting stresses the Congress objective of independence, reiterates the vow to achieve independence, remove mass poverty, and stop exploitation, requests the people to help Congress and spread its message in the villages, congratulates the ministers for having taken the responsibility to work the constitution and assures the ministers of the people's complete sympathy and support.

“ This meeting demands the release of all political prisoners and detenues, including those in Andamans, and the immediate release of Sardar Tejsingh, M.L.A., Punjab, as his imprisonment is an insult to public opinion.

“ This meeting demands the removal of all the Ordinances and repressive laws and pleads for individual liberty in states.

“ K. S. Patil moved a resolution urging the necessity of Karnataka unification in all the meetings he attended.

“ Prabhat Pheris and processions were organised in the following places in observance of the Day : Nandgad, Bidi, Gandigwad, Pariswad and Itgi under Khanpur P.S. ; Bakkund, Devlapur, Sangolli, Belwadi and Nesargi under Bailhongal P.S. ; and Kabbur under Chikodi P.S.

“ Prabhat Pheris, flag salutation functions and processions were arranged in the following places in observance of the Day : Saundatti, Asundi, Karikatti, Manoli, under Saundatti P.S. ; Chikkop under Murgod P.S. ; and Hukeri, Sankeshwar, Nid-sosi, Kanagale and Gotur under Hukeri P.S.”

(Extract from page 161 of File No. 5/INC/39-II C.I.D., Bombay).

“ *Confidential Subject* :—General attitude of the Karnataka Public towards the war and the international situation.

“ Submitted.

“ Before the declaration of war by the British Government against Germany the general public in Karnataka used to freely discuss whether or not to cooperate with the British Government in case war was declared. The Congress-minded people, *i.e.*, the Gandhiites, were keenly watching the progress of the fight between Germany and Poland and the attitude of the British Parliament. The Leftists, specially the Forward Bloc leaders in Karnataka, were preaching non-cooperation with British Government in case it declared war against Germany. This they did before and during the observance of the National Week by them from 31-8-'39 as per instructions from the Forward Bloc High Command but the declaration of war by British Government against Germany on 3-9-'39 suddenly put a check to their preaching either due to confidential instructions from their High Command or due to the fear of Ordinances from the Viceroy. None of the Forward Bloc leaders in Belgaum District expressed about it again in any meeting thereafter. It was only Annadaneshwar Viraktamath who expressed about this as late as on 6-9-'39 in a meeting held at Hubli. It is only a solitary instance. This party leaders in Bijapur District are not giving any lead to public in this respect and there is not a single member of this party in Kanara District.

“ Declaration of war has to some extent perturbed the mind of the general public. The masses however are not so very keen regarding the international situation. They care more for their economic situation, *i.e.*, the rise in price of the foodstuffs, etc., which would affect them directly. It is only the educated people who discuss the international situation and the pros and cons of the war, but they are also keeping mum and watching how the foremost leaders in India express their opinion. In fact all of them are looking to the lead that would be given by the Congress Working Committee.

“ The decisive statements of unconditional cooperation with the British Government in the present crisis made by Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, Radhakrishnan, the Liberal Party, Hindu Mahasabha, Democratic Swaraj Party etc., have to a great extent formulated the trend of public mind and it seems that almost all are in favour of fully cooperating with the British Government in the present fight against Hitlerism and they expect the Congress Working Committee would pass a similar resolution in view of Gandhi's lead. Irrespective of caste, creed or party spirit the general public in Karnataka may be said to follow the lead given by the Congress as this is the most influential institution in India.”

“ Camp Dharwar, 13-9-'39.”

How Gandhiji, his mind torn between the desire not to embarrass the British in their hour of crisis and the need for showing to the world the nation's reaction to the Viceroy's unilateral declaration of India as a belligerent, had devised individual satyagraha has already been described. That India could not wait even in this hour of crisis to England was explained when Gandhiji said : “ The virtue of self-restraint cannot be carried to the extent of self-extinction—extinction of the national spirit wherever it may reside, whether among Congressmen or non-Congressmen.”

The individual satyagraha continued till the end of 1941, and all through there was a plethora of statements and counter-statements, claims and objections, on both sides. Towards the close of the year, 11 members of the Congress Working Committee, 176 members of the All-India Congress Committee, 29 ex-Ministers, 22 members of the Central Legislature, and 400 members of the Provincial Legislatures, had been arrested. Including others, about 30,000 selected people of India courted

jail and six lakhs of rupees were levied as fines by the Government of India. Addressing the A.I.C.C. meeting in September 1940, Gandhiji had said, "I shall give a good account of my stewardship".

Even in England there were some who wanted an immediate settlement with nationalist India. Sir Francis Younghusband, who had served in India in the army for many years, wrote to *The Times* (October 15, 1941); "We have blundered badly in India. While we have expressed our intention to free every other country, we have made special reservations about liberating India. And this has caused the deepest resentment among Muslims and Hindus alike. Why do we hesitate? Because we fear that if we relax our hold India will fall to pieces. But why have such fear? Indians are no fools. They have as much political and military sense as the Chinese, the Japanese and the Russians. And they are an exceedingly proud and sensitive people to whom it is galling beyond measure to be treated less liberally than we treat the Egyptians, the Syrians, the Arabs and the Abyssinians. It goes against the grain with Englishmen to keep a single human being within the Empire who is not proud to belong to it. To myself personally, who was born in India and have for the last 59 years been closely connected with Indians, it comes as a bitter reproach that we should treat Indians as anything else than most loyal comrades and affectionate friends. Trust an Indian and he will stick to you until death. Offend an Indian and he will raise hell. Surely we are great enough people to stop haggling over this matter and do the big and gracious thing—give them a definite promise that the very year after the armistice we will leave it to them to decide whether or not they wish to remain within the Empire. A hundred reasons may be given against this. But if there were a thousand, they should step aside by the single consideration—the good name of England. It may 'lose' us India, but we shall have gained our own soul. And the soul of England is worth many Indians."

This was scrupulously honest and straightforward, and is what Gandhiji would have said if he had been an Englishman at the time. In reply to this what the Conservative statesmen said was that England was morally bound to India by the tie of "trusteeship", and "to leave it to Indians will be cowardice."

There was a sudden change in the attitude of the Government when on the 3rd of December 1941 they decided to release the satyagraha prisoners whose offence was only symbolic. This decision was due to the apprehension that the war might spread

to the Far East also. In fact, on the 7th of the same month, Japan suddenly swooped upon Pearl Harbour and brought the war to the East. The Japanese moved and struck with irresistible force. Britain's two great warships which were thought to be the world's best, the "Prince of Wales" and the "Repulse", were sunk on the 10th of December, and Hongkong was forced to surrender towards the end of the month. The efficiency of the Japanese forces and the rapidity of their moves amazed the world.

As soon as the members of the Congress Working Committee came out of jail after fourteen months of segregation, they met at Bardoli in the last week of December 1941. Momentous events had taken place during these months and the flames of war were fast approaching India. The Government remained intractable, only making a show of meeting the national demand by including a few Indians in the Executive Council and constituting a committee or two containing Indians hoping to convince the world that their efforts to help Indians to rule themselves were being hampered by Congress obduracy. The Working Committee was eager to help in the war and went to the extent of offering to eschew the fundamental issue of non-violence in order to mobilize all the resources and strength of the country against the enemy, though such a course might mean breaking away from Gandhiji.

QUIT INDIA

On the 15th of February 1942 the world was shocked to hear of the fall of the supposedly impregnable naval base of Singapore. With this event the control of the whole of South-East Asia went into the hands of Japan. Java was taken by the Japanese by the 7th of March, and two days later the British evacuated Rangoon. Before the end of May the whole of Burma had been occupied by Japanese forces. Japanese bombers gave India a foretaste of what would follow by an aerial attack on Vizagapatam and Cocanada. The civil Government of Madras lost its nerve and created consternation by advising the people to leave Madras and removing the Secretariat on April 13. The panic that was created was incredible, and unworthy of England. The exodus from Burma was equally discreditable to the officers who managed it. A resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress said: "The officials whose business and duty it was to protect the lives and interests of the people in their respective areas, utterly failed to discharge that responsibility and ran away from their post of duty, and sought safety for themselves, leaving the vast majority of the people wholly uncared and unprovided for. Such arrangements for evacuation as were made were meant principally for the European population, and at every step racial discrimination was in evidence." The myth of British strength, British invincibility, was shattered for ever when they scampered for safety from their positions from South-East Asia.

The danger to India from the advancing Japanese forces became insistent and urgent. What now? What about the future of an unreconciled India? These were the questions before many anxious statesmen in England and America. There were angry protests in England and America against the do-nothing or violently vindictive policy of the Churchill Government, for it was clear that India was the last base of operations against the advancing enemy. The Liberal statesman, Sir Percy Harris, spoke in Parliament: "We succeeded in Ireland, but too late. Do not let it be said that we succeeded in India too late. We solved the problem in Canada by the discovery of Lord Durham. Why should we not find another Lord Durham and send him to India with full powers to try with good-will to solve the urgent and vital problem of India?"

The Government of Churchill had to bow before the storm.

They found a Lord Durham for India in Sir Stafford Cripps, the "enfant terrible" of the Labour Party, but a brilliant lawyer and politician. Shri C. Rajagopalachari had recently said : " a soldier spirit and not the spirit of the conveyancing lawyer must inspire the British Government, if they wish to justify their rule over India until the present crisis." Sir Stafford Cripps played the role of a conveyancing lawyer. His confabulations with the Indian leaders in the earlier stages gave promise of a settlement at last, and the Congress leaders went a long way in accommodating to the offer. But Nehru remarked at a press conference on April 12 that " a big change had occurred somewhere in the middle ", and that obviously there was some trouble between him and other British statesmen. Before the same press conference Nehru narrated how a German prisoner who had escaped gave the opinion the Germans had of the fighting qualities of the Indian soldiers : " It is a magnificent army. What would we not do, if we had such people to draw upon ? If they fight like this in a mercenary way, how much better would they fight if they thought that they were fighting for their own freedom ?" Stressing the fact that the whole question of co-operation in war was essentially a question of psychological approach, he said : " The whole approach was one of lighting a spark in hundreds of millions of minds in India. It was not an easy responsibility for anyone to undertake. Nevertheless we felt that circumstances demanded it and whatever our grievances with the British Government, whatever the past history of our relations, we could not allow that to come in the way of what we considered our duty to our country at present."

At the same press conference, in reply to a question about the propaganda sedulously spread by interested parties that the Congress was pro-Japanese, Nehru vehemently said : " So far as I know India, and I know it tolerably well, the major sentiment in India is naturally one of hostility to the British in India. You cannot root out 150 years of past history and all that has happened in these years. It has sunk down into the Indian soul. Suppose we had come to an agreement and had to convert, to change that sentiment suddenly, we could have done it if we could have given a sensation of freedom to the people of India. The fundamental factor today is distrust or dislike of the British Government. It is not pro-Japanese sentiment. It is anti-British sentiment. That may occasionally lead individuals to pro-Japanese expression of views. This is short-sighted. It is a slave's sentiment, a slave's way of thinking, to imagine that to get rid of one person who is

dominating us we can expect another person to help us and not dominate us later. Free men ought not to think that way. It distresses me that any Indian should talk of the Japanese liberating India. The whole past history of Japan has been one of dominating others."

In the midst of this political turmoil, conflicting statements, misunderstandings and misrepresentations, Gandhiji kept calm, still holding on to non-violence even with regard to participation in the war, while Jinnah persisted in his demand for a quarter of India's flesh along with independence. The departure of Cripps without accomplishing anything was piquantly depicted by Shankar, who was cartoonist to the *Hindustan Times*; Cripps was shown wearing khaddar and holding a red flag when he arrived and wearing a tail-coat and top-hat when he left India, while below it was written, "He came—he went". Though Cripps accomplished nothing, he left behind him a legacy of political confusion, bitterness and frustration.

People in many other countries also made earnest appeals to England to do the right thing by India. Lin Yutang, the famous Chinese writer, in his message to the 'Free World' exposed the hollowness of the British contention that India was not yet fit for freedom, and plainly said, "We cannot win this war with nineteenth-century psychology and imperialistic politics". (See Appendix). The American journalist Ernest Lindley wrote to the *Washington Post* making an earnest appeal for the settlement of the dispute between the British Government and the Indian Congress through friendly intercession by the United States and China. But nothing would shake the Churchill Government from its stand.

As we have already noticed, there was a conflict of sentiments within the Congress, between the paramount duty of saving the motherland from the stranglehold of imperialism and the no less important need of opposing the forces of Nazi aggression. It was this conflict which influenced the thinking of Congress leaders. Gandhiji was the first to see the fact that colonialism and imperialism were anachronisms in a world which was fast changing, this change being precipitated by the war. Imperialism was fast moving towards an inglorious end as the result of its own excesses. Colonialism had brought about a moral bankruptcy which was sure to lead the world to extinction unless it was checked. This line of thought seems to have led Gandhiji to the conclusion that the only remedy lay in the colonial powers giving up their pretentious claims of the "white man's burden" and

“ imperial responsibilities ”, and quitting their dependencies with good grace. In an article in the *Harijan* of April 6, 1942, he gave a hint of the working of his mind when he wrote that the best interests of England as well as India would be served by an “ orderly and timely withdrawal of the British from India.”

This logic of facts, howsoever incontrovertible it might be, took some time to grip the minds of other leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru. In a letter to the Viceroy on the 14th of August, Gandhiji wrote : “ I have taken Jawaharlal Nehru as my measuring rod. His personal contacts make him feel much more the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia than I can —than even you can. In that misery he tried to forget his old quarrel with imperialism. He dreads much more than I do the success of Fascism and Nazism. I have argued with him for days together. He fought against my position with a passion which I have no words to describe. But the logic of facts overwhelmed him. He yielded when he saw clearly that without the freedom of India that of the other two was in jeopardy.”

The fast deteriorating economic condition of India proved conclusively that Gandhiji's reading of events was right. The food situation was becoming more difficult : prices were unconscionably high and there was scarcity both in urban and rural areas. Inflation is always an evil, and even great countries like the United States carefully avoid it. The Government of India, without any thought of the consequences on a proverbially poor people, indiscriminately expanded the currency pleading that the exigencies of war necessitated that measure. An idea of the extent of this inflation can be had from official statistics. In August 1939 the total quantity of currency in circulation in India was 172 crores of rupees, which rose to 1151 crores of rupees at the end of the war (September 1945). The quantity of goods remained stationary while money became cheap, with the result that prices soared, making life intolerable to the poor. Lord Pethick-Lawrence stated in a debate in the House of Commons on November 4, 1945 that the famine of 1943 in Bengal was caused primarily by the inflation : “ The main cause of this increase in price was inflation. For that inflation the Government of India and nobody else could be held responsible.” Indians of all parties realised that a National Government would have mitigated, if not avoided, these evils.

On the 14th of July the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution that the full and immediate freedom of India by the withdrawal of the British was an imperative necessity, not

only in the interests of India but also in that of the Allies. The All-India Congress Committee, which met on the 7th of August, not only endorsed this but also declared its view that imperialism in any form is a curse ; the disappearance of imperialism from India would soon pave the way for its disappearance from all parts of the world ; and this would inaugurate a new world order in which freedom and human dignity would find their rightful place. So the A.I.C.C. felt that it was “ no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against the imperialist and authoritarian government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interests and in the interests of humanity.” With a determination, solemnity and dignity worthy of the occasion, the Committee called upon Gandhiji to “ lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken ” for the “ starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale ” for the purpose of “ the vindication of India’s inalienable right to freedom and independence ”. Every avenue of an amicable settlement, honourable to India and England, had been explored ; every attempt had been made to avoid precipitating a fight with the Government more bitter than the fight of 1930–31 ; the honesty behind Congress intentions had been made clear in Congress resolutions, and public statements by Gandhiji and other leaders, on the platform and in the press.

The Government also, anticipating this development beforehand, had made their preparations well in time. They hoped that with their police and military strength, their means of propaganda and misrepresentation of Congress motives, and their administrative machinery, they could foil the Congress attempts to wrest freedom from them. On the 17th of July, Mr. Puckle, Secretary to the Government of India, had sent a confidential circular to all Provincial Governments with full instructions as to the ways of dealing with the Congress. A copy of this fell into the hands of Gandhiji, and he published it with the following note :

“ How to crush National Movements !

“ Confidential Official Documents for
Mobilising Anti-Congress Elements.

“ I have had the good fortune to have friends who have supplied me with titbits of national importance such as I am presenting to the public herewith Sir Frederick Puckle’s very interesting production and that of his lieutenant Shri D. C. Das. The pity of it is that the circulars were secret. They must

thank me for giving the performance as wide a publicity as I can. For it is good for the public to know to what lengths the Government can go in their attempt to suppress national movements, however innocent, open and above-board they are. Heaven knows how many such secret instructions have been issued which have never seen the light of day. I suggest an honourable course. Let the Government by all means influence public opinion in an open manner and abide by its verdict. The Congress will be satisfied with a plebiscite or any other reasonable manner of testing public opinion and undertake to accept its verdict. That is real democracy. *Vox populi vox dei.*

“ Meanwhile let the public know that these circulars are an additional reason for the cry of ‘ Quit India ’, which comes, not from the lips, but the aching hearts of millions. Let the masses know that there are many other ways of earning a living than betraying national interests. Surely it is no part of their duty to lend themselves to the very questionable methods as evidenced by Sir Frederick Puckle’s instructions.

Bombay, 7-8-’42.

“ M. K. Gandhi.”

The aim of the Government was manifestly to spring a “ blitzkrieg ” on the Congress and suppress it before it could spread its message to the people and gather strength. It is true that the items and programme of the struggle had not yet been formulated, because, as usual, it was the intention of Gandhiji to see the Viceroy and try for a settlement before launching any struggle. The people, however, knew that grave things were ahead, involving struggle, sacrifice and suffering greater than at any time before.

The valedictory address of Gandhiji to the All-India Congress Committee was over at about 10 p.m. on Saturday the 8th of August. He had plainly told his colleagues that he would launch the struggle only after his negotiations with the Viceroy. But, within an hour after the dispersal of the A.I.C.C. members, Government had flashed its instructions to Bombay. Obviously the resolutions of the A.I.C.C. had not reached Delhi, and Government had decided to take the offensive without waiting to see what the Congress would say or do. In England Parliament had gone off for a short recess. In the early hours of the morning of the 9th, Gandhiji was arrested. Soon after, all the members of the Working Committee and about 40 other Congress leaders

were arrested. The Congress House in Bombay was occupied by the police. The A.I.C.C., the Working Committee, the Bombay, Karnataka, Gujerat and Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committees were all declared unlawful. Military and police forces were mobilized to meet any situation ; and meetings and processions were banned. There was a complete hartal in the city. Attempts made by Congress Volunteers and Desha Sevikas to hold a rally were met by the use of tear-gas and lathi charges ; people gathered in the evening for a pre-arranged public meeting which was to be addressed by Kasturba. The police had occupied the ground and would not allow the meeting to take place. Kasturba, together with Dr. Susila Nayyar, was arrested and taken away. Still the people would not disperse. The usual police methods followed, and before the fateful day closed, five people were dead and twenty others had received bullet wounds. News of this spread to every nook and corner of India and all the pent-up fury of the people burst out.

Why the struggle was started at this time and why Congress did not want to wait for some time more till the war clouds cleared is a point which needs clarification. The Japanese threat to India was now close. Within a short period the Japanese had conquered the reputedly impregnable naval base of Singapore and overrun the whole of South-East Asia. The British could not offer any effective resistance, because their forces were tied up in Europe. It was clear they could not defend India. Gandhiji did not want the British to leave India to the Japanese as they did in the case of Malaya and Burma. He said, "Don't repeat that story here. Don't leave India to Japan but leave India to Indians in an orderly manner." There was also an intensification of Axis propaganda at the time and Subhas Chandra Bose was broadcasting from Berlin to Indians in their own languages. Gandhiji clearly saw the danger in this, and wrote in *Harijan* : "India is not playing any effective part in the war. Some of us feel ashamed that it is so, and what is more, we feel that if we were free from the foreign yoke, we should play a worthy, nay, a decisive part in the world war which has yet to reach its climax. We know that if India does not become free now, the hidden discontent will burst forth into a welcome to the Japanese should they effect a landing. We feel that such an event will be a calamity of the first magnitude. We can avoid it if India gains her freedom. To distrust this simple, natural and honest declaration is to court disaster."

The attitude of the Government towards the people during

the retreat from Burma and during the subsequent months was exasperating in the extreme. The "scorched earth" policy followed during the Japanese advance deprived the poor people of Bengal of their lands, houses and canoes, and the compensation given by the Government was meagre and half-hearted. Controls were ineffective, while there was an abnormal rise in prices as the result of inflation. "Exigencies of war" was the one excuse offered by the Government for their administrative bungling and callousness towards the interests of the people. As if this was not enough, the Government, during the evacuation of Burma, provided separate roads for the whites and coloured people—the White Road and the Black Road, the latter being more difficult and hazardous—adding insult to injury even while they were ignominiously running away from the enemy. No self-respecting people could put up with this indignity. M. S. Aney, who was in charge of the Indians Overseas Department at the time, said, "Indian refugees are treated in such a way as to humiliate them and make them feel that they belong to an inferior race." And Gandhiji wrote about this : "The admitted inequality of Indian and European evacuees and the manifestly overbearing behaviour of the troops are adding to the distrust of British intentions and declarations." Stories of the sufferings of the Indian evacuees and the callousness of the British officers reached all parts of India, and created a wave of indignation and resentment among all classes. Indians compared this episode with the insults and humiliations to which their countrymen were subjected in 1919 at Amritsar ; it was now clear to them that imperialists were impervious to feelings of humanity and justice and decency where their own interests are concerned, and the only way left for India was to make them quit.

It was clear, therefore, that the nation no longer had any faith in British sincerity and was only waiting for a lead from the Congress to plunge into the struggle. The people had also been informed that they would have to take upon themselves the responsibility of carrying on the fight—'Do or Die' prescribed the limit—, for the leaders might be behind prison bars. The members of the A.I.C.C. who left for the Bombay meeting were not sure of returning home. On his way to attend that meeting, Sardar Patel addressed a gathering of students at Ahmedabad. He told them that this was a fight to the finish ; there was little probability of their leaders being there to guide them ; all of them knew how the fight should be carried on ; they must devise their plans of action according to the conditions obtaining in each

locality, eschewing violence ; and when newspapers are suppressed, they must themselves become walking newspapers, carrying news and messages to every corner of the country. Many other leaders also addressed similar meetings on their way to Bombay. The nation had been alerted, and waited only for the movement to begin.

The opposition to foreign rule had grown steadily for nearly a hundred years. The earliest attempts to gain freedom from alien rule took the form of wars culminating in the rise of 1857–58. Superiority in physical strength and organizing ability prevailed, and the British were able to suppress the rising. In the meanwhile, partly as the result of the impact of the West, and partly owing to the new awakening brought about by many great Indian leaders, a feeling of national unity and a desire to have in their hands the shaping of the national destiny came to Indians. At first it was confined to the educated, and the masses were not much influenced. This section of Indians established the Indian National Congress in 1885, and for the first time delegates from all parts of India gathered to discuss national problems. A sense of national unity and a national purpose had come to the Indian mind. At first the Congress was composed of men who believed that British statesmen would apply their liberal policy to India also and help them to shape their future themselves. Therefore the Indian National Congress only went on making representations and requests to the British Government, for their faith in the British sense of fairplay and rectitude was firm. Slowly, however, Indians came to feel that British Liberalism was meant only for home consumption and was not intended to apply to the overseas dependencies. When in the first decade of this century the partition of Bengal exposed the hollowness of British liberal professions, Indians felt that the British must be forced to part with their power, and that remonstrances and requests would be of no avail. Thus was born the radical section of the Congress under the lead of Tilak, Lajpat Rai and B. C. Pal. This section gradually gained control of the Congress organisation. An attitude of defiance came into the deliberations and activities of the Congress, which was slowly spreading to the masses also. The First World War and the unseemly scramble for colonial possessions which followed among the victorious powers exposed the evils of imperialism, which flourished only on the exploitation of dependencies. In India political agitation was met with repression, and British imperialism was revealed in all its nakedness in the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre of 1919 and its subsequent

justification by influential men in Britain. The only course remaining for India for its freedom from foreign rule was to fight and wrest power from the British hands. But where was the strength among Indians to overcome the British imperial might? Gandhiji now came to show to his despondent countrymen and the world that there is in everyone a spiritual power mightier than armies, guns and bombs; a power that does not destroy an enemy but wins him over through love to friendship. He introduced a new technique of warfare, a technique familiar to Indians, who knew how millenniums ago Vasishta had vanquished Viswamitra, and what innumerable spiritual leaders had taught them about man's unconquerable spirit. The first attempt at fighting with spiritual weapons was made in 1920-21, but it was seen that the country had not properly understood the meaning and importance of this method, and Gandhiji had to call off the fight. The nation, however, was educated during the second decade in the new Congress method of fighting, and the masses became aware of their duty to the country. The result of this was seen in the fight put up in many places during 1930-31, at Bardoli, Sirsi, Siddapur and Ankola in North Kanara, and many other places. What with the spread of Congress ideology among the rural masses, the extension of the Congress constructive programme to all parts of the country, and the callous repressive attitude of the Government towards national aspirations, the opposition to foreign rule became national, in spite of the British Conservative propaganda that Congress was only a small political caucus and was not representative of the people. This was seen in the fight put up in 1941-42, when the leaders who had to guide the fighters were suddenly thrown into prison and the struggle spread to all parts of India in spite of the most cruel repression carried on by the Government.

It was indeed a national struggle, a struggle put up by the nation as a whole, to win freedom for the country. The cynical remark has been made that big party organisations like the Muslim League and the whole body of the Princes stood aloof. In such a large country as India with a population of over three hundred millions in all stages of social and political advancement, the defection of small bodies of people cannot detract from the national character of the fight. Even so, large numbers of Muslims took part in the fight; and in the states, the people nobly put up a double resistance—against princely autocracy as well as British bureaucracy. It is also remarked that the fight of 1941-42 failed. Good causes, and noble efforts, can never die.

The movement may have stopped, or may have been "suppressed" or "brought under control". But the determination of the people to win freedom remained as firm as ever. It was the tacit recognition of this fact, and the realisation that no power on earth can prevent a whole people from winning their freedom when they are prepared to die in the attempt, that influenced the Labour Government of Mr. Attlee to leave India to the Indians and quit gracefully. The fight for freedom in 1941-42 was a true expression of the National demand and a true resistance to foreign rule. To dismiss the fight of 1942 as merely an attempt on the part of a few misguided persons to make themselves a nuisance to Government, or to maintain that it was in no sense a national struggle for freedom, betrays lack of understanding of historical forces.

As on previous occasions, in Karnataka there was a magnificent response to the call of the Congress. The fight put up by the people can well be seen from the following Police Records : (compiled and submitted by the Bombay office of the History of Freedom Movement in India).

SATYAGRAHA IN KARNATAK

(Extract from Page 281—File No. 5/INC/41-II, C.I.D.)

Subject : Congress Activities

1. Up to the end of June 1941, 1121 Satyagrahis offered Satyagraha in the Congress Karnataka Province of whom 1101 were convicted and the remaining 20 Satyagrahis, *i.e.*, 15 from Mangalore, 4 from Bellary and 1 from Coorg, were not arrested. Again, Belgaum District with 403 convictions tops the list. Dharwar District with 274 convictions stands second and next comes Bijapur with 217 convictions. The total amount of fines imposed up to the end of June was Rs. 23,775 of which Rs. 10,050 were recovered. The details of convictions and fines are as under :

Convictions up to the end of June

1. Belgaum 403, 2. Dharwar 274, 3. Bijapur 217, 4. Mangalore 93, 5. Karwar 44, 6. Bellary 36, 7. Bangalore Cantt. 15, 8. Coorg 15, 9. States 4, Total 1,101.

Fines up to the end of June

Belgaum, fine imposed, Rs. 8,670, recovered, Rs. 400, Bellary, fine imposed, Rs. 8,035, recovered, Rs. 7,000, Mangalore, fine imposed, Rs. 3,150, recovered, Rs. 2,650, Dharwar, fine imposed, Rs. 2,765, Coorg, fine imposed, Rs. 450, Karwar, fine imposed, Rs. 400, Bijapur, fine imposed, Rs. 225, States, fine imposed, Rs. 80 ; Total imposed, Rs. 23,775 ; recovered, Rs. 10,050.

2. The resignations of Mr. Munshi and Dr. Satyapal have been the topic of discussion amongst all the political parties of Karnataka. Except the Congress group all other political parties welcome the resignations. The Congress group regard the resignation of Mr. Munshi as a tragedy. Commenting on Mr. Munshi's resignation, the *Samyukta Karnatak*, a Congress paper of Hubli, in its editorial of 28th June, says that at the present moment 90 percent of the Congress members do not appear to have complete faith in Mr. Gandhi's non-violence and suggests that, in the interest of the Congress, these members who have no implicit faith in non-violence should get out and in conclusion congratulates Mr. Munshi on his bold step. This expression has evoked a sharp rejoinder from Mr. G. B. Deshpande who in his public statement repudiating the views expressed by the *Samyukta Karnatak* states that in his opinion Congress members who believe in non-violence but who have not reached the

required standard need not resign but should remain there and try to improve their strength of mind.

3. The majority of the illiterate Congress members of rural areas are blind followers of Mr. Gandhi but almost all the thinking Congressmen are of Munshi's view. Dissatisfaction at the policy of Mr. Gandhi is steadily growing amongst the latter class but so far none of them appear to have the courage to follow Mr. Munshi openly.

Happenings in Karnataka, 1942, (Public Version)

(*Extract from a printed bulletin in file No. 5/INC/42-II, C.I.D.*)

Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee

Happenings in Karnataka

(From 9-8-42 to 20-9-42)

..... Here below is a brief record of the happenings in Karnataka. Strange to say Shri Gopalrao Belvadi of Karnataka had approached Gandhiji on the dais of the A.I.C.C. on the 8th of August 1942, when he got the following message from him in Hindi, "I hope that in this *yajna* all Karnataakis will play their full part". It is a matter of satisfaction that with Gandhiji's blessings the people in Karnataka have faced the situation bravely and squarely. The numerous lathi charges, a number of firings, the excesses of the police and the military arrests amounting to about 2000 (excluding the Mysore State), and collective fines of about two lakhs, have all failed to cow down the people. The programme of determined resistance with a view to paralyse the civil administration in the country is going on undeterred by repression.

Karnataka consists of 4 districts of the Bombay Presidency, 2 districts of the Madras Presidency, Coorg District, Mysore State and a number of small States, and 3 districts from the Nizam's Dominions. For the purposes of this report, we are considering Karnataka in two units *viz.*, the Mysore State and the rest of Karnataka.

1. *First Reactions*: Like other provinces of India, Karnataka gave a vigorous reaction to the arrests of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, on the 9th of August. The villages, however, were a bit late in responding, and are coming more to the fore as time passes by. There were spontaneous hartals and students' demonstrations throughout the province, and strikes especially in the industrial areas of the Mysore State.

It may be estimated that about 30,000 workers were on strike for about a fortnight. The factories concerned manufacture materials necessary for war purposes, *viz.*, aeroplanes, clothing, chemicals, electric materials, etc. In the first week there was ticketless travelling on a very extensive scale on the Mysore railways, especially by students; and four stations

and a few railway bogies were burnt by them. There was effective dislocation of rails including derailment in six places, which resulted in railway traffic being stopped by night for three or four weeks. Telephone and telegraph connections were cut and poles uprooted on a very wide scale, and that game is still going on in various places and at intervals. Small bridges on provincial and other roads were rendered useless in more than a dozen places, and military convoys on the Bangalore-Poona road were held up for days together. *Chavadies* (village offices) and the post office and sub-registrar's office in particular at Nippani were reduced to ashes. Recently a few schools, dak bungalows, and four railway stations round about Hubli junction attracted the attention of the workers, and they too were burnt.

As a reaction to this situation, or rather as a calculated policy, Government used repressive measures throughout the province on a very large and brutal scale. From ordinary arrests to firing and parading military squads, all possible means were used. There was a general round-up of about 150 workers, who were detained immediately. The Provincial Congress Committee and the Mysore State Congress Committee were declared illegal bodies, and their offices were occupied by the police. Indiscriminate lathi charges and beatings were resorted to in breaking up meetings and processions. Firing took a toll of not less than 180 dead and 300 injured. The firing in Bangalore was especially deadly and went on for three days, being repeated twice or thrice on the same day. The number of killed in Bangalore alone is reported to have been not less than 150. At Bailhongal, Hubli, Nippani, Shivapur, Davangere and Sankeshwar, there was almost unprovoked firing which could have been easily avoided. The worst reaction was that some of the officers emptied their revolvers into the innocent bodies of young children! There was practically martial law for three days in Bangalore, and also in Nippani and Bailhongal. The curfew order held sway in Bangalore for about ten days; in Bailhongal for about a fortnight.

2. *The Students' Movement*: The student population burst into unusual activity from August 9th in the whole of Karnataka. Practically in all places they organized themselves without waiting for any lead, and engaged in activities such as continuous hartals, defiance of laws and restrictions, and propaganda marches in villages. At places, as in Davangere and Banavar, they even took part in the burning of stations and bogies. Dharwar, Belgaum and Mangalore are college centres with about 2,500 students. Many district and taluka places have high schools, the total student population of which would be between 8 and 10 thousand. All this mass was moved, and the hartals then initiated still continue in most places. Everywhere at the risk of lathi charges and arrests, students have taken out marches and processions, and held meetings and flag

salutations. Not a few were busy in bringing out bulletins of their own and distributing them (the organization of students, especially in Mysore State, was remarkable). In all the college centres students went in groups to villages, and it may be estimated that about 200 of them actively took up the village programme. Many of them have by now been arrested. In Dharwar, Hubli, Gadag and Belgaum, students made it a point to burn foreign clothes, and distribute khadi caps to officers and to their teachers and professors. In many villages of all districts even primary schools were closed, and students engaged in fearless demonstrations for a number of days.

It is noteworthy that girls took a leading part in most of the places, picketed schools and colleges, and offered bangles and kumkum to those who attended classes. In one case a lady student slapped a police officer when he tried to wrest the flag from her hand. Thirty-two girls were severely beaten with lathis at Kumta, while taking out a procession.

It may be said without exaggeration that students in most of the cities and big taluka towns, in addition to conducting their own movement, played a vigorous part in picketing of courts, cutting of wires and organising village propaganda. In doing so they have risked their careers, many of them have faced lathis and bullets, and hitherto about 300 of them have been sentenced to various periods, the longest sentence awarded being two years R.I.

3. *Demonstrations and Protests* : It is needless to say that throughout the province meetings, processions, flag salutations and prabhat pheris have been going on in defiance of law, almost in every place worth the name. In some meetings held in Mangalore and Bellary districts during the first two weeks, the whole Congress programme was openly read out and explained to the audiences.

So far, the following among other institutions have passed condemnatory resolutions in their meetings : Dharwar District Board, Dharwar School Board, Bellary District Board, Bagalkot Municipality, Mangalore Municipality, Bijapur District School Board, Hospet Municipality ; Hubli and Bailhongal Bar Associations have demanded special enquiries into the local firings. Picketing of liquor shops is reported from many places in Bellary district, and also from Dhavalagi in Bijapur district. Picketing of court-houses seems to have been specialised in by workers of Mangalore, where every taluka court was vigorously picketed, and resulted on the whole in the arrest of about 75 workers and a number of lathi charges. Sometimes the district judge of Mangalore had to enter his court with an armed escort. Court houses have also been picketed in Ankola, Honnavar and some other places.

4. *Resignations* : A number of resignations is reported by people who were hitherto helping the Government. The resignations include

those of village officers, members of War Committee, Government pleaders, members of panchayats, members of municipalities, M.L.As., school-teachers, civic guards and bench magistrates. Most notable among the Karnataka people to resign was Shri R. A. Jahagirdar, M.A., LL.B., Government Pleader of the Bombay High Court. He had the honour to offer his resignation along with the Advocate-General of Bombay, and clearly stated in his letter that he disagreed both with the present policy of the Government and the methods of its enforcement. Shri A. B. Shetty and Shri Baliga of Mangalore resigned their membership of the Madras Provincial Assembly. Shri Shetty, Kalidas and Govind Kamath, teachers from primary schools, gave up their posts. Shri H. Subraya Naik, Police Patil of Morab, Shri Subraya Naik Patil of Vasarkudrige (N.K.) and Shri Kolangade, a civic guard of Hubli, also resigned. Shri K. P. Sheshagiri Prabhu and V. V. Shenavi of Karkal ceased to be members of the War Committee. The latter has also resigned his post of Honorary Magistrate. Shri Sundararao Pandit, Pleader at Sirsi, gave up the Presidentship of the District National War Council. 22 Municipal Councillors including the President, Shri Baliga, resigned from the Mangalore Municipality, Shri Potumady Vasudevayya resigned from the Panchayat court. Shri Subrayabhat Shivaramayya and B. Annappa Pai resigned their places on the Vigilance Committee. At Bellary 7 members of Bellary Panchayat court and Shri Shivaramayya and D. Ramachandrarao, Head Master of the Elementary School at Bapuram, have resigned. Shri M. M. Bankar, A. M. Hullatti and S. S. Kajjari have forwarded their resignations of the District Board membership to the School Board Chairman. Shrimati Indirabai Tembe resigned her seat in the Guttal Gram Panchayat.

5. *Strikes*: The industrial area in Karnatak is very limited, if we exclude the Mysore State. In the latter, strikes on a large scale have occurred and they are dealt with separately. However, immediately after the arrests of the Congress leaders, the Bharat Mills and the Railway Workshop of Hubli observed hartal for a day.

6. *Dislocation*: Throughout Karnatak, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires has gone on almost from the first day. It still continues in towns and villages as well, on a big scale, in spite of watch and collective fines levied at places. Especially in Savadatti taluka 75 to 100 poles were uprooted and thrown away. Between Hubli and Navalgund, wires and poles for miles were removed. At some places in the Bellary district, miles of wire have been taken away and thrown in places which cannot be reached by officers. Near Sankeshwar and Nippani, 3 miles length of wire has been removed. Especially between Belgaum and Dharwar, 20 miles length of wire has been disturbed and poles cut. Owing to want of poles, the original poles were shortened and replaced by repairs. There the telegraph wires look like compound fencing.

Railway dislocation has been effective in many places in Karnataka. There have been derailments between Bijapur and Hotgi, and Bijapur and Bagalkot. Rails were removed near Alnavar, Desur and Minchinal, but there was no derailment. The biggest attempt, however, to dislocate the train service was the simultaneous and organized attack at midnight on four railway stations near Hubli Junction, *viz.*, Amaragole, Hebsur, Kusugal and Byadgi. The telephone and block operators were destroyed and records done away with. This happened on the night of September 18, 1942. There was similar damage on the railways running through the Mysore territory. All this resulted in the stoppage of railway communication for 10 days and cancellation of all night trains for full three weeks, between Hubli and Poona, Hubli and Harihar, Harihar and Bangalore, Hubli and Guntakal and Guntakal and Bangalore. Now, however, normal services have been resumed except between Guntakal and Hubli. Night patrol trains with armed police and military guard the lines between particular stations.

Roads also were effectively damaged in a number of places, and small bridges were made unserviceable for days on end. Especially when provincial roads were dealt with in this manner, the military convoys could not keep to their time-table. Guarding of roads by armed police and military has been resorted to, and in places they have shot at suspected people at night. No casualties are reported. Today, the road from Sirsi to Navinagudi, a distance of about 25 miles, is being guarded by armed police on cycles. In parts of Belgaum, Karwar and Mangalore districts, bus services have either stopped or been seriously dislocated.

7. *Destruction* : The mass fury generated on account of the kidnapping of respected leaders took a big toll in many places, by burning or destruction of Government offices, choukies, etc. At some places post-boxes have been taken away or burnt. A police stand was burnt at Dharwar. The Travellers' Bungalows at Tegur (Dharwar District), Hudatini (Bellary District), and Godhuli (Belgaum District) were set on fire. The village office was burnt down in Pacchapur. Some records in the Belgaum court were burnt. A liquor shop in Dhavalagi (Bijapur District) was burnt. Municipal schools at Bellary and Hospet, primary schools of Suldhali, the Savadatti Middle School, Thalakwadi High School and laboratory, were burnt at different times. University furniture in the Lingaraj College at Belgaum was also burnt. Some records in the Karnatak College at Dharwar were set on fire.

The major destruction was, however, the burning of the post-office and the sub-registrar's office at Nippani, for which Government have imposed a collective fine of a lac and thirty thousand. Serious damage to Kusugal, Hebsur and Amargol railway stations occurred when they were attacked and burnt on the night of September 15.

8. *Repression*: Detention comes first and foremost in the armoury of the bureaucracy. They rounded up nearly 150 persons at the first rush. Arrests and convictions have already mounted up to more than 2,000.

Lathi charges and indiscriminate cane-beatings have been a regular feature in dispersing meetings and processions even in small places. The most severe lathi charge reported was in a public meeting at Mangalore, when 28 persons were beaten to the ground. Shri M. D. Adhikari, the Working President of the D.C.C., has been in bed for more than two weeks as a result of the beating. There are not a few cases where police have rushed into private buildings and beaten innocent people sitting in shops and private buildings. Two girls at Kumtah were very severely beaten with lathis.

So far, firing has been resorted to at Hubli, Nippani, Sankeshwar, Bailhongal and Shivapur. In Hubli and Bailhongal, the officers are said to have used their revolvers. The total casualties at a very modest estimate were 10 deaths and 70 wounded (excluding those of the Mysore State).

The firing was in each case absolutely unprovoked and indiscriminate, and even boys of 14 have died as a result. The usual defence plea is trotted out by the police, though no policeman is either reported dead or seriously injured.

So far, collective fines amounting to Rs. 1,70,000 have been levied on Nippani, Bagewadi, Kittur, Hosur and 14 villages in Ankola taluka. The Government is obviously thinking of levying more fines on other places. Nippani is the heaviest hit, since it has been asked to pay Rs. 1,30,000.

In the early days, military patrols were rushed to Sankeshwar, Nippani, Savadatti, Bailhongal and some other villages. The curfew order was in force for about two weeks in Bailhongal.

9. *Striking Features*: (a) In Hubli, when the national flags were snatched away by the police, a big procession sat *dharna* and got back the flags.

(b) Shri Narayan Doni, who died at Hubli as the result of a revolver shot, when asked by the doctor while on his death-bed exclaimed, "I want Swaraj and nothing else." The A.S.P., Mr. Shanbhag, himself contributed to the relief fund opened for the dead and the wounded in the Hubli firing. It is said that he was responsible for the death of Shri Narayan.

(c) Offering of Gandhi caps to officers, teachers and professors was a regular feature of the student movement, and in Dharwar, Hubli, Gadag and Belgaum the officers accepted and paid for them.

(d) Shri Subraya Patil, the resigned police patel of Morab, refused the call of the Mamlatdar, saying he was a free citizen, and a posse of 25

police had to be sent to arrest him. In Hebsur, the police had to return twice without arresting the men wanted, on account of mass pressure, though they were there all the time. At Savadatti Shri Annappa Padaki had to be released from custody by the police, on account of mass pressure. Shri Annu Guruji, a proclaimed man, openly challenged the police to arrest him in a public meeting. He is still at large.

(e) At Hospet, Shri Bagalkot, a retired Government servant, on the day of prayer (6th) made a speech in the prayer meeting calling upon all to pray for Swaraj and for the release of leaders rather than for victory for the Allies. He has since been arrested and the case goes on.

(f) In Bijapur, even before Gandhiji's arrest, local workers were arrested at midnight on August 8.

(g) Ladies and girls were among the picketers both in schools and courts, and they offered kumkum and bangles to the persons concerned.

(h) The burning of the four railway stations simultaneously, so as to isolate Hubli Junction, was planned and executed in a manner which did damage to the enemy, without any to the attacking parties.

(i) The Mamlatdar's daughter, a graduate, and a Harijan, led the procession of students on the first day in Bijapur.

(j) So far 29 Congress workers have been proclaimed by Government, only four of whom have been arrested. Though they are all actively working in the field, Government have not been able to arrest the others.

(k) As a result of dislocation of the railways, no trains were running by night for about three weeks between Hubli and Poona, Hubli and Harihar, Harihar and Mysore, Hubli and Guntakal, Hubli and Hotgi, etc.

(l) For days on end, groups of students carried on ticketless travelling between Banavar and Davangere, put up a national flag on the engine, made European passengers travel by class II and gave khadi sarees and caps to European ladies and gentlemen in the train. Then the military arrived, and harassed and beat students mercilessly, as a result of which both Davangere and Banavar stations were burnt.

10. *Remarks:* For full three weeks there was a tremendous wave of mass enthusiasm through the towns and villages in Karnatak. It may be noted that the students were and are the backbone of the movement in the cities. The villages were a little late in catching fire. But now everywhere they are quite active. After the first emotional spurt, people now seem to have settled down to a steady and determined resistance to the foreign Government. Of course, this was a big jump from the individual satyagraha of 1940-41. However, there is not much difference of opinion or heterogeneity among the workers in Karnatak. Mysore is remarkably active, in spite of the fact that it is an Indian State, and that its front line leaders were packed off even before reaching their destination from Bombay, after the A.I.C.C. sessions.

Happenings in the Mysore State

(From 9-8-42 to 25-9-42)

At the time of the arrest of leaders, the Congress in Mysore State was actively functioning with its ramifications extending to most of the villages in all the nine districts. Prominent among its activities was the organization of labour. Labour unions were organized in all small and large factories, with Congressmen as office-bearers, so that today labour is fully under the guidance of the Congress.

Mysore is on the whole a poor province ; but the custom of the President of the Mysore Congress visiting all taluka headquarters, when a purse would be presented to him, provided the machinery for tapping small sources as well, and supplied sufficient funds for the routine activities of the Congress. The result was that the organization was kept intact even in periods when there was no important programme before the country.

1. *Strikes* : Conspicuous among the first reactions were the complete strikes and active demonstrations by the students and labourers. The following were the industrial concerns wherein the workers went on strike for two weeks as a protest against the arrest of their leaders.

(1) Binny Mills, Bangalore, 7,000 workers, (2) Maharaja Mills, 2,000, (3) Minerva Mills, 1,500, (4) Mahalakshi Mills, 1,000, (5) Kaiser-i-Hind Mills, 800, (6) Krishna Weaving Mills, 1,000, (7) Smaller weaving factories, 2,000, (8) Krishnarajendra Mills, 2,500, (9) Davangere Mills, 1,000, (10) Government Electric Factory, 500, (11) Government Soap Factory, 200, (12) Glass Factory, 500, (13) Other joint stock companies, 2,000, (14) Bhadravati Iron Works, 3,000, (15) Mysore Paper Mills, 800, (16) Hindustan Aircraft Factory, 6,000, (17) Mysore Mines (K.G.F.), 1,000 ; Total, 32,800 workers. Roughly 32,000 labourers were on strike for two weeks. 3,000 workers out of 4,500 in the Bhadravati Iron Works and 400 workers out of 1,200 in the Mysore Paper Mills were on strike for one month.

2. *Shooting* : The police resorted to shooting at Bangalore, Davangere, Mysore, Tumkur and Hassan ; the shooting was severe at Bangalore and Davangere. Nearly 150 persons died at Bangalore and 6 at Davangere. In Bangalore, there was a pitched battle for hours on the 16th and 17th of August. When the cavalry charged the crowd, ragi was thrown on the tarred roads, so that the horses slipped and collapsed. One horseman died of the fall.

3. *Dislocation* : Rails were removed from the Bangalore-Hubli, Bangalore-Mysore and Bangalore-Guntakal lines. There was no night running of trains for 15 days on the Guntakal line, and for one month on the other two lines. Davangere, Banavar, Holalkere, Hosdurg, Jaipur and Tiptur railway stations were burnt. There was extensive ticketless travel-

ling by students and labourers for 15 days. Milk and vegetable supplies to the military were stopped for a week. Thereafter, soldiers accompanied the suppliers in trains and buses. Telegraph wires were extensively cut and removed all over the state. Many poles were broken. Even today, miles and miles of telegraphic communications are still unrestored.

4. *Student Movement*: Students have still stayed away from schools and colleges. The University circularised that those who attended examinations on September 28 would not be penalised. All over the State, a big demonstration was organized on the 29th. Mill labourers, who were on strike at Bangalore, picketed the students. Only 20% of them attended the examinations. Government servants have been circularised to escort boys in their wards to schools and colleges. Buses have been provided to students who wish to attend classes. Yet the attendance is hardly 20%.

5. *Picketing of Liquor Shops*: Liquor shops and lorries were picketed. At Bangalore, Government ordered the closing of all liquor shops in the city for a month. As a sequel to liquor picketing, there were several lathi charges in the mofussil, and firing in Hassan district, where one man died and several were injured.

6. *Resignations*: Prominent among those who resigned are Shri Keshavan and Shri Kusup, two college lecturers. Shri M. H. Shah, Executive Officer, and Shri Modi, engineer of the Hindustan Aircraft Company, resigned. 12 patels of Shimoga district, several Assembly members, and A.R.P. and National War Front members, have also resigned. Shri H. R. Guruva Reddy, Shri A. G. Ramachandra Rao, Shri K. Subba Rao and others have surrendered their sanads and given up their practice.

7. *Other Features*: 12,000 workers of the Binny Mills, Maharaja Mills, Minerva Mills and Mahalakshmi Mills of Bangalore have gone on strike from September 19th. Villagers have refused to pay duty at the weekly bazars in Hassan district. Electric transmission lines to Bhadravati were cut on three occasions. A culvert on the Sagar-Siddapur line has been pulled down. One of the goldmines struck work for two weeks; and some labour leaders have been deported. The Bangalore City Head Post Office and two branch post offices in the city were burnt, and Rs. 5,000 cash removed. The editors of all the four daily papers of Bangalore have been arrested and prosecuted. 48 workers in the Mysore Iron Works and 24 in the Mysore Paper Mills have been dismissed. Some of these workers are in jail. The total number of arrests in the State is about 2,000. Nearly 160 people have been killed and injured. 10 radios and telephone connections have been confiscated in four cases. One sawar was killed on the 16th of August. On September 25th a Mamlatdar and a Police Sub-Inspector are reported to have been killed by a mob at Isur, Shimoga district. The D.S.P. of Bangalore City and 30 others of the police and military were badly hurt on August 11.

8. *Remarks:* Mysore has a number of industrial centres, and labour being entirely Congress-minded, strikes can be organized in all essential industries, causing dislocation of production. These strikes will incidentally, as in the case of the student-strikes, provide large manpower for carrying out other vigorous programmes, like the dislocation of communications.

KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Brief Report of Happenings in Karnatak

1. *General Situation:* The disturbances continue unabated. Attacks on postal and other communications also continue as vigorously as before. The civil administration has received a fairly rude shock. Special judges have been appointed for all the four districts in the Bombay Presidency, viz., Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur and North Kanara, obviously with the intention of striking terror by the threat of heavy sentences. This has had no deterrent effect upon the people concerned, as is apparent from the unceasing sabotage activities even after the opening of these courts. The outstanding event of the period under review is another almost simultaneous attack on and burning of five railway stations on the M. & S. M. Railway, on the 30th and 31st of October, 1942. The authorities have not been able either to arrest the progress of the movement or to get hold of those concerned in the activities. Mr. Bristow, the Chief Adviser to the Government of Bombay, paid a special secret visit to Dharwar on October 23rd, and following on his visit a large number of military have been sent into the Dharwar district to aid the police in finding out the men wanted, now numbering hundreds in Belgaum and Dharwar districts. The attack on the mails has been a success. Post offices in the distant villages are being closed. Money orders and insured covers are not sent to the villages, but only intimation is sent to the payee to receive the money from the taluk post office. Some smaller police outposts have now been withdrawn, as for instance from Parshwad and Pachhapur in Belgaum district; and wherever the police have to move through villages they now do so in large numbers with the military. It is reported that owing to the threat to postal and telegraphic communications, the District Magistrate of North Kanara sends his reports in a special car.

2. *Demonstrations and Defiance of Law:* At Dharwar, on October 23, two lady students, Miss Hemalata Shenolikar and Miss Gulvadi, entered the district court and hoisted the national flag on the judge's seat. Miss Gulvadi addressed the members of the bar present in the court and then

summoned the judge from his chamber. The judge came near his seat and kept standing, when Miss Gulvadi, who was occupying his seat, asked him to resign his post and dissolve his court within eight days ; in default of which, she declared, he would be punished as a traitor. The judge replied that the sentence was rather annoying, whereon Miss Gulvadi said "Never mind." After distributing leaflets and shouting slogans, the girls nonchalantly left the court. The police came on the scene an hour later, but could not trace and arrest both. Only Miss Shenolikar was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 50 or in default to suffer one month's S.I. She refused to pay the fine and gladly went to jail.

Schools in Dharwar opened after the vacation on the 2nd of October ; but the attendance was very thin. The students of the Karnatak College, in a meeting on October 27, resolved to continue the strike till the release of the leaders. So did the college students residing in Haveri. On the occasion of the visit of the Assistant Educational Inspector for the Southern Division, on the 13th of October, the girls of the Balikadarsha Vidyalyaya in Thalakwadi at Belgaum went out in a body shouting slogans, and so did the students of the Central English School at Hosur, when the same officer went there to inspect it. The school in Sankeshwar was successfully picketed at the time of its inspection, and four students were put under arrest. The management of the Thalakwadi High School postponed the six-monthly examination *sine die*.

October 9th was celebrated in North Kanara as "Leaders' Arrest Day". Kumta observed a complete hartal. At Karwar there was a flag salutation by the students, of whom two were arrested and sentenced to 6 months. At Honavar, two workers leading the Prabhat Pheri were arrested and sentenced to 1 year R.I. and a fine of Rs. 25 or 3 months R.I. in default. There was a severe lathi charge on the processionists. At Karkal, South Kanara district, there was a procession on the 9th of October in defiance of the ban. The police charged the processionists with lathis, and 11 amongst those hurt were arrested, 10 of these being sentenced to 3 to 9 months R.I. with fines up to Rs. 300 in some cases. On the 14th three workers were arrested at Kasargod for picketing the Sub-Registrar's office; and on the 16th for distributing bulletins in the taluk office. Two more persons were arrested on the 19th for picketing the taluk office and one for distributing bulletins.

On the 19th of October, there was a lathi charge on a procession in Bellary. The 13 members who started the procession were awarded 3 months R.I. and a fine of Rs. 50 each. On the 23rd 7 workers were arrested and sentenced to 3 months R.I. and fine of Rs. 50 for taking out a Prabhat Pheri. There was again a procession of students, who however were not arrested.

In the Belgaum and Dharwar districts, "touch me not" figures,

which explode on being touched, have been occasionally found in public streets.

3. *Repression* : The number of arrests and convictions for taking part in the processions, meetings, distributing of bulletins and other activities during the period under review is about 200. There have been numerous searches in different parts. Having been unsuccessful in their attempts in the past the police actually invaded some places in very large numbers, and in some cases accompanied by the military made a thorough search of the village, but in spite of this vigorous vigilance, their efforts have been wholly unsuccessful. The number of organisers wanted by the police is large. They are all actively engaged in work, most of them in their respective areas; yet the police and the magistracy have been simply helpless in the matter of their arrest. There is no tendency on the part of the people in these areas to assist the authorities in their work. In their panic, the police arrest quite innocent persons; for instance, when a number of people were returning from Bendigeri, after witnessing a village drama, 32 of them were arrested by the police on the 19th of October, and after being taken to the taluk office all of them except one were let off. In the last few days of October, the police with the military made indiscriminate arrests at Sulla, Byahatti, Kusugal, Hebsur, and Morab, more it appears for striking terror than for any specific offences. At Hosur in Belgaum district, on October 29th, the D.S.P., accompanied by 4 or 5 Sub-Inspectors and hundreds of military and police, went and searched each house in the village, but finding none of the persons that were wanted, he arrested some 18 men, took them to Bailhongal, and there released 17 of them. Reports from the Siddapur taluk in North Kanara indicate what looks like a loot of property for the realization of fines.

At Bijapur, Rs. 900 have been attached, without assigning any reasons, from a well-known merchant, Dongerchand Shaha; and later a warrant was issued against him.

4. *Dislocation of Communications*: (a) Cutting of telegraph wires:

1. Dharwar District—(1) 19-10-42 wires cut at Hangal; (2) 24-10-42 wires cut near Hangal.

2. Belgaum District—(1) 13-10-42. Telegraph communication between Savadatti and Belgaum was completely stopped, on account of cutting of wire. It is understood that Government are proposing to close up the telegraph office at Savadatti, on account of persistent cutting of wires. (2) 16-10-42. Telegraph poles and wires were cut between Sankeshwar and Gadinglaj. (3) 17-10-42. Telegraph wires were cut near Gokak. (4) 17-10-42. Telegraph wires were cut between Athani and Shedbal. (5) 21-10-42. Telegraph wires were cut between Nippani and Kagal. (6) 25-10-42. Telegraph wires were cut between Rayabag and Chikodi stations.

3. North Kanara (Karwar) District—(1) 25-10-42. Telegraph poles were destroyed between Hegde and Kumta. (2) 25-10-42. Telegraph poles were destroyed near Karkisaval.

4. Bellary District—(1) 20-10-42. Wires were cut between Harapanahalli and Kottur.

5. Coorg District—(1) Numerous cases of cutting of wires have been reported.

(b) Capture of Mail bags, etc.

(1) 10-10-42. Post box Chikerur disappeared. (2) 14-10-42. Mail bag was snatched from runner at Neglur and Hosaritti. (3) 10-10-42. Records in Rattihalli. (4) 17-10-42. Mail bag was snatched at Karjagi Station. (5) 17-10-42. Mail bag was snatched between Savnur and Savnur Station. (6) 20-10-42. Mail bag was snatched between Karwar and Karlawad. (7) 20-10-42. Mail bag was snatched between Nargund and Amargad. (8) 21-10-42. Letters were burnt in Haveri post office. (9) 22-10-42. Letters were burnt in Hangal post office. (10) 24-10-42. Mail bus between Gadag and Shirhatti was held up near Magadi by putting up obstructions on the road, and mail bags were taken away. (11) 25-10-42. Mail bag was snatched from a runner between Gudgeri and Gudgeri Station. (12) 26-10-42. Post Office board at Hangal disappeared.

(ii) Belgaum District: (1) 12-10-42. A ball containing explosive substances was found in the Head Post Office Box at Belgaum. (2) 13-10-42. Mail bag was snatched between Bagewadi and Mugutkhan Hubli. (3) Mail bag was snatched at Hirebagewadi. (4) 17-10-42. Letters were burnt in Thalakwadi post box. (5) 17-10-42. Mail bag was snatched between Hadinglak and Sankeshwar. (6) 18-10-42. Mail bus was held up between Sankeshwar and Kurkeri Road by a score of persons, tyres were cut and mail bags removed.

(iii) Bijapur District: (1) 29-10-42. Letters were burnt in Bagalkot post box.

(c) Removal of post boxes.

(1) 12-10-42. Post box disappeared in Parishwad (Belgaum district). (2) 20-10-42. Post box disappeared in Betgeri (Gadag) and Kanginahal. (3) 24-10-42. Post box disappeared in Chinchali and Sortur villages. (4) 31-10-42. Post box disappeared near Municipal Hall in Dharwar. (5) The postal authorities have themselves prohibited the posting of letters at any place except the head post office, where each letter is scrutinised by a police constable after it is posted. (6) In Belgaum, all hanging post boxes in the city have been removed by the authorities themselves. (7) The postal department is contemplating the closure of post offices in villages in the interior of the Dharwar District.

5. *Destruction*: (a) Damage to Railway: (1) On the afternoon of October 30th about 100 persons attacked the Suldhall station, Belgaum

district, and set it on fire. A large part of the station has been burnt and telegraph, telephone and other instruments have been damaged. (2) On the night of 31st October, three stations on the M. & S. M. Railway were simultaneously attacked, *viz.*, Tavaragatti and Julkoti in Dharwar district, and Gunji in Belgaum district. There was slight damage at Tavaragatti but serious damage at Gunji, where the Assistant Station Master, 8 points-men and 3 policemen were burnt. At Hulkoti, records were burnt, the telephone apparatus was damaged, and part of the station was burnt.

(b) Damage to Government Buildings, etc.

(1) Dharwar district—(1) 12-10-42. Sandalwood stocked in the Dharwar forest depot was sent on fire, which was extinguished by rain. (2) 20-10-42. An attempt to set fire to Yamanur Dak bungalow was made. Wooden pillars in the verandah were all cut down. (3) 20-10-42. Toddy shop in Suddadmallapur (Hirekerur taluk) was burnt. (4) 22-10-42. Records in the Devihosur school were burnt. (5) 22-10-42. Toddy casks were broken at Kushtagi. (6) 22-10-42. Dak bungalow at Amminbhavi was completely burnt. (7) 27-10-42. Furniture and one room in Agadi school were burnt. (8) 28-10-42. Records in Alnavar school were burnt. (9) Culverts between Chikerur and Hansabhavi, Hansabhavi and Hirekerur, and Chikerur and Hirekerur were destroyed.

(ii) Belgaum District—(1) 10-10-42. Chavadi in Kurgund was completely burnt. (2) 10-10-42. An attempt was made to burn Gokak High School. (3) 11-10-42. An attempt was made to burn Chikodi Sub-Judge Court. (4) 11-10-42. Toddy bags being carried on two horses at Ganapati were completely destroyed. (5) 15-10-42. Chavadi in Kalkindri was burnt. (6) 16-10-42. Wooden bridge between Bagewadi and Belgaum was burnt. (7) 17-10-42. Local Board Traveller's Bungalow at Ankalagi was damaged by fire. (8) 18-10-42. Toddy bags were destroyed near Mugutkhan Hubli. (9) 21-10-42. Records from Itagi Panchayat Board were burnt. (10) 25-10-42. A ferry was burnt on the Parishwad river. (11) 27-10-42. The Rural Development Office with its contents was completely burnt. Estimated loss 8 to 10 thousand rupees. (12) 29-10-42. Sandalwood trees were cut down at Daddi. (13) Reports of frequent cutting of toddy bags from different parts of Gokak taluk are received.

(iii) North Kanara (Karwar) District—(1) 9-10-42. Attempt to burn the Rest House between Sirsi and Kumta. (2) 12-10-42. Attempt to burn the records in Sirsi Range Forest Office. (3) 19-10-42. Iron gates of the cattle pound at Hichkad disappeared. (4) 23-10-42. A wooden bridge was burnt near Karkisawal.

(iv) Bijapur District—(1) 11-10-42. Furniture in Mulwad P.W.D. bungalow was burnt. (2) 13-10-42. Records in the Mamlatdar's office in Bakalgot were partially burnt, and their keeper was arrested. (3) 21-10-42. Attempt to burn the railway bridge near Bagalkot.

(v) Coorg District—(1) A stationery box in the Munsiff Court, Virapet, was burnt.

6. *Resignations*: (1) 9 District Board and 5 District School Board members of Belgaum (District) resigned. (2) On October 20, Shri Sundararao Pandit, pleader at Sirsi (North Kanara) a non-congressman, resigned his Presidentship of the National War Front, on the ground of his inability to conduct pro-war propaganda at the time of the present national movement. (3) Shri Laxminarayanachary resigned his membership of Narayan Devarakeri, Bellary district, Panchayat Board, to express his condemnation of Government policy (31-10-42). (4) 7 more District Board members in South Kanara resigned.

7. *Disarming Police Authorities*: On October 14, two armed policemen were disarmed while patrolling a village in Sampagaon, Belgaum district, and their rifles and cartridges were taken away.

8. *Striking Features*: (1) During the recent raids on the mail-bags, a letter addressed by the Dharwar D.S.P. to a C.I.D. man sanctioning the necessary amount for his khaddar dress was found. The *Dharwar Bulletin* published the facsimile of that letter and broadcasted it. (2) The Home Inspector at Ankola accompanied by a Jamadar threatened the crowd with firing in case it did not disperse. One of the persons from the crowd removed the hat of the Inspector as well as the turban of the Jamadar and burnt the same before them. Further, the Home Inspector was relieved of his pistol. (3) The D.S.P. and the Home Inspector of North Kanara visited the village Hichakad, to investigate into the burning of the huge stock of wood at Gangavali. The D.S.P. shoed a boy, whereon a crowd gathered on the scene and wanted to disarm the officers. The D.S.P. anticipating some serious trouble fled to the river bank, was chased by the crowd, and escaped in a ferry.

Happenings in Belgaum and Dharwar, 1943

(Extract from pages 77, 79 and 83 file No. 5/INC/43, C.I.D.)

Confidential

Camp, Dharwar,
1-2-1943.

To

The Asst. Deputy Inspector General of Police,
(Crime) C.I.D., B.P., Poona.

Sir,

The principal accused in the Byadgi Railway Station sabotage case, Kariappa Nellappa Yerishimi of Sangoor, was arrested at Davangere in Mysore State on 24-1-43 when he was taken for being treated for injuries

to his hand by an explosion caused in the act of making a bomb. On intimation of the same S.I. A. P. Shaik on special duty was deputed by the Dy. B.P.N.D. to interrogate him with a view to ascertain if this accused could throw any light on the underground activities of the Congress organisation. This Kariappa has made a statement before S. T. Shaik as well as before the F. C. M. Chittaldrug. In addition to the admission that he organised and committed many acts of sabotage such as burning of Byadgi Railway Station, looting of Mail bus near Bidargatti and so on in Hirekerur and Ranebennur taluks he gives an idea how batches of workers are organised for different areas under different leaders. In the southern division of Dharwar district he has stated there are four batches working under the leadership of (1) Shivappa Nesvi, (2) Timmangouda Menshinhal, (3) Mahadev Mailar, (4) Kariappa Sangoor. These 4 batches are named as (1) "Balbhim, (2) Balwant, (3) Kabir and (4) Dasharath", respectively and allotted to taluks of (1) Hirekerur, (2) Ranebennur, (3) Haveri, (4) Hirekerur for acts of sabotage. The leaders of the batches used to receive secret instructions through persons of some assumed names. As a token of identification these contacts were provided with the seals of the A.I.C.C. The K.P.C.C. functioning from underground sends money to these leaders through contacts of established integrity. These leaders of various batches are required to send reports to the K.P.C.C. of their own activities organised and carried out. He has further stated that when the present aggressive programme of the Congress was advocated some of the workers like V. V. Patil expressed their disagreement and courted arrest soon after. According to him all the activities now indulged in by the Congress workers are fully in pursuance of the instruction received from the A.I.C.C. from time to time.

Your obedient servant,
(Sd.)

S.I.C.I.D.I.B., Poona.

Copy with respects to :—

The A.D.I.C.I.B., I.C.I.D.B.P., Poona.

Confidential

Subject: Political situation in Belgaum and Dharwar Districts

Submitted

There is no change in the political situation in Dharwar and Belgaum districts. The burning of village records and *chavdis* is going on freely. On 27-1-1943 the village records and the *chavdi* of Amminbhavi, a village in Dharwar taluk, were burnt. On the same day

the *chavdis* at Gudi-Sagar, Khanapur and Shelvadi were also burnt. On 26th and 27th January 1943, the village records of Gudikatti, Kitdal, Artgal, and Basargi villages in Belgaum district were taken away by hooligans.

From a talk which I had with some of the village officers of these districts, it is learnt that the village officers are very much afraid of these hooligans and therefore are not giving us correct information regarding the identity and movements of the hooligans. They are afraid that if they give correct information about the political offences committed in their jurisdiction the hooligans will burn their houses and destroy their property and if they show indifference in their duty they are likely to be arrested under D.I. Rules, thinking that they have turned hostile. Therefore the village officers are afraid to displease both parties, *i.e.*, Government servants and the hooligans. On account of this attitude of the village officers, the hooligans are able to continue their nefarious deeds.

Poona,
3rd February 1943.

(Sd.)
P.I., I.B.

(*File No. 41 — Home Department Special Branch (5)*).

Confidential

From

The District Magistrate, Kanara.

To

The Secretary to Government,
Home Department (Special) Bombay.

No. 4905|6

Karwar, 23rd December, 1943.

Subject : Mr. S. P. Gaonkar.

Disbursement of pension due to

Reference : Confidential D.O. Letter No. S.D.V.|13400
dated 4th December, 1943.

It has now transpired that Mr. S. P. Gaonkar was one of the main instigators for burning the Forest Timber Depot at Hattikeri (Ankola taluk) on 14-11-'42, which resulted in a damage of Rs. 12,000 to Government. One Puttu Linga has made a confession in the matter before the Magistrate First Class Ankola, involving one Wasu Biranna of Belekeri and one Biranna Bommaya Naik of Surve, as his instigators and employers in this affair. The above Puttu Linga and another Puttu Beerappa, who

has also made a confession before the Magistrate First Class, Ankola, have involved one Ramkrishna Naik of Belekeri in other sabotage cases in the locality. This Ramkrishna Naik has made an extra-judicial confession before his relative, Subraya Raku Naik, Police Patil of Kangil, to the effect that Biranna Bommaya Naik and Mr. S. P. Gaonkar encouraged Puttu Linga and Subba Ganu to set fire to the Hattikeri Depot. He has further admitted before the Police Patil that Mr. S. P. Gaonkar had assured the hirelings that they would look to everything, if they were involved in criminal proceedings later on. Ramkrishna Naik was present when the above incidents occurred. I have assured this myself on examining the Police Patil (Subraya Naik) on oath.

2. I have also recorded the statement of Biranna Bommaya Naik of Surve, mentioned in para 1 above (who was one of the absconding leaders of Ankola taluka and who surrendered in August last) in this connection. He informs me that later on a bill for Rs. 100 in connection with the expenses incurred in burning the Hattikeri Depot was received from Ankola and that at that time, a question was raised about the propriety of spending such a big amount for this particular act. He and Dayanand Prabhu questioned Mr. Gaonkar in the matter, who pacified them by saying that an important work had been wisely done and that it was not necessary to go into the details of the expenses, however high they might have been, and that the amount might be considered to have been well spent. This Biranna Naik has also admitted before me that Mr. Gaonkar had met Dayanand Prabhu twice or thrice and that he was also present on those occasions. This clearly shows that Gaonkar was taking a keen interest and he was in the confidence of the leaders.

3. It was learnt by one of the Police Sub-Inspectors in this district from the son of Mr. Gaonkar, who was his classmate, that Rs. 100 were spent in the Hattikeri sabotage case. Mr. Gaonkar's son, however, did not disclose the source of the payment nor did he give any further information. But this coupled with other facts stated in paras I and II above show that Mr. Gaonkar was connected with sabotage activities in Ankola taluk and that he was in close contact with Dayanand Prabhu and other political workers.

In the preliminary stages of the movement, Mr. Gaonkar was constantly seen in the company of the active political workers like Dayanand Prabhu, S. D. Nadkarni, Shamrao Dangi, etc., who are still either under detention or absconding.

Statements recorded by me and copies of confessions are herewith appended for favour of perusal and return.

(Sd.)

District Magistrate,
KANARA.

Educational Department
'F' Branch.

Submitted with reference to this office note overleaf :

2. This Department may agree with the H.D. that further enquiry may not be pressed in the matter. Since in the opinion of Government the available evidence does not seem to justify the punishment of withholding Mr. Gaonkar's pension, the District Magistrate, Kanara, may be informed that the pension due to Mr. Gaonkar should be disbursed to him.

Id. 2-5-44.

Ur. Secy.

Id. E.B.P. (atell),
2-5-44.

Secy.

Id. G.W.M. (cElhinny),
2-5-44.

A (E).

I think this case should be shown to Mr. Bristow when he returns from leave since he did not agree with me when it came before Government last January (P. 32 ante). A fortnight's delay will not greatly matter.

Id. I.H.T. (aunton),
d/5.

E.D.

E.D.

This case may now be submitted to A (H) as directed by A (E) in his note overleaf. It is presumed that it is proposed to mark the case for A (F) and H.E. (G.S.) after A (H) has seen it.

Id. 13-5-44.

J.A.S.

Id. 13-5-44.

A (H)

H.D. at all events is convinced that Mr. Gaonkar was guilty of the charges even if it is not possible to produce more evidence. I think the proper compliance with H.E.'s minute is for Mr. Gaonkar to be given an opportunity to reply to the charges.

Id. D.H.B. (ristow),
16-5-44.

A (F) I think H.E. should see before anything further is done.

Id. H.F.K. (night),
17-5-44.

H.E. (G.S.)

In view of the conflicting opinions regarding the adequacy of the evidence against Mr. Gaonkar as justification for withdrawing his pension,

I must give the benefit of the doubt to Mr. Gaonkar. This is on the assumption that it is not possible to get the witnesses who have testified against him to repeat their evidence in his presence, so that he may be given an opportunity to cross-examine them. The District Magistrate has not made it absolutely clear whether this is possible or not, and he may be asked to report specifically on this point. I do not think any useful purpose would be served simply by calling upon Mr. Gaonkar to reply to the charges against him without being informed of the evidence against him and without being given an opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses.

(Sd.) J.C. (olville),
30-5-44.

A draft letter to the District Magistrate, Kanara, is put up overleaf for approval.

Id. 6-6-44.

No. 7702-F.
Educational Department,
Bombay Castle, 6th June, 1944.

To

The District Magistrate, Kanara.

Subject: Pension.

Mr. S. P. Gaonkar, retired A.O.,
District School Board, Kanara.

Reference your letter, No. 4905/6, dated the 1st April '44,
Reference your letter No. 7702/F dated 6-6-1944.

I have the honour to state that the witnesses whose statements were recorded by me are of Nadore community, to which Mr. S. P. Gaonkar also belongs. As Mr. Gaonkar wields good influence over the community, it will not be possible to get the witnesses who have testified against Mr. Gaonkar to repeat their evidence in his presence for fear of being molested and excommunicated.

(Sd.) W. N. Bakhyar,
District Magistrate, Kanara.

E.D.

Please see H.E.'s minute on p. 51 ante. In view of the above report of the District Magistrate, Kanara, the further enquiry may be dropped

and the District Magistrate may be asked to disburse to Mr. Gaonkar the pension due to him. (A(H) and A(F) may perhaps see H.E.'s minute before issue of orders).

Id. 22-6-44.

Ur. Secy.

Id. E.B.P. (atell),
22-6-44.

Secy.

Id. G.W.M. (cElhinny),
23-6-44.

A (E).

Id. I.H.T. (aunton),
26-6-44.

A (H).

Id. C.H.B. (ristow),
26-6-44.

A (E).

Id. H.F.K. (night),
27-6-44.

Governor's Conference re use of Military in Dharwar-Belgaum

(*Extract from pages 199, 200, 201, 202 203, 204, file
No. 5/INC/43 C.I.D. Bombay.*)

Minutes of a conference held at the Secretariat on 9th March, 1943, to consider the use of troops in Belgaum District.

Present

His Excellency the Governor, Adviser (Home), Inspector-General of Police, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Secretary, Home Department, Additional Secretary, Home Department, Secretary to the Governor.

His Excellency said that, in response to a request made by him, the Military authorities had arranged to provide an Indian Infantry Brigade to assist the Civil Authorities in Belgaum, Dharwar in suppressing disorder. He had called this conference because he considered that Government and not any subordinate authority must decide as to the manner in which the troops should be used, their liaison with the Civil authorities, etc. He proposed to have a conference with General Witts, the Brigadier of the Brigade which is arriving, Adviser (Home) and Inspector-General of Police. Before holding that conference he wanted to clear the ground on

the various issues that are certain to arise between the Civil and Military authorities.

(2) His Excellency proceeded to say that the situation in Belgaum was that there were several gangs which were roaming the countryside committing various crimes and that the people either because they were in sympathy with these gangs or out of fear of them, did not give any assistance to the authorities. The final objective of the troops must be to restore the authority of Government in the areas where these gangs operated. The troops must try to beat up the gangs and not the innocent villagers. Subject to this broad consideration, he asked the Inspector-General of Police what were his views.

(3) The Inspector-General of Police read out a note (Appendix A) which contained the police views on the subject. His Excellency said that he did not consider that the Military would agree to item 2 in that note, *viz.*, the Military taking over standing guards; that 5(d) was probably contrary to standing Military regulations and that the suggestion should not be put to the Military formally, and that item 5(c) seemed to imply that the troops had training or work to do other than acting in support of the Civil authority. Subject to these observations, he thought that the Inspector-General of Police's note was acceptable and asked that a copy as corrected should be sent to him.

(4) His Excellency then raised the question of liaison. The Inspector-General of Police said that when a Military patrol is out on reconnaissance only intelligent Head Constables can be provided because there was a great shortage of Police Sub-Inspectors. When, however, a specific operation was being carried out, a Police Sub-Inspector will accompany. The Inspector-General of Police suggested that when a Police Sub-Inspector gets information as to the location of a gang, he must be authorised to go straight to the nearest Company Commander and ask for assistance. It was not the Inspector-General of Police's intention that the Company Commander should act *under the instructions* of a Police Sub-Inspector but that, in order to save time, the Company Commander should accept the Police Inspector's judgement as to the value of the information received by him.

(5) His Excellency said that the manner in which the Police and the Military co-operated depended on the way in which individual officers of both parties approached any problem that arose. He asked that the Inspector-General of Police and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., should both go to Belgaum and should, on the one hand, give talks to the Military officers of the Brigade on the situation in Belgaum District and what is expected of them, and, on the other, instruct the Police Officers concerned as to their duties and responsibilities. His Excellency also asked that the Deputy Inspector-General of Police should

stay in Belgaum for some time and that the Inspector-General of Police should also be there for the period of a fortnight or so initially to see that all the arrangements are put in train properly and to act as liaison with the Brigadier in the early stages. Later on, perhaps, Adviser (Home) will go down if necessary.

(6) His Excellency raised the question of legal cover for action taken by troops. It was pointed out by Additional Secretary that this matter had already been considered by the Government of India and it had been decided that the Criminal Procedure Code provided adequate authority for such action as troops might take and that no act of indemnity was necessary. General Witts had been informed of this decision of the Government of India. Reference was also made by Secretary, Home Department and the Inspector-General of Police to the recent Armed Forces (Special Powers) Ordinance. Secretary, Home Department was asked to submit a note on this point for His Excellency.

(7) His Excellency asked what arrangements would be necessary to ensure that swift justice was available. He asked, in particular, whether a Special Judge could not be appointed for the area in which the troops would be engaged, so that offenders could be tried without any delay. Additional Secretary, Home Department, was asked to put up a note on this subject immediately.

(8) It was decided that the District Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police concerned should be informed immediately about the arrival of the Brigade.

Appendix

(1) In general, we prefer police to troops for our special purposes.

(2) To obtain more police, could military take over standing guards in Belgaum and Dharwar and place a reserve of troops in each of these Police Headquarters? If so, we shall examine how many police could thus be relieved.

(3) We accept the position that one battalion should stay, for training, at Belgaum.

(4) We agree that the troops to be sanctioned outside should be on the marginally noted 8 centres and should consist of one company at each centre.—*Belgaum District*: Gurlhosur, Pachapur, Bailhongal, Kittur; *Dharwar District*: Dharwar, Haveri, Alnavar, Garag.

(5) As to the use of the troops at the 8 centres, we consider:

(a) That their mere presence should, in some degree, restore confidence in the area and thus enable the police more easily to get on with their own job.

(b) that instructions should, however, be issued to the police that

troops should not be employed unnecessarily in assisting the police in small raids or other action which can easily be handled by the police themselves.

(c) that, in giving assistance to the police, they should follow, to the extent possible to a military organisation, police suggestions in the matter of their disposal.

(d) that, when not giving active assistance to the police, they should be employed from time to time in the following ways: (i) route marches in villages to show the flag; (ii) on reconnaissance in their particular areas.

(6) We consider that it should be impressed very clearly on military commanders that

(a) operations against saboteurs are long and tedious affairs which cannot summarily be disposed of,

(b) effective action is dependent on reliable information which it is not always easy to obtain, and

(c) failure in any one operation should not be regarded as a failure of the arrangement as a whole or as a legitimate cause of discouragement.

(7) We consider it essential that the arrangements as above should continue, without interruption, until the rains start.

Minutes of a conference held at the Secretariat on the 16th March 1943 to consider the use of troops in Belgaum District.

Present

His Excellency the Governor, Adviser (Home), Brigadier Nunn, Colonel Grey, Inspector-General of Police, Secretary, Home Department, Additional Secretary, Home Department, District Magistrate, Belgaum, Secretary to the Governor.

His Excellency said that he was very grateful to the Army for sending a Brigade to assist the civil power in Belgaum-Dharwar. The civil authorities are doing everything in their power to put down disorder. They have recently sent 375 extra armed police to Belgaum District and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., has been there for some time with several experienced C.I.D. officers for the purpose of getting information. The present position is that, although there is some lull in the activities of gangs, they are still fairly active. The material damage caused by them is not serious, but what is serious is the fact that there is so much lawlessness in the district. The object of the civil power and the troops must be to restore in the minds of the villagers respect for the authority of Government and not the authority of saboteur gangs.

(2) His Excellency then referred to the Conference held last week at which certain conclusions were arrived at on the assumption that one

battalion will be located in Belgaum, and will be split up into four units in Belgaum District. He understood, however, that this arrangement was not acceptable. Brigadier Nunn stated that the instructions were not to split up the brigade into units less than a battalion in Belgaum, one in Khanapur, half a battalion in Dharwar, and half in Hubli. The splitting up of a battalion into two groups between Dharwar and Hubli was actually contrary to the instructions that had been received but was necessitated by the difficulties of water supply. It was clear, however, that companies could not be located in the different places as originally contemplated by the civil authorities. His Excellency asked whether for a specific operation against a gang the Brigade Commander had authority to send out a small number of troops, say a hundred or so, in order to assist the police. Brigadier Nunn said that he had no doubt that this could be done. Adviser (Home) stated that the arrangement suggested by the Army did not suit our purpose. The main point was that the police must be able to get the assistance of troops very quickly. A Sub-Inspector may get information about the presence of a gang in a certain village and may want to go there with suitable assistance immediately. If he had to draw from a battalion located at Belgaum or Khanapur, the gang might well have dispersed before troops were available. The Inspector-General of Police said that he agreed with Adviser (Home). He thought the only advantage from the arrangement suggested by the Army was the troops would have a stabilising influence in the neighbourhood. Another advantage possibly was that if troops are available at very short notice, say two or three hours, in Dharwar and Hubli, then he could transfer some armed police from Dharwar into Belgaum. Brigadier Nunn stated that he had understood from the District Superintendent of Police, Belgaum, that with the large number of additional police that had been brought in he, *i.e.*, the District Superintendent of Police, did not think that troops would be required for any operational purposes. The Inspector-General of Police stated that this was a very optimistic view. His Excellency wound up discussion of this point by saying that the arrangement was not what he had contemplated, that he would try and speak to the Commander again about it, but there was no doubt that with the 375 armed police, with three battalions to stand by so as to move at very short notice, the arrangement suggested by the Army would be of very considerable help to the civil authorities.

His Excellency then enquired whether the troops would agree to take over standing guards. Brigadier Nunn said that this could certainly be done, guards being provided from the Mahar battalion in Belgaum. The Inspector-General of Police stated that this would be very useful, although the number of armed police constables relieved of standing guard duty would not be very large, not more than about 50 or so.

The Inspector-General of Police asked whether the brigade was coming primarily for training purposes. Brigadier Nunn said that instructions on the point were very clear. The brigade was coming for internal security purposes but will continue training. In other words, their main job will be to assist the civil authorities but, asked whether flag marches would be considered part of training, Brigadier Nunn replied that this was so, so long as the flag marches were limited in number.

His Excellency said that he was sending the Inspector-General of Police to Belgaum for the purpose of civil liaison with the Brigadier, and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D., would also be there for some time. He asked whether the Army would appreciate talks by the Inspector-General of Police to officers of the three battalions regarding the conditions in Belgaum and Dharwar. Brigadier Nunn said that it was an excellent idea and the officers would greatly appreciate such talks.

(3) It was agreed finally that details of liaison should be settled by the Inspector-General of Police on behalf of the Government and the Brigadier.

A more detailed history of the Freedom Movement in Karnataka in the forties of this century, with a correct evaluation of events that happened in that momentous decade, can only be written with complete objectivity a few decades hence, when the passions that were aroused among Indians impelling them to desperate deeds will have become a dim memory, and the historian will be enabled to take a dispassionate view of the events. Government was insensible to the feelings of the people, and hoped to crush the movement completely by starting the offensive before their enemy was prepared. They suddenly arrested Gandhiji and all other important leaders. But they failed to perceive the obvious fact that the fight which Indians would put up was the inevitable culmination of the struggle that had been going on since Tilak introduced the element of dynamism into Congress activities. In the absence of recognized leaders, every Congressman became a leader. No doubt there were acts of incendiarism and sabotage everywhere ; but comparatively few cases of murder or physical violence. In the absence of leaders, most of the fighters thought that the burning of Government buildings, looting of Government property, dislocation of transport and communications, did not constitute violence so long as there was no loss of human life. Cases of killing, as at Isur, were extremely rare ; if the fighters had been minded to retaliate with violence, many thousands of Government officers could have been murdered

in cold blood. A significant fact is that the inhuman cruelties perpetrated by the police on non-violent Congressmen—of which we give two examples below—are totally absent in the conduct of the Congress fighters.

Statement of Sardar Niranjana Singh Talib, a colleague of Subhas Chandra Bose : “ One Sub-Inspector threw me on the ground with my face downward. After stripping me of my clothes, he beat me with shoes very badly. He then sat on my thighs and beat my chest so hard that I became unconscious. Henceforth I was tortured in the above manner every day. I was kept awake day and night. I was not allowed to sit except when in privy for the call of nature. If I began to doze I was pulled by the beard. I thought of putting an end to my life, and one day I threw myself down from top office stairs, but I escaped death.” (*British Rule in India*, by Ram Gopal, p. 352.)

K. C. Neogy, while moving a resolution in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 24th of September, 1942, said, giving instances of police inhumanity : “ The soldiers removed the clothing from the houses of the villagers and set them on fire, and further set fire to 20 houses of my tenants in addition to several straw-thatched houses in the village. After having looted my house and the houses of my tenants the soldiers came back to the road and asked all children below the age of 12 to go out of the line of the people sitting on the road. After this order was complied with, the adult persons sitting on the road were asked to sit like frogs, after undressing themselves, including my manager. They had to obey the order at the point of the rifle. Thereafter a bamboo stick was split up into a few parts and five stripes were severely inflicted on the naked back of each of the villagers. One of my peons who was protesting was tied to a tree and mercilessly beaten with thirty stripes and was later on taken under arrest with three other villagers ”.

Such things happened all over India. The Congress version was that not less than 15,000 were killed by police firing and other atrocities such as only debased human ingenuity can devise ; and “ not less than a hundred thousand persons must have been put in prison. Some of them were released after a short detention, but the rest were detained indefinitely. Arrests became a regular money-making business for the police. Innocent persons were hauled up and then intimidated into paying large sums of money for release.”

While events were shaping thus in India, Churchill declared in the House of Commons on the 10th of September 1942 :

“ The outstanding fact which has so far emerged from the violent action of the Congress Party has been its non-representative character and powerlessness to throw into confusion the normal peaceful life of India. It is the intention of Government to give all necessary support to the Viceroy and his executive in the firm but tempered measures by which they are protecting the life of the Indian communities and leaving the British and Indian armies free to defend the soil of India against the Japanese.” On the next day, strongly criticizing this distorted and misleading picture of the Indian situation given by Churchill, Arthur Greenwood, Leader of the Labour Party, said in the House of Commons : “ We did not need Mr. Churchill’s kindergarten lecture yesterday to understand how complicated is the situation in India.” Perhaps the most sober and balanced assessment of the Indian situation came from Major Attlee, who was Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for the Dominions, when he spoke in the House of Commons on the 8th of October : “ We do not approach this matter as some abstract problem, but a problem of how we are to get in this world the best conditions of freedom and life for the people with whom we have worked over a great series of years and the people who to-day in this war are doing a wonderful service to the Allied cause. I doubt if it is realised in this country how much India has done, the good fight that has been put up by the Indians in the Army, in the Navy and in the Workshops—and I suggest that some people in their enthusiasm for what they think is the Indian attitude have done less than justice to the Indian people. It is a false assumption that all the people of India are sitting down thinking of political problems. There are vast numbers in India devoting themselves to the service of the war I hope that Indian statesmen will think again, will look not just for some immediate question of service, but will look at the long trend of Indian history and see what a great role India has played in the battle for democracy. I have always hoped that India, drawing her experience from here, will set a lead in Asia for democracy. Democratic forms are useless without the democratic spirit. Unless you can get tolerance in life and a let-live principle amongst all communities you cannot get the successful working of democracy. Looking at the world devastated by hate, intolerance and dominance, I had hoped that one section of the Indian people and leaders would have seen that is the way of death and not the way of life. I ask them to think again in order that they may join in our effort to defeat tyranny and thereby hasten the time when the Indian

peoples may themselves decide on their own free government for the future."

As for the loss in men and property and the resulting suffering as the result of the struggle of 1942, the following Government figures are eloquent: "Killed—940; wounded—1630; firing—568 times; arrests—60229; military called out—60 times; air-bombing—6 times; railway stations burnt—318; telegraph and telephone wires cut—at 12,000 places; post offices raided or destroyed—945; derailments—59; damage to rolling stock—estimated at Rs. 18,00,000; damage to trucks Rs. 90,00,000; damage to station buildings—Rs. 850,000; damage to ancillary equipment—Rs. 650,000; loss of cash and other valuables—Rs. 200,000. The losses suffered by the people were never estimated by anybody in terms of money." (Ram Gopal: *British Rule in India*, p. 354.)

Though the struggle of 1942 was carried on by the people without the guidance of recognized leaders, it followed a definite pattern, and demonstrated that the Congress aims had reached the masses. In Karnatak leaders arose as if from nowhere, and carried on the fight unmindful of the cost and suffering it entailed. There were deeds of amazing courage, persistence and heroism all over Karnatak. Some accounts of a few of these heroic deeds are given below.

MYLARA MAHADEVAPPA

A life of devoted service and sacrifice to the Motherland

Mylara Mahadevappa is one of that small number of Indians who, as if by instinct, came under the fascination of Gandhiji's personality, and served the national cause with unflinching devotion and courage, their life terminating in the supreme sacrifice. It was a short life he lived, but in that life were crowded the attempts and strivings of a lifetime, constituting a rare example of high endeavour prompted by the purest of motives. He was a true son of Karnataka, a land of heroes and heroines who have added lustre to the land of their birth.

He was born in Motebennur, a small village near Byadgi railway station on the Poona-Bangalore line. His father, Marthandappa, was an agriculturist, by no means affluent. His mother, Basamma, was a devoted wife and mother, like most Hindu ladies in the rural parts, and brought up her children on the ancient traditions. His schooling began late. It was only when he was thirteen that he was sent to the local school. Shri Hardi-

kar Manjappa was touring in those parts at the time, and came to Motebennur. For the first time in his life Mahadevappa listened to a speech explaining to the people the aims and objects of Gandhiji and the paramount national need of khadi. Manjappa in his soft persuasive voice deeply stirred the hearts of his listeners ; and on the unsophisticated and impressionable mind of Mahadeva his words made a deep impression. The boy now began to think of the world around him and the condition of his country.

He was married at a very early age. He was then sent to Hamsabhavi for his education. At this place he heard about the fight for the freedom of the country and came to know what leaders like Kallangowd Patil, Nesvi, Diwakar and others were doing in Karnatak. Though his knowledge of English was rudimentary he read Gandhiji's *New India* regularly, and he was captured by the message of khadi and the revival of Swadesi. It was now that he decided to give up school and to devote his life to the cause of his motherland. His determination was inflexible though he was yet a boy, and there was no question of retreat when once he decided upon a course of action. Gandhiji at this period was giving his attention chiefly to the spread of khadi and village industries, and leaders of Karnataka were exhorting the people to revive them in every village.

Mahadevappa had heard about the youth league founded by two youth leaders, Gudleppa Hallikeri and N. B. Hiremath, whose object was to give the necessary training to young men to work in the national cause. He went to Gudleppa Hallikeri and expressed his desire to join the league. Gudleppa at first doubted the ability of the young boy to devote himself to the national cause, and tried to dissuade him from joining. But he was soon convinced of the sincerity and earnestness of Mahadevappa and enlisted him in the League. After some time Gudleppa sent him to Hudli to receive training in the constructive programme of the Congress under Gangadhar Rao Deshpande. After training he worked for some time and the khadi centre in Kaladgi. At every place he distinguished himself by his zeal, industry and exemplary conduct.

But his parents and his uncle Gundappa were disturbed when they saw him devoting himself to these activities. He was married, and his duty, as they thought, lay in training himself for earning a living. So they forced him to return home. His uncle took him under his protection in order to train him for business. He gave Mahadevappa a sum of money for safe keep-

ing, hoping that the responsibility of carrying his uncle's money would prevent him from running away. He knew that his nephew was too honest and upright to go away with his uncle's money in his possession.

Mahadevappa was in a quandary. He wanted to go where his country called him, but his parents were trying to dissuade him from it, and his uncle had imposed a responsibility on him by giving him money to keep. Once he went with his uncle to Davanagere. Leaving the boy in the town, Gundappa went to a nearby place on business. Now it was the chance for Mahadevappa to run away. But what should he do with the money? After thinking over it for a long time, he gave the money to a trusted friend of his uncle at Davanagere to be given to his uncle when he returned, and went away. When Gundappa returned and received the money from his friend, it is said that he was deeply grieved to find that the boy had not taken with him even a small part of the money for his expenses. Mahadevappa went straight to Gudleppa Hallikeri.

The Belgaum Congress of 1924 had acted as a spur to national activity in Karnataka, and all over the province the expansion of khadi production, development of village industries and other items of Gandhiji's constructive programme were taken up in earnest. National schools had been started and in all of them instruction was imparted with a national bias. The Chauri Chaura tragedy of 5th February 1922 and the riot in Madras earlier had forced Gandhiji to suspend the Non-Cooperation movement for a time and devote his attention chiefly to constructive activities. There was now a split in the Congress between Swarajists led by Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das, and the "No-Changers" who followed Gandhiji's policy of refusing to work the reforms. Gandhiji left the political field to the Swarajists and directed his followers to take up the constructive programme. But Government itself indirectly helped to bridge the gulf between the two groups in the Congress when it announced the appointment of the Simon Commission in November 1927, charged with the duty of "inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions in British India and matters connected therewith and reporting whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government or to extend or modify or restrict the degree of responsible government then existing therein." Not a single Indian was included in this Commission, and this implied the arrogant

assumption that Indians were not fit to take part in the work of framing a constitution for their own country. The two parties of the Congress now came together in the face of the national insult. Boycott of the Commission followed ; popular demonstrations against the Commission were met by the Government with arrests and lathi charges. Lala Lajpat Rai died as a result of a lathi charge at Lahore. The Muslims, now guided by leaders like Jinnah, were drifting away from the Congress, and the Government made good use of this situation for their policy of "divide and rule". Mahadevappa kept himself informed of all this, but he was for action, not for discussion or controversy. He felt that to work loyally along the lines chalked out by Gandhiji was his sole duty and that it was not his to question why.

From Davangere he went to meet Gudleppa Hallikeri. The latter saw the transparent honesty and earnestness of the youth, whose one absorbing ambition was the service of his motherland. Hallikeri sent him to the Sabarmati Ashram as a delegate from the Youth League to receive further training. His amiable manners and devotion to duty caught the notice of Gandhiji, who was pleased with this boy from Karnataka.

In the political field, events were marching fast, and the Congress took momentous decisions in the face of the intransigent attitude of the Muslim League and the subtle manoeuvring of the British. The Lahore Congress of 1930 with Jawaharlal Nehru as president declared that "the word 'Swaraj' in Article 1 of the Congress constitution shall mean complete independence" and that Congressmen should not participate in elections and that all the members of the legislatures should resign. Independence Day was celebrated all over the country on the 26th of January 1930, when in an atmosphere surcharged with excitement and patriotic fervour, thousands took the independence pledge. Gandhiji made a last attempt at compromise with the Government, but the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, was not prepared to come to terms. Gandhiji, who had been entrusted by the Working Committee of the Congress with the duty of leading the country, now announced that Civil Disobedience would be started with the breaking of the Salt Laws. The Dandi march would commence on 12th March, 1930.

Gandhiji started on the 12th March with 79 volunteers specially selected by him. That Mahadevappa was selected as the sole representative from Karnataka is eloquent testimony to the esteem in which he was held by Gandhiji. After trudging a distance of 300 miles, speaking to the thousands who gathered on

the way about the significance of this move on the part of the Congress and arousing tremendous enthusiasm, the party reached Dandi on the 6th April, 1930. This move of Gandhiji caught the imagination of the people. Salt filled the air and everywhere breaches of the salt law were followed by wholesale arrests.

“ Processions, lathi charges, arrests, hartals went on throughout the land with unabated energy. The Congress was declared illegal, all its leading personalities were jammed behind prison bars. Each arrest gave fresh momentum to the movement. Picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops was added to the breaking of salt laws. Ladies of respectable families joined in hundreds and suffered imprisonment. Government replied by repression and passed a series of lawless laws called Ordinances which opened up new fields for Civil Disobedience”. Gandhiji was arrested on the 5th of May. Mahadevappa also was arrested, and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. It was now that he wrote to his family, stating that it was his singular good fortune to have been enabled to take part in the fight for the freedom of his country.

On the 26th January 1931, Gandhiji and other prominent leaders were released. This move on the part of the Government was dictated not merely by the internal, but also by the international situation. In India, discontent was growing every day and the Congress had refused to take part in the First Round Table Conference, which met in November and December 1930 in London and in which the delegates from India and the British statesmen talked ineffectively for nine weeks and only proclaimed to the world that the internal differences in India—between Hindus and Muslims, between the untouchables and other Hindus—made a smooth settlement of the political question impossible, thus throwing the blame entirely on the Indians themselves. In the international field, the menacing bellicosity of Japan portended danger to Britain's possessions in the east, while the advance of Russia in China was a matter which had to be seriously taken into account. The rise of Hitler in Germany and the general economic crisis in many western countries were warnings of future danger.

So the British wanted to bring about an appeasement of the Congress in India by releasing the leaders. Talks began again between the Government and Congress, and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 17th February resulted in the suspension of Civil Disobedience and Gandhiji agreeing to participate in the Second Round Table Conference.

Mahadevappa returned home after serving his term in prison. He was given a rousing reception wherever he went, even in his own home, where his parents and relations had by now realised the importance and value of the career he had chosen. But though he understood the political situation, his heart was set upon carrying on the constructive programme of Gandhiji. He established an ashram on the lines of the Sabarmati Ashram, at Koradur on the bank of the Varda river. He sent his wife, Srimati Siddamma, to Sabarmati to receive training in national work, so that she could work with him.

The Second Round Table Conference also was a failure, and soon after Gandhiji returned, he was again arrested. Civil Disobedience was started again, and the Government took drastic measures to suppress it. Nearly a lakh of patriots were in prison. Mahadevappa, his mother Basamma and his wife Siddamma, who had now returned after training, took part in the movement and were imprisoned. In May 1933 mass satyagraha gave place to individual satyagraha. Both Mahadevappa and his wife took part in this, and each was sentenced to imprisonment of six months. Mahadevappa was sent to Hindalgi goal, while his wife was sent to Ahmedabad. The later was released after three months.

In 1934 satyagraha was stopped by Gandhiji who said in his statement, "I feel that the masses have not received the full message of satyagraha owing to adulteration in the process of transmission. It has become clear to me that spiritual instruments suffer in their potency when their use is taught through non-spiritual media."

Gandhiji was now able to turn his attention to the work which in his opinion was of paramount importance to the national cause, Harijan uplift. For this purpose he undertook an all-India tour, in the course of which he came to Motebennur. As soon as he reached the place he inquired about Mahadevappa and Siddamma. Mahadevappa was still in goal, but Siddamma and Basamma were there. When he returned he took Siddamma with him. He stopped at Hindalgi to see Mahadevappa—so great was the affection of Bapuji for him. Siddamma returned after staying for some days at Rajkot, since the Sabarmati Ashram had been closed by the Government. After her return she stayed for some days in the Harijan Balikashrama at Hubli, which was managed by Veeranagowda Patil and Smt. Nagamma Patil.

When Mahadevappa returned from prison he closed the Ashram at Koradur and stayed for some time in the Gandhi Ashr-

am at Hosaritti, which had been started by Gudleppa Hallikeri. The Government of India Act had come into force and Congress Governments had been formed in eight out of the eleven provinces after the elections. There was the usual scramble for power and position among Congressmen, but Mahadevappa was not enamoured of such things. He had undertaken to do national service without any thought of a return, and he would continue as a servant of the country and the people. The very thought of exploiting this favourable situation for personal gain was repugnant to him. There was the constructive programme of Gandhiji, and he decided to carry it out to the best of his ability. The ashram at Hosaritti gave training for Congress workers, and Mahadevappa was given full charge of this work. Harijan welfare also was a matter near to his heart, as it was to Gandhiji. So he and his wife, who had joined him, mixed and lived with Harijans as if they were among their kith and kin. The couple set a noble example of Harijan work by practical demonstration, not by speeches and exhortations. He was the moving force of the Ashram.

Mahadevappa realised the importance of a robust physique for unremitting and arduous national work such as he had undertaken. He was always careful and abstemious in his habits, and his health and strength had not been impaired by hard work and gaol experience. Still he felt that physical training would help him to serve the country better. So he went to Bangalore to receive training in the Physical Culture Institute of Sri. K. V. Iyer and remained there for a year and a half. It was during this time that he studied the Ayurvedic system of medical treatment, so that he should be able to cure simple ailments by cheap Ayurvedic remedies.

He now thought of opening an ashram of his own to carry on rural service on the lines laid down by Gandhiji. After some deliberation he decided to revive the ashram at Koradur. It was opened in 1937 and named "Gramasevashram." It had as its objects: (1) the social, economic, and moral improvement of the rural folk who were steeped in ignorance and depressed by poverty, by mixing with them like one of them and providing them with the necessary impetus and zeal for their advancement; (2) training in physical culture and inculcating habits of healthy living; (3) the constructive programme of Gandhiji to improve the economic condition of the people and also to help them to realise the importance of self-reliance and self-help; (4) conveying to the rural people the message of the Congress and training

them for national service when necessary ; (5) helping the Harijans, who had been treated by the other Hindus as less than cattle, to shed their inferiority complex and feel that they were as important an element in society as the others ; and also inducing the caste-Hindus to treat them as equals. For the accomplishment of these objects Mahadevappa made the following divisions in the ashram's activities : (1) village industries, (2) khadi, (3) development of literacy, (4) physical training, (5) medical care. The small village of Koradur began to hum with activity, and there was the glow of hope and assurance on the face of the people. Spinning, weaving, and dyeing were taught to many, and most of the ashram people wore khadi. Paper-making and such other industries developed. Physical fitness was given special importance and hundreds of young men were given physical exercise. There was flag-hoisting and salute in the morning, and lectures were arranged for the evening. The people of Koradur gave the Basaveswara temple of the village to the ashram, whose activities were conducted in its large courtyard. Festivals were celebrated when thousands of people gathered to imbibe the new national spirit and shed depression and despair, bringing to mind the Ganesha and other national festivals started by Lokamanya Tilak. The enthusiasm instilled by Mahadevappa spread to the neighbouring places, Balehosur, Ichhang, Kittur, Mardur, Hireharlihalli, etc.

By nature, by training, and in appearance Mahadevappa was a true follower of Gandhiji. Inside a tough, well-developed body there was a nature ever cheerful, earnest and compassionate. Everyone who came into contact with him liked and respected him for his honesty and cordiality. Those who knew his family say that he had inherited from his father his powerful physique and strong will, and from his mother her tenderness of heart and spirit of sacrifice. His relations with his co-workers in the ashram were always cordial, and they were ever ready to follow his lead. He himself often carried the khadi cloth made in his ashram and went from house to house selling it and at the same time spreading the message of the Congress.

Gandhiji's personality exercised an abiding influence upon his mind. He firmly believed in truth and ahimsa ; it can safely be said that he was one of the small number of Congressmen who were sincere in their conviction that India's deliverance lay only in adhering to the path laid down by Gandhiji. In addition to managing the ashram, he had to go about disseminating the ideas and objectives of the Congress, and he carried on his work with

no thought of personal comfort or convenience. When the election to the Taluk Congress came, he had to work day and night. His wife and his brother had gone to Badanval to receive training in printing; the duties of the ashram fell entirely to his lot. He had to visit every town and village in the taluk, speak to the people, and enlist Congress members. His assiduity, earnestness, patience and devotion to work evoked the admiration of everyone; and he became the most beloved and trusted Congress leader in all the places around.

The result of this popularity was that he was requested to become the chairman of the Haveri Taluk Congress Committee in 1940. At first he declined the offer stating that he preferred to remain a humble worker and did not want leadership. But he had to yield to the importunity of his admirers and accept the chairmanship at last.

The political situation of India at the time was one of turmoil and ferment. The Congress ministries in all the provinces had resigned as a protest against the British Government's involving India in the Second World War without consulting the people. Governors ruled the Provinces, and by compulsion if persuasion failed, made the people enlist in the army and contribute to the war effort. The efforts made by Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, and Amery, the Secretary of State, to appease India failed. The demand of the Muslims for an independent Muslim state had taken shape, and Jinnah had adopted a totally uncompromising and truculent attitude towards the Congress. The only course open was satyagraha, and Gandhiji was made sole dictator of the movement. He now initiated not mass, but individual, satyagraha, and Vinoba Bhave was selected as the first to offer it on the question of freedom of speech. When Vinoba made a speech—"It is wrong to help the British war effort with men or money; the only remedy against war is to resist all wars by non-violent resistance"—it was taken up as a call for action all over India, and the fight began with renewed vigour. Government promptly arrested the leaders. Before the end of 1940 all the important leaders had been sent to prison. The deadlock between the Congress and the Government was complete, and the Government went on harping upon the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League as an excuse for not meeting the nationalist demand. Even Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was not in sympathy with the Congress technique of national struggle, said in the non-party leaders' conference at Bombay (1941): "There has never been a Government of India more isolated from public opinion

and from the main current of thought in the country than the present Government."

Mahadevappa was called upon to participate in the satyagraha and he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. More than one thousand four hundred satyagrahis from Karnataka had been imprisoned this time.

The world war, now raging in full fury, assumed a sinister shape for India when the Japanese after a lightning attack captured all the countries of South East Asia including Burma and menaced India. The British were in consternation, for they could not send any military assistance to India, so they made another attempt at appeasement of nationalist India. On the 23rd of March 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps arrived to negotiate a settlement. He met all the important leaders, but his mission failed chiefly on the question of control of the army. He returned on the 12th of April. Gandhiji now thought that the only course open to the country was to demand full independence. He declared in April 1942: "Whatever the consequences, therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too lies in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India". From this the "Quit India" call was the next step.

Events began to move very fast. On the 14th of July 1942 the Working Committee of the Congress met and resolved that, if the British rejected the demand of withdrawal, the next course of action should be promptly adopted. The All India Congress Committee which met on the 7th and 8th of August, declared: "The immediate withdrawal of the British from India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India, and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom. The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depends the future of the war, and the success of freedom and democracy. The A.I.C.C. therefore repeat with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of British power from India. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest scale possible such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji, and the Committee requests him to take the lead and to guide the nation in the steps to be taken."

Gandhiji knew that such a categorical demand would imme-

diately bring down all the might of the Government on the Congress, and he and other leaders would be clapped in prison. He declared that, in the absence of himself and the other leaders, every patriot should be his own leader and carry on the struggle, but his sole weapon should be non-violence, however much he might be provoked by violence to retaliation.

The very next day Gandhiji was arrested, and soon all the important leaders were in prison. Now commenced the epic fight for freedom, the full significance of which has not been properly understood by many. It was a revolution, comparable to the grim fight of the youth of Italy under Garibaldi for the freedom of Italy. The efforts of patriotic leaders for well over a century to instill into the people's minds a sense of national self-respect and patriotism had borne fruit, and in the absence of recognized leaders every patriot became a leader unto himself, knowing well the odds he had to face and ready to stake his all in the cause.

The aim of the fight was to paralyze the administration, so that the British should quit the country of their own accord. Indians had lost the fear of the British might, and knew that the mightiest Government becomes helpless against a whole people in revolt. Everything possible was done to make it difficult for the Government machinery to work : communications were stopped by cutting telegraph wires and by raids on post offices. Government money which was being carried from one place to another was intercepted and taken away ; Government buildings, even railway stations, were set on fire. Even before the arrest of the leaders Government had anticipated such an eventuality and had mustered all its forces of repression. It was a gala day for the army and the police who, equipped with special emergency powers, arrested men and women indiscriminately and inflicted inhuman tortures on their prisoners. In Bihar machine-gun fire was opened on the people from the air ; in some places outrages were committed on women ; and punitive fines and confiscation of property were common. The British atrocities of 1857-58 when Neill complacently supervised " hunting down criminals of all kinds and hanging them up with as little compunction as though they had been pariah dogs or jackals or vermin of a baser kind " (Kaye), when Hodson butchered the Mogul princes at the Delhi gate, were revived in 1942. The Home Member, Maxwell, stated that, before the end of 1942, over sixty thousand Indians had been arrested, one thousand six hundred and fifty were injured, nine hundred and forty had been

killed, and firing had been resorted to five hundred and thirty-eight times.

Karnataka responded to the call of the Congress with as much alacrity as any other province, and the heavy hand of the Government came down upon the patriots here as everywhere else. Leaderless and often misguided, these patriots were often guilty of hooliganism and destruction of public property, their only aim being to make it impossible for the Government to carry on the administration.

Mahadevappa left the ashram and plunged into the fight. His brother Linganna also followed him. Mahadevappa gathered a body of about twenty staunch and intrepid youths, and commenced a sort of guerilla warfare against the Government. Of course violence against anyone was eschewed, their aim being solely to paralyze the administration. Mahadevappa was the leader of the band and on him fell the responsibility of providing food for his followers. He had often to walk long distances by night to bring money or provisions. He grew a beard to help his disguise.

The capture of the mail which was being carried from the Savanur railway station was one of the earliest exploits of this group. On the day previously fixed upon, one of Mahadevappa's party managed to get into the truck which carried the mail. The rest of the party waited some miles away on the road, which they had blocked with treetrunks, etc. When the motor truck came and stopped before the obstruction, Mahadevappa and his men rushed in and carried away the mail, causing no harm either to the vehicle or to the inmates. The party went far away from the scene of action the same night, and the police party sent to apprehend them were unable to learn their whereabouts.

In this way the work of destroying Government buildings, cutting communications and robbing Government money went on in several places, the lightning rapidity with which these men got away from the field of action and the support and protection which the people gave them wherever they went making detection impossible. At one time the rumour went round among the people that the railway station of Gudgeri would be burnt. The police, learning of this, rushed to the place to prevent the attack and to apprehend the culprits. While the police waited at Gudgeri expecting an attack on the railway station, they heard that Mahadevappa and his men had burnt the Savanur railway station. It was a grim and resolute game of hide-and-seek between the police and Mahadevappa. Night and day, without rest or

proper food, these patriots roamed the country, raiding Government offices and burning records, capturing Government mail and seizing Government money in transit. Once, right in the crowded main street of Haveri, Mahadevappa snatched away the mail bag from the carrier and escaped before anyone could stop him. But in no instance was harm caused to a single individual. On another occasion, when Mahadevappa captured the revenue collections at Maruvala, the Patel gave him some of his own money also. Some days later, Mahadevappa learnt of this. At once he went to Maruvala with the Patel's private money, called a meeting of the important men and returned the money to the Patel.

While carrying on the work of paralyzing the administration in this way, Mahadevappa found time to explain to the people in rural parts the significance of the struggle launched by the Congress and to tell them what their duty was. People responded to his call in large numbers. In the village of Halagi and in some other places women went out carrying the national flag and begged the village and taluk officials to resign. Many of those who did not directly participate in the fight helped Mahadevappa's party by providing them with food and shelter and by giving them information about the movements of the police. The police tried all means to capture them, but the intrepid band of patriots moved about with lightning speed and ever eluded them. Finding the local police ineffective in dealing with them, the Government brought a posse of policemen from Maharashtra to Haveri taluk, and announced a reward of Rs. 300 to anyone who would capture or help in the capture of Mahadevappa.

Gandhiji and other leaders were in prison, and there was no proper leadership for the thousands of patriotic fighters, who were waging a veritable war against the Government. When Gandhiji stated that Congress had never directed the people to use violence or cause unnecessary destruction of property, it was not believed. Jinnah and his followers had become intransigent with regard to their demand for an independent Muslim state, and declared that the Congress movement was purely a Hindu movement. News of the happenings in India, being censored, reached England only in small bits or garbled versions. Churchill, confident that the British might could easily suppress the Indian patriots, had made in Parliament the provocative and brutally outspoken statement: "We mean to hold our own. I have not become His Majesty's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire". This left no room for any doubt about British intentions.

While the national upsurge was in full swing and the army and the police indulging freely in acts of killing, loot, vandalism, and even outrage on women, people heard with a shock that Gandhiji, who was in prison at Poona, had undertaken a fast for three weeks. He was seventy four and not in good health ; a fast of twenty-one days might prove fatal. In fact most people believed that this would be the end of the Father of the Nation. Apprehension of this national calamity diverted the attention of every patriot to Poona, and the fight for freedom was suddenly halted. Mahadevappa and his associates also cried a momentary halt to their activities. When they heard at last that Gandhiji had survived the ordeal and broken his fast on the third of March, they heaved a sigh of relief. Mahadevappa resumed his activities with greater zest and vigour.

Hosaritti is a village in Haveri taluk. There was a Gandhi Ashram in that village and the people were national in outlook. Government now made the village a centre for revenue collection, probably in the hope that Mahadevappa and his party would one day visit the place. The revenue collected was kept in a temple and police stood guard over it day and night. During the past eight months Mahadevappa and his men had successfully carried out seventy-four exploits, and capturing the Government money at Hosaritti would be their seventy-fifth. It was also the seventy-fifth year of Gandhiji's life. This coincidence appeared to be a happy augury, and Mahadevappa decided upon capturing the revenue collections at Hosaritti. That the Government's aim in making the place a centre of revenue collection might be to lure him to the place and capture him, did not frighten him in the least. With difficulty he prevailed upon his wife to leave Koradur and go to Harapanahalli and inquire about his brother Linganna, who had been imprisoned there. It is said that a premonition of the impending calamity made her anxious and restless, and she returned to Hubli to await the news of her husband's adventure.

Mahadevappa and his men spent the night of the 31st March in a forest on the way to Hosaritti, and arrived there early on the next morning. When they reached the temple where the cash box was kept, they found that there were only three men on guard, the others having gone for their ablutions. Mahadevappa's men also went to the river. Though alone, he decided that this was the best opportunity to seize the box. Thirukappa Koganur and Veeriah, two of his close associates, joined him. Mahadevappa suddenly sprang upon one of the guards and over-



*An indomitable band of patriots who worked underground in 1942 struggle under
Mylar Mahadevappa.*

ತು.೧-೪-೪೩ನೇ ದಿವಸ ಹೊಸರತ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪೊಲೀಸರ ಗುಂಡಿಗೆ ಪಾಶ್ವರಾದವರು



ಯರೇಮುರ್ದ
ವೀರಯ್ಯನವರು



ಮೈಲಾರ
ಮಹಾದೇವರು



ಮಡಿವಾಳ
ರಾಜಶೇಖರು



The three most outstanding martyrs of the "Quit India" struggle in Karnataka.



*A terror-stricken policeman who hid behind this idol
of "Veerabhadra" at Hosaritti, shot at Mylar
Mahadevappa.*

powered him in a trice. Leaving this man to his comrades, he jumped upon another policeman before he could lift his gun into position to shoot, and brought him down. The third policeman retreated into the inner sanctum of the temple. Now the three men attempted to carry away the chest, but it was very heavy and bound by strong chains. It took them ten minutes of herculean effort to move the box a few feet towards the door. Meanwhile the policeman who had retreated into the sanctum took courage and fired, and Mahadevappa's hand was hurt. A second shot hit him square and he fell down mortally wounded. Thirukappa and Veeriah ran up to their fallen leader. They were about to spring upon the policeman and tear him to pieces, but Mahadevappa, with his last breath, exhorted them to desist from violence and retaliation and remain true to the creed of ahimsa. The sound of the shots had been heard by the policemen who were outside and they hurried up. Seeing the two men trying to carry away the body of Mahadevappa, they shot them dead.

Thus passed away while still a young man of twenty-nine a noble patriot and true disciple of Gandhiji. Love of motherland seems to have been in his blood. In spite of the pleadings of his parents and expostulations of his uncle, he dedicated himself to the service of his country. He underwent the training necessary for a fighter for freedom with such singleness of purpose and such devotion that he became a trusted lieutenant of Gandhiji and was made the sole representative of Karnataka in the Dandi March. He understood Gandhiji's contention that constructive activities like the propagation of khadi, Harijan uplift, village industries and national education should be taken up with the agitation for political freedom, and he established ashrams at Koradur and other places. His wife, Siddamma, carefully trained as a Congress worker, devoted herself to the activities of these centres while he was away fighting the political battle. After Gandhiji and all the other political leaders were sent to prison in August, 1942, he decided to follow the directive that every patriot should be his own leader, and organized a close and earnest band of fighters whose sole purpose was to paralyze the administration and thus compel the British to quit India. Gandhiji would not have permitted the incendiarism and unnecessary destruction of property associated with their activities. But in the absence of proper leadership and guidance, Mahadevappa thought that destruction of Government property and looting of Government money would be consistent with the principles of the Congress so long as he did not harm any human

being. He passed away exhorting his associates not to use violence against the enemy who had shot him. Karnataka is proud of this patriot who gave his life that his countrymen might live in freedom.

CHANNAPPA WALI

What Mahadevappa did in Haveri and the surrounding taluks, Channappa Wali accomplished in Belgaum taluk. He was born in Sampgaon in a family of agriculturists and small traders, but he evinced a dislike of the profession of his elders and was attracted to Congress work early in life. At first he carried on khadi prachar and allied Congress activities in the villages round about, and later he plunged into the struggle. He was three times imprisoned, in 1930, 1932 and 1934. He was again sent to prison for 4 months in 1941 during the Individual Satyagraha campaign. Together with a few co-workers, he attended the momentous Bombay Session of the All-India Congress Committee in 1942. He and his co-workers escaped arrest and returned. The police firing at Bailhongal, killing seven Congress workers, made Channappa decide that he should enter into the struggle forthwith. "I came to know about the firing at Bailhongal, where the police, without provocation, had killed seven people. This was an invitation to me to fight the Government. Then and there I solemnly decided to devote all my energies to the fight for freedom. The same night I and my associates came to Sampgaon. We gathered in a lonely temple two miles outside the town, to discuss our plans for the fight. Fighting a Government possessing almost demonic physical strength was no easy matter. It was easier to offer satyagraha and go to prison. We had to remain outside and carry on the fight. Gandhiji had said that this would be our last fight for freedom and that every true Indian should consider himself free and not submit to the foreigner's rule. Our duty therefore was to make the machinery of the Government break down. We must burn Government buildings and records, destroy all means of communication by rail, road and telegraph, and harass the Government in every way, never causing hurt to a single human being, friend or foe."

It may be recalled that Mahadevappa also believed that the destruction of Government property and thwarting the Government in all their measures of suppression were not inconsistent with the principle of non-violence. Perhaps these patriots would have taken a different line if they had had Gandhiji to guide them. Even the well-known leaders of Karnataka who were free did not

come forward to take command and organize the struggle. Still all these rank-and-file fighters carried on the struggle without causing hurt to the enemy. Especially in the case of Channappa Wali it was so. Almost every day he and his intrepid associates successfully carried out some act of sabotage, destruction of Government property or burning of Government buildings without causing physical injury to anyone. Government offered a reward of five thousand rupees to anybody who helped in the capture of Channappa, and he had to guard against treacherous informers ; being the guiding spirit in the enterprise, he had to plan and guide the activities of his associates with constant vigilance and care ; he had to sustain the morale of his band of workers, who had to undergo hardship, suffering and privation, all the while exposed to the danger of being captured and shot. Still, he and his band of over a hundred workers carried on their activities with amazing intrepidity. It was in April 1943 that Channappa was captured by the police in Bangalore. He was kept under detention for a year and four months in Hindalgi jail, and released on the 14th of November 1945. The whole of North Karnataka gave him a hero's welcome.

The names of the patriots in Karnataka who took part in the struggle of 1942 are too numerous to mention, but in passing we may mention a few of the foremost of them. Hallur Nagappa of Davangere went with about 500 volunteers to stop a military contingent from entering Davangere. The officer of the contingent warned this group that he would fire on them if they did not make way. Nagappa told the officer that the military could proceed over his dead body, and stood in the middle of the road in front of the group. Fire was opened and Nagappa fell dead in the road.

Naranaya Doni, a boy of 16, was one of those who took part in the mammoth procession at Hubli on the 15th August, 1942. The boys refused to obey the police order to disperse, and fire was opened on them. Narayana was shot in the stomach. He was carried to the hospital and it was found that his end was near. The doctor, with a watch in one hand, was feeling the sinking pulse of the boy with the other. Narayana remained cool and composed. At last the doctor, with tender solicitude, asked him, "What do you want, my boy?" Pat came the answer from the boy in an enfeebled voice, "I want Swaraj." The doctor was so taken aback by this answer from a slip of a boy who was in mortal agony, that the watch dropped from his hand. Soon after Narayana Doni was no more.

Mensinal Timmanagouda was an affluent landlord of Dharwar, a devoted follower of Gandhiji. He went underground and engaged in anti-Government activities. Once, when he was asked to loot kerosine oil from Government stock to set fire to a Chavadi, he was assailed by doubt about such an act being in conformity with Gandhiji's principle of non-violence. When Government threatened to confiscate his cotton crop if he did not report to the police, he told the people of his village to carry away the cotton, worth about Rs. 20,000, rather than allow it to be taken by the Government. When he was in hiding he was wounded by the explosion of a hand-made bomb ; the wound became septic for want of proper medical treatment, and he succumbed to it.

Mention must be made of Shankarappa of Mysore, a boy like Narayana Doni. He was a student in one of the High Schools. A sprightly, jovial, intelligent boy, he was intensely patriotic, and had become one of the most popular student workers. Together with hundreds of others, he had been arrested and thrown into prison. On the night of the 27th of October, about 560 policemen, many of them drunk, made an unprovoked charge on a group of 300 boys. Lathi blows were showered on them, and they were kicked and trampled upon. All the devilry of which the drunken policemen were capable came into play. Shankarappa was mercilessly beaten and kicked ; blood flowed from his wounds. Still, unmindful of his own agony, he attended to the needs of other wounded boys. At last Shankarappa began to vomit blood. Many of the students begged the jail authorities to transfer him to a hospital. Fearing complications if it came to be known that he had received mortal wounds from the police, the jail authorities did nothing, and issued a statement that his condition was in no way serious. But his condition soon became alarming and he had to be taken to hospital. On the way to the hospital this boy of eighteen passed away. Even his body was not handed over to his grief-stricken parents, and the Government issued a statement that he had died of pneumonia. The effect of such inhumanity of the Government officers on the already embittered and exasperated people can well be imagined.

A. J. Doddameti's Statement

Among the many leaders kept as detenus during the Quit India struggle A. J. Doddameti of Dharwar district was one of the foremost. His statement, sent from prison in reply to the Government, throws much light on the nature of the fight.

“ I devoutly adhere to the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in August 1942. I abide by the resolution not merely because I am a Congressman but also as a self-respecting citizen of India. I want to make it quite clear to the Government, that I cherished a strong desire to plunge myself into the mass movement, to do my humble bit for the movement. It was begun in response to the A.I.C.C. resolution. But the Government took the initiative and imprisoned the Congress leaders on 9th August. I too was put under arrest on the same day. I strongly condemn here the mean device employed by the Government in trapping persons through these notices and seeking to break the allegiance of individual Congressmen to the August resolution. Also I desire to state that the Government will never succeed in these attempts so far as I am concerned. Let it be noted that the Government will not be able to break my loyalty to the resolution even though I were buried alive.

“ I must state here the origin and object of the August resolution since you have made it the basis of charges against me. The question of Indian's freedom became quite urgent and of paramount importance, since the inception of the war in 1939, and in that too from the time Japan declared war against the Allies. The Congress had been realizing from certain happenings during this very war that India could not be defended adequately without real freedom and so began to press for the freedom of the country. In the meantime the defective Cripps proposals were removed from the public view scarcely before they had been placed before the people for consideration. Now the danger from the Japanese went on increasing from day to day. Malaya, Singapore and Burma went on slipping from the Allies' hands one by one. These disasters occurred as the Allied war-efforts were defective. If Burma had been granted freedom in time, its history would have been different from what it is. Even after this experience, the Britishers were not ready to admit that it was their fundamental and necessary duty to make India free for the successful prosecution of the war. In the end the Congress was left with the only alternative to make an attempt to root out the foreign power from this country ; because only such a noble and courageous attempt could make a foreign invasion an impossibility or create the necessary measure of sacrifice, courage and strength in the country to fight back such an invasion.

“ Who can treat such a barren declaration (the British declaration about freedom) as honest when one-fifth of humanity is being held and crushed in the jaw of one of the Allied members,

claiming to fight for world democracy? The war effort cannot be conducted smoothly and successfully unless this glaring piece of dishonesty in the Allied policy is removed. It is inevitable that the object of the war should be sacred for the successful conduct of the war effort. The Congress is aware of the fact more than the British Government that there cannot be any world peace unless Nazism and Fascism are removed from the earth. At the same time, the Congress cannot stand any jugglery of British Imperialism. The victory of any party would be a matter of doubt if its war-aims cannot inspire any confidence, born of action as regards the peace, prosperity and equality of mankind. Even though victory is won by a stroke of good fortune, it should be borne in mind that the seeds of another great war would be sown in this very victory. In view of all this, it is the bounden duty of every well-wisher of the Allies to compel them to translate their war aims into action.

“The demand for India's freedom is not for India's good alone. There was no doubt that a free India, apart from defending herself from the invader, would have thereby given new life and inspiration to the nations of the world, in particular to the Asiatic countries. But the British Government did not want this. They are more concerned about the display of their uncontrolled might in India than about the destruction of Nazism and Fascism and counteracting the aggressive tendency of Japan. In view of this mentality of the Churchill-cum-Amery Government, it seems evident that they would prefer India passing directly into Japanese hands rather than be free before their own eyes. It should not be forgotten that the object of the August Resolution, born in such an atmosphere, was not only to obtain India's freedom but also thereby to destroy Nazism, Fascism as well as Imperialism and help the cause of world peace and human welfare. I could write an elaborate treatise on the justness of the Congress resolution. But this is not the place. On the whole it is my firm opinion that the August Resolution is just, worthy of obedience and logical.

“Mahatma Gandhi was not to start a movement immediately after the passing of the A.I.C.C. Resolution. It is well-known that Gandhiji expected to see the Viceroy as regards India's just demand for freedom before taking any action. The Government were the first to provoke the public, in putting the leaders under arrest in a cowardly manner immediately after the passing of the August Resolution without giving Gandhiji a chance for amicable settlement. It is a ridiculous thing to have imprisoned

these leaders in the name of the D.I.R. The Government also knew that the Congress neither had any desire to invite the invader nor cherished any belief in taking military help from the foreign power to liberate India. Is it possible even for a moment to believe that Messrs Churchill and Amery more than Azad and Nehru, and the British Government more than the Congress, are concerned about India's defence? To-morrow if the pressure of the Japanese increases, the British war-lords might fly back to their country, but where can the Indians go? They will have to fight to the last drop of their blood for the defence of their land. Those that oppose the mighty British Empire today can alone face the bullets of the Japanese tomorrow. Let Government not forget that those that are supporters of the British Empire today would be the first to welcome the Japanese under the stress of circumstances.

“ In the face of these facts, it is a matter for consideration as to what interpretation can be given to the action of the Government in putting the leaders under detention. Would it be in any way wrong, if it is inferred that in placing the leaders in detention, the Government were not merely motivated by the fear of the Congress movement but also with a desire not to give a chance for the Congress-League understanding, which was most likely and which if permitted would have removed one of the main pretexts on which the British Government base their argument for delaying India's freedom? Besides, behind this step, there has been an object to crush the Congress out of existence by throwing overboard India's demand for freedom. In view of all these facts, I make bold to say that the Government is less concerned about winning the war than keeping India in bondage.

“ The deplorable condition in India today is due to such thoughtless acts on the part of the Government and their lust for power. The Government might be feeling now that their policy of repression has been wise and fruitful. But it will not take long before they discover that this feeling of theirs is nothing but delusion. To put it in clear terms, the Government have erred miserably by picking a quarrel with the Congress. They are fighting with a notion of false prestige.

“ The sight of the starving millions bears eloquent testimony to the unsuccessful conduct of the foreign administration. The thirty million souls of Bengal are supplicating before the Almighty regarding the inhumanity, maladministration and chaos caused by the Government. Though it is not my job to go into

the follies of the Government, it is my duty to point out certain mistakes relevant to the subject under consideration.

“ The real fault of the Government lies in the fact that there is no inclination on their part to retrace their steps in the face of these facts. God alone knows what disasters or calamities will befall the country. In my view, if the Government pursue their present policy the time will come when they will have to stand as guilty persons before the world tribunal. The sooner they realise this, the better it is.

“ I have perused the resolution of the A.I.C.C. I repeat it once again that I wholly concur with the August resolution. This decision, worthy of being recorded in golden letters in the history of the world, looms large before my eyes. The aim of the resolution is not only not to impede the successful prosecution of the war, but on the contrary, it is intended to secure real victory for democracy in the war, by establishing India's freedom and thereby purifying the Allied war aims.

“ In the view of this Congress, if the so-called successful war-effort is hindered, it cannot be the fault of the Congress. Anyway it is the folly of the Imperial Government who follow a policy suicidal to both, in disregard of the friendship offered by the Congress, the mighty friend of the Allies. I stick to this view after understanding the situation up to date to the extent that it is possible for a man in detention. I am sorry, when such is the object of the Congress resolution, it should have been made the basis of the reasons advanced in the notice served on me and the dishonest interpretation put upon it. If there is anything more in the notice served by you than so far mentioned, it could be construed that the Government are enacting a farce of law.

“ The world is not going to be deceived by such display and hence please close the show. Also end the shameless propaganda conducted against the Congress and Gandhiji, the God-like man.

“ I feel the only choice before the Imperial Government is to bow immediately to the Congress demand for freedom, putting aside their false prestige as well as ill motive, if they really mean to improve the situation and cherish a strong desire to defeat the aggressors by successfully conducting the war. Whatever I had to say I have said in a clear and straightforward manner. From all this, is it not for you to decide how far the reasons of my detention are justifiable? Of course you are at liberty to do so. The honesty in my statement, the more important fact, I presume you have not the courage to admit. I may be excused if my presumption is wrong. It is my request that a copy of my statement may

be sent to the proper authorities concerned. I shall be obliged if I am furnished with a copy of the translation of my statement just to enable me to know whether it is correctly rendered into English.

A. J. Doddameti, M.L.A."

The Epic Struggle of Isoor

One of the most thrilling but blood-soaked chapters in the history of the freedom struggle in Karnataka is that of Isoor. The name of Isoor recalls glorious deeds of martyrdom in the national cause in Karnataka as do those of Bardoli, Balia, Asti, Chimur, Satara and Midnapur in Gujerat, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Bengal respectively. For nearly three days, culminating in what must be considered one of the most savage acts of repression perpetrated by the Government, the little village of Isoor, with almost suicidal daring, proclaimed itself independent of Government authority. It ran a parallel government of its own, and ran it well, from September 26 to 28 in the turbulent year 1942.

The district of Shimoga in the old princely state of Mysore is justly known for its wealth of natural beauty. It is no less known for its contribution to the freedom struggle in Karnataka. During the States People's agitation of 1939 it took a leading part in the struggle for responsible government, and in the Quit India Movement of 1942 its role was unique, thanks to the tiny village of Isoor. Isoor is a quiet, typical Indian village in the Shikarpur taluk of Shimoga district. It is a lovely village set in fertile, green land, surrounded by small canals. This quiet village had been tragically disturbed back on 13 March 1928, when a fire had broken out, causing tremendous loss of life and property. It was to be disturbed again and tragically on 29 September, 1942.

It is necessary to recapitulate briefly the sequence of events which led to that historic day, whose memory reeks of blood. With the arrest of Gandhiji and the top leaders of the national movement on 9th August, 1942, the whole country was thrown into the bitterest phase of the struggle for freedom. Nationalist feeling erupted like a volcano. As usual the Mahatma had given a magic slogan to the people—the slogan of "Quit India." Mysore was drawn into the tempestuous movement. Young and old, men and women, all were caught in the grip of an intense feeling of nationalism. No sacrifice seemed to them too great in the cause of national liberation. People resisted the authorities' long arm of oppression with rare determination. The Government, over-

whelmed by such a popular expression of hostility, indulged in acts of most ruthless suppression.

For a few weeks preceding the darkest day in the history of Isoor unusual things were happening. Daily processions of some 150 to 200 persons would go round shouting slogans, "Burn the books of Gaudas and Shanbhogs", "Set fire to the cutchery" and so on. Not only were they shouted, they were written on the walls in the village. There were other slogans as well, written in chalk on the beams of the local Veerabhadra temple: "Do not pay respect to Government servants, and if anyone pays them respect, set fire to his house," "Do not pay land revenue", "Cut down teak trees", "Do not pay toll", and "Cut the wires". On 25 September, the Patel and the Shanbhog entered the village with their account books and registers for the purposes of collection and preparation of pahani. They were mobbed by boys and girls shouting patriotic slogans, and their books were seized. The following day the village declared itself independent and hung up a sign-board announcing "Swatantrahalli" (the village of freedom). This small village of 2000 inhabitants was roused to such daring heights of patriotism, partly under the inspiration of the movement then raging and partly under the plucky leadership provided by the village youth, who after deserting their schools and colleges at Gandhiji's call, had returned to their native village to organise the agitation. The declaration of independence was accompanied by the establishment of a parallel government consisting of juvenile personnel. A ten-year old boy, Jayappa, the grandson of a well-to-do local man, was appointed the new Amildar. Mallappa, the twelve-year old son of the local jailor, was appointed the Dictator. The new government had other personnel also. It ran a highly efficient and disciplined system which ensured perfect public order. A new law was declared by which everyone had to wear a khadi cap. Whenever the government wanted the people to assemble or whenever it wanted to warn them, the gong of the Veerabhadra temple was beaten. Everything went off well till the fatal day of 28 September, 1942. Apparently the day began in the same way as any other day, but it was a very misleading quiet, for soon the day was to be disturbed by ugly and bloody incidents. Beneath the burning sun at about 12 a.m., the Government Amildar and his men entered the village like messengers of death. They arrived at the temple, the headquarters of the parallel free government. The temple gong sounded, and young men and women, boys and girls flocked there in a disciplined manner. The air was rent with cries of victory

and joy. The Government Amildar was introduced to the officials of the free government. The Government Amildar and his party were asked to put on khadi caps. The police official accompanying the Amildar was enraged. The eloquence of the boy-Amildar amazed everyone.

Meanwhile the crowd became excited. To scare the assembly the police employed their lathis. Some of the young men became panicky and lamented loudly, but the rest stood up to it. When under provocation the crowd became unmanageable, the police official took out his revolver. The Government Amildar implored, "Do not shoot!" But it was a voice in the wilderness. The police opened fire. Under a rain of bullets the young folk cried out and their elders joined them. The battle raged furiously. Many were the casualties, and the Government Amildar as well as the police official were killed. Mutilated and wounded bodies lay in disorder, and the smell of death hung over the place. With heavy hearts all but the very old locked up their houses and left the village. The Mysore military and police forces assisted by CID men invaded the humble village. For a fortnight a reign of terror was let loose on the village whose only crime was that it fought for the country's freedom. The guilty and the innocent were arrested indiscriminately. The police did as they pleased. The people thought death was preferable to such a life. Womenfolk were molested. There was regular looting by the very persons who were supposed to uphold order and peace! Large numbers of chickens and sheep, and vast quantities of milk, butter and curds, went to feed the army personnel patrolling the village. On 3 October 1942 the Government gave a warning by tom-tom that everyone absconding should return forthwith or they would come to harm.

Then the police attempted to fix up witnesses favourable to their case. An old lady was forcibly made to confess that her son had first attacked the Amildar and the police Sub-Inspector, so that the police might be made to appear to have opened fire in sheer self-defence. However, this attempt failed. Charges were originally preferred against fifty persons. The police managed eventually to round up forty-one persons as the accused, and it is but proper to present in full the roll-call of honour of these patriots. In the order of the list of accused they were Gurappa, Mallappa, Suryanarayanachari, Sanada Gurusanthappa, Paniappachari, Hutchalli Veerappa, Namadeva Sadarera Hucharayappa, B. Halappa, G. Shankarappa, Halamma, Kelmane Siddalingappa, Namadeva Sadari Durgoji, Ramanna, Namadeva Vit-

hoba, Hanumantha, Chindi Hutcharayappa, Neelakantappa, N. R. Hanumanthappa, Nageshachari, Subbarayappa, Panaji Chennabasappa, Patel Gurusanthappa, G. Sannarudrappa, Veerappa, Parvathamma, Siddamma, Lingappa *alias* Lingoji, U. Gurushanthappa, and Anche Rangappa.

The accused were first hauled up before the Special Judge of Shimoga district on the 15th October, 1942. The Special Judge discharged four of them at once, and later on acquitted another thirteen of them. Thus he convicted the remaining twenty-four for various offences. On the first charge, that of murdering the Amildar of Shikarpur, Mr. Channakrishnappa, he convicted Gurappa, Mallappa, Suryanarayanachari, B. Halappa, Halamma, Kelmane Siddalingappa, Nageshachari, Panaji Chennabasappa and Parvathamma. All of these except Halamma and Parvathamma were sentenced to death, and the latter being women were sentenced to transportation for life. On the second charge of murdering Mr. Kenche Gouda, the Sub-Inspector of Police, Shikarpur, the Judge sentenced to death Sanada Gurusanthappa, Paniappachari, Namadeva Sadarera Hucharayappa and G. Sankarappa. The remaining eleven were sentenced for lesser offences, the maximum sentence being two years rigorous imprisonment. Including the two charges of murder there were nineteen charges altogether.

The case was referred to the Mysore High Court by the Special Judge, Sagar. The counsel for the accused consisted of Messrs K. S. Jayarama Iyer, G. C. Veerappa, K. Seetharamasastry, P. S. Devadass, A. S. Ramachandra Rao, Maloor Subbarao and R. K. Jayathirthachar. The judgment was pronounced by the Chief Justice, Sir D'Arcy Reilly, on the 9th January, 1943, in the Mysore High Court. The official description of the case was Criminal Referred Case No. 1/1942-43. The learned Chief Justice acquitted another accused, N. R. Hanumanthappa. He confirmed the death sentence against Gurappa, Mallappa, Suryanarayanachari, B. Halappa and G. Sankarappa. The sentence of transportation for life against Halamma and Parvathamma was also confirmed.

In another case connected with the incident Shantaveerappa, Hole Basappa and Rangappa were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment by *Rajadharmaprasakta* Justice A. R. Nagesvara Iyer, in the High Court of Mysore on the 9th June, 1943. On the 8th March, 1943, Gurappa and Mallappa were hanged. On the following day were hanged Suryanarayanachari and Halappa. G. Sankarappa, the last to die, was hanged

on the 10th March, 1943. It is reported that these brave sons of Karnataka met their death most courageously, chanting nationalist hymns as the hangman's noose squeezed their lives out. The rest were more lucky, and they, including Parvathamma, Halamma and Siddamma, were released on the 21st October, 1946. Thus came to a conclusion the most stirring chapter in the history of the freedom struggle in Mysore. The five martyrs of Isoor, Gurappa, Mallappa, Suryanarayanachari, Halappa and Sankarappa have mingled with the sacred dust of our motherland.

FRUITION

The resistance put up by the people of India in 1942 showed to the world how intense was their desire for independence and how determined they were to win it. While earlier it was a question of asking the British to grant them freedom, it was now a question of their winning it. In spite of the repeated assertions of the Conservative group of Churchill and Amery that the Non-cooperation, Civil Disobedience and Satyagraha in India were confined to a small group of Hindus, the world came to know that the people of India as a whole were up against the imperialism of England, and no force on earth could stem the tide of Indian nationalism. The Americans had fought British imperialism and won independence. Many of them understood therefore the character of the fight in India. There were not wanting thinkers in England too who realised that the Second World War would inaugurate an era of national resurgence in all dependent countries the world over, and that the end of imperialism was near. Indeed, the great historian Sir John Seeley said long ago in *The Expansion of England*: "We could subdue the mutiny of 1857, formidable as it was, because it spread through only a part of the army, because the people did not actively sympathise with it, and because it was possible to find native Indian races who would fight on our side. But the moment a mutiny is but threatened, which shall be no mere mutiny, but the expression of a universal feeling of nationality, at that moment all hope is at an end, as all desire ought to be at an end, of preserving our Empire. For we are not really conquerors of India, and we cannot rule her as conquerors; if we undertook to do so, it is not necessary to inquire whether we could succeed, for we should assuredly be ruined financially by the mere attempt."

The outward manifestations of the national struggle, however, were reduced after 1942 by the pre-planned repressive measures of the Government, but the Indian determination to win freedom at any cost remained smouldering under the surface. Events were also happening to divert the attention of the people elsewhere. Subhas Chandra Bose had organized the Indian National Army (the Azad Hind Fauj) and the Azad Hind Government in South-East Asia. He was planning to march on the British in India. There was a change of Viceroys in 1943, Lord Wavell succeeding the dogged Linlithgow. The new Viceroy

released Gandhiji from jail in 1944, and with his soldierly directness and practicality tried his best to resolve the political deadlock in India. He flew to England to consult the Government and brought fresh proposals, which however were not very different from the previous ones. Churchill would not see reason and read the writing on the wall; he continued to make insulting personal attacks on Gandhiji and flamboyantly to declare in Parliament that he "had not been called upon to be the First Minister of the Crown to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." The war came to a close in 1945, and he himself was politically liquidated in the general election that followed, and Attlee formed the Labour Government. As Churchill himself said when explaining why he had declined the offer of the Order of Merit, the British people had given him the order of the boot.

The efforts of Lord Wavell failed on account of the intransigence of the Muslim League. The plan offered by the Cabinet Mission which was sent to India in March 1946 was not accepted by Jinnah. The consequences of the "direct action" decided upon by the Muslim League on the 16th of August 1946 was deplorable, for it led to "an orgy of bloodshed, murder and terror", in Calcutta first and later in many other places. Pandit Nehru formed an interim Government in the first week of September, and on the 9th of December the Constituent Assembly met, with Rajendra Prasad as President, to frame a constitution for India. The Muslim League refused to join it, insisting upon a vivisection of the country. Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru toured in places affected by the communal riots, and vainly tried to quench the flames of communal hatred, arson, loot and murder. Muslims and Hindus who had lived, suffered and prospered together in fraternal amity in the country for centuries had now become implacable enemies. All the worst passions of communal hatred had been aroused by the fanatical elements in both communities, and each was trying to exterminate the other. While the atmosphere thus remained tense and ominous, the British Government made an announcement on the 20th of February 1947. Prime Minister Attlee declared in the House of Commons that the British Government would sever its connection with India by June 1948, and appointed Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy of India, not to negotiate, but to arrange for the transfer of power to Indians.

This announcement let loose communal hatred once again, since the Muslim League decided to have recourse to "direct action", which only meant arson, loot and murder. Lord Mount-

batten assumed Viceregal charge on the 24th of March 1947, and on the 3rd of June announced his plan of transferring power to Indian hands. If the Muslims wanted a separate state for themselves, all those parts where they were in a majority would be formed into a separate State. This would be the independent "Pakistan" of the Muslims. Most of the Congress leaders had till now been averse to a division of India into the two independent states, but the recent outburst of communal frenzy convinced them of the impossibility of living in cordial relations with the radical and recalcitrant elements of the Muslim population, and they accepted the partition of the country. Jinnah and other Muslim leaders were at first not satisfied with the "truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan" which would go to them as the result of the division; but soon better counsels prevailed and they accepted it as the best practical solution under the existing conditions. The imperialist policy of "Divide and Rule" had borne its poison fruit; though the best elements among Englishmen did not like it, they had to divide the country to satisfy the Muslim League demand, and to quit to satisfy the Congress demand.

It is necessary now to have a clear understanding of the events and forces that led to this transfer of power; for the way in which Britain shed its imperialism is different from the manner in which other imperialist countries—like Holland, for instance—parted from their dependencies. These imperialist countries attempted, till the very last, to hold on to their possessions and attempted to suppress, sometimes by the most barbaric methods, the movements for freedom in them; and in the attempt exhausted themselves and had to retreat ignominiously. But in the case of England, the most powerful and resourceful of them, it was not so. She parted with power but still remained a friend of India. This constitutes a unique phenomenon in history.

The British withdrawal from India was the cumulative result of the operation of historical forces, in India, in England, and elsewhere. In the eighteenth century England built up an Empire whose resources contributed to the success of the Industrial Revolution and her emergence in the nineteenth century as the most powerful and wealthiest imperial power. Along with this advancement in the material field there was also a steady development of democratic institutions in the political sphere, and England provided a model of democratic government to other countries. The growth of Liberalism in England in the second half of the nineteenth century was a much-needed check, howso-



At a Congress Session, leaders with anxiety and responsibility writ large on their faces. From the Left: 1. Rajendra Prasad, 2. Sardar Patel, 3. Jawaharlal Nehru, 4. Jayaprakash Narayan

ever mild it might be, on the selfish aggrandisement and exploitation associated with imperialism, though many Liberals of the time were still blinded by the glamour of Empire. The process of liberalisation of British politics had however begun when the Liberals ranged themselves against the Conservatives with a clear-cut political ideology and line of policy. This process attained rapid growth with the appearance of Labour members in the House of Commons, with their pronounced opposition to capitalism and their espousal of the cause of the poor and downtrodden. The First World War and the scramble for colonial possessions which followed exposed all the evils of imperialism, and the Labour Party steadily gained ground. That the British nation was sick of imperial aims and imperialist policies was seen when, after the end of the Second World War, the diehard Conservatives were swept out of power in the election and the nation brought the Labour Party into power with a clear majority.

The mandate given by the British nation to the new party was not, however, the liquidation of the Empire ; it was recovery from the economic depression and the other consequences of the Second World War. The internal problems of England alone were manifold and baffling enough, and the Labour Government could not think of carrying the burden of empire also. The empires which the two Axis powers, Germany and Japan, had built up, though for a brief period, had revealed all the malignant aspects of empire. The statesmen of England, like thinking men the world over, felt that the recovery of the war-weary world was possible only when imperialism was liquidated. This explains why Attlee and the other Labour statesmen made it their first concern to part with the brightest jewel in the British crown. Churchill and his Conservative colleagues had blindly held on to the chimera of empire too long, unmindful of the compulsion of historical events. The war and the ignoble retreat of the British armies in South-East Asia before the advancing Japanese had emphasized the vulnerability of British imperial power ; the well-meant counsel of American statesmen to meet the demands of India with good grace had been answered with the ungracious announcement that the Atlantic Charter was not meant to apply to England's dependencies ; and the lust of empire and power had brought the fair name of England into disrepute. It was now imperative that the sense of justice and fairness of the British should be brought into play, and the harm done to international understanding by the obduracy of Churchill should be removed.

Thus it can be seen that the march of events and the growth

of new forces in England alone had rendered the maintenance of empire impossible and unwise. A statesman with vision was needed to understand the situation, and that was Prime Minister Attlee.

In India also, the attainment of independence in 1947 can be seen as the natural and inevitable culmination of compelling historical forces. Directly or indirectly, well-meant or ill-meant, British rule had transformed India in many ways, and when the Indian mind was awakening with the impact of the West, Indian leaders arose, as if providentially, to direct the newly awakened energy and enthusiasm of Indians along channels which would not carry them away from their ancient moral and spiritual moorings. Tolerance, charity, and a calm dignity were the chief characteristics of the Indian cultural inheritance, and these teachers emphasized them, along with the exhortation to shed fear and stand up against injustice in any form. As a result of the operation of these two influences, by the beginning of this century India was awake. Indians were already aware of the condition of their motherland, aware of the causes of their subjection, and had a vision of the future that they must build up. The necessary dynamism for the effort to achieve their ends was imparted first by Swami Vivekananda, and later by leaders like Tilak, Lajpat Rai and B. C. Pal. The Indian National Congress came into the hands of energetic youths, and some of them, believing that terrorist methods alone would succeed against the British, took to revolutionary activities. The number of such desperate patriots would have swelled and extended to the whole of India but for the arrival on the scene of Gandhiji, with his message of pitting man's invincible soul-force against the physical might of the enemy and conquering him through love. Such a message, the message of love and sacrifice, was not unknown in India; it was the message of Vasishta, of Buddha, of Mahavira, of Basaveshwara, and of a score of others. India understood it, albeit dimly and imperfectly, and followed Gandhiji. Thus it was that, in the bitter struggle for freedom that went on for a quarter of a century from the time of the arrival of Gandhiji on the scene, so few of the enemy suffered harm while thousands of patriots gave their lives or went through incalculable loss and suffering. But for the restraining hand of Gandhiji, revolutionary violence would have spread over the whole country, as in the French and Dutch colonies, resulting in slaughter and bloodshed on a colossal scale. Gandhiji's methods made the world see imperialism at its worst when thousands of unarmed Indian patriots,

men, women and children, were shot, beaten, kicked or thrown into prison for the crime of loving their country. When the passions aroused during the struggle for freedom cooled down, British statesmen saw how Gandhiji had managed to eliminate the element of bitterness and rancour during the fight, and gladly offered the hand of friendship as soon as India became independent.

British statesmanship also had played its laudable part in bringing about this happy sequel. British rulers had realised that Indians were heirs to a rich cultural and highly intellectual past. Viceroys like Lord Ripon had even tried to help Indians to develop self-governing institutions so that, at no distant date, they might be able to rule themselves. Nor were the statesmen in England unaware of the inevitability of handing over power to Indians ultimately. The years previous to the First World War were the period when it looked as if the sun of the British Empire would never set. Even during this period, the heyday of imperialism, the British Government introduced the Morley-Minto reform. Though it was but a poor concession to Indian opinion and demand, it indicated the trend of British policy, the desire, at least among the best of British statesmen, to meet India's wishes and prevent violent and destructive methods of political conflict. The First World War gave a rude shock to the complacency of imperialists; and the Montagu-Chelmsford reform came into force. This reform was but a step in advance of the Minto-Morley Reform and totally unsatisfactory from the standpoint of Indian nationalists, who considered that in promulgating it Britain had gone back on the promise made during the war. Nevertheless it showed the desire of England to retreat from her position as the imperialist power. It would not have been difficult for England, in the Indian struggle of 1930-32, to employ all its strength in the forcible suppression of the nationalist forces, at least for a time, as Holland, France and Portugal did in the case of their foreign possessions. That such a course was not adopted but an attempt was made to satisfy the Indian demand shows that the statesmen of England appreciated the justice of the Indian cause. If such a conciliatory attitude had not been taken by British statesmen, perhaps the nationalist forces of India would have transformed themselves into a violent revolutionary organisation with little regard for Gandhiji's non-violence. Later, even during the Second World War, the British Government made some effort to meet the nationalist demand half-way, but the Congress was no longer in a mood to accept half-measures.

The history of England's attempts, though half-hearted and grudging, to meet Indian demands in the face of the mounting intensity of the fight for freedom helped the Indian fight to be carried on along non-revolutionary lines. It is this fact which distinguishes the retreat of the British power in India from the similar withdrawal of other imperial countries from their dependencies ; and it explains also how, as soon as India gained her freedom, both parties forgot their recent quarrel and remained in terms of friendship.

The relatively peaceful dissolution of this the greatest of empires cannot be ascribed to any single factor, it was the resultant of a number of historical forces in England, in India, and in the world at large.

An imposing galaxy of Indians stand out prominently in this struggle of right over might, of soul-force against brute force. But towering above them all, like Everest in the midst of the mighty Himalayan peaks, stands the hallowed figure of Gandhiji, who not only was the beacon-light showing Indians the glorious path which they must tread to win freedom, but was also a new Messiah exhorting the power-drunk nations of the world to remove greed, malice and violence from their hearts and win their wars through love, charity and non-violence. Thus sings one of the foremost of Kannada poets about him :

He made the milk of divine kindness flow
From the deadly spring of human hate.
The mercy of Christ he preached and Buddha's love ;
Among world-benefactors he stands great.

Part Two

HISTORY OF FREEDOM MOVEMENT
IN KARNATAKA —
THE AUXILIARIES

THE ROLE OF THE NATIONALIST PRESS

The modern press is essentially a Western institution which has taken root in our soil. The history of the press in the West is intimately associated with the growth of printing. The earliest printing known to man has been traced to China (*circa* 900 A.D.) and for Europe, the most widely accepted date seems to be *circa* 1440 A.D. In the middle ages, the Church in Europe exercised a rather tight control over the written and spoken word. When printing was invented, the Church rightly perceived a potential enemy, and accordingly, kept an even tighter control over the printed word. The first instance of press censorship is believed to be the Bull issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1501. Before the advent of the printing press, the earliest equivalent to a modern newspaper was the *Acta Diurna* of the Roman Empire.

In Europe, and in England in particular, the concept of the liberty of the press has grown slowly. In a sense, it has been the success story of an institution which began as a scandal-sheet and ended as the fourth estate. The principle of the liberty of the press was first clearly enunciated in 1784 by Lord Mansfield in *Rex v Dean of St. Asaph* (3 T.R. 341 n.). He declared, " The liberty of the press consists in printing without any previous licence, subject to the consequences of the law." In England, the fortunes of the free press have been tied up with the growth of the democratic system of government. In theory, the principle of the liberty of the press has been associated with the idea of free expression, itself considered central to the democratic way of government and life. Hence it is not surprising that a student of the English press, Mr. W. W. Haddley, should write : " The rise and progress of British newspapers is part, and a vital part, of the growth of British freedom." This is the opening statement of his article, " The British Press—A Survey " (*The Kem-sley Manual of Journalism*, London, 1950, p. 175). In his well-known volume, *The Press* (London, 1938, p. 7), H. Wickham Steed quotes a student of political theory as asserting, " The press is the central problem of modern democracy . . . " When India came under the political domination of the British, she also came under the cultural impact of the West. Among the elements that went into this impact was the idea of the free press. The *Report* of the Indian Press Commission (Part I, 1954, p. 359) echoes this tradition when it declares, " Democracy can

thrive not only under the vigilant eye of its legislators, but also under the care and guidance of public opinion, and the Press is, *par excellence*, the vehicle through which opinion can become articulate. Its role consists not only in reflecting public opinion, but in instructing it and giving it proper orientation and guidance. For this, the Press has not only a moral right to free expression but is subject to certain responsibilities also."

The question naturally arises : if a free press is central to an independent nation that claims to be democratic, what should be its role in a nation that is politically dependent? The brief answer is that, in a dependent nation, the imperial power tends to curb the freedom of the press, and that the question of the freedom of the press cannot be isolated from the larger issue of the freedom of the nation itself. Such indeed is the case with the Indian press. While the Indian press has contributed to the national struggle for freedom, it has done so to some extent as part of a struggle for self-survival. In such a context, there can exist a nationalist press, dedicated to the deliverance of the country from its political slavery, and a press supporting the status quo from motives ranging from honest belief in principles to a merely mercenary opportunism. But there is another preliminary issue which calls for settlement. It is argued that in a country as vast and illiterate as India, the printed word can have little or no consequence. As against this, it may be urged that the printed word had influence over the most militant section of the population, namely the educated leadership of the freedom movement, and that the Indian languages press could reach directly a considerable portion of the population ; in addition to which it could reach even the remotest villages through the traditional institution of oral dissemination by the learned.

The part played by the English as well as the Indian languages press has been very significant. In this connection, the following authoritative observation of Mr. J. Natarajan is worth noting : " The first session of the Indian National Congress was closely related to the development of the Press because the founders and editors of some of the leading newspapers were also prominent among the founders of the national political organisation. " (*Report of the Press Commission, Part II—History of Indian Journalism*, compiled on behalf and under directions of the Press Commission, by J. Natarajan, 1954, p. 98). The father of the Indian National Congress, Mr. A. O. Hume himself, was most intimately associated with *The Hindu*, the nationalist paper of Madras. Among the founding fathers of the

Congress were such pioneers of Indian journalism as Dadabhai Naoroji, who edited the *Rast Goftar*, M. G. Ranade, who was a founder of the *Indu Prakash*, Narendranath Sen, who edited the *Indian Mirror*, G. Subrahmania Iyer, who edited *The Hindu*, W. S. Apte, who edited the *Mahratta*, and G. G. Agarkar, who edited the *Kesari*. Though the role played by the press in the 1857 struggle for freedom is open to controversial interpretations, there can be no doubt at all about its significant role in the later phase of our freedom movement. Regarding its part in the 1857 struggle there exist two diametrically opposed views. On the one hand, in his Report of 1859, the Rev. J. Long inclines to the view that the press was more a barometer of popular feeling and opinion than an effective maker of them. In his words : “ The opinions of the Native press may often be regarded as the safety valve which gives warning of danger ; thus had the Delhi Native Newspapers of January 1857 been consulted by European functionaries, they would have seen in them how the Natives were ripe for revolt ; and were expecting aid from Persia and Russia.” (Quoted in the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part II, p. 66). He argued that the Native Press should be allowed because it would keep the Government informed of native opinion. On the other hand, Lord Canning advocated its suppression. Introducing the Press Act of 1857, he asserted : “ I doubt whether it is fully understood or known to what an audacious extent sedition has been poured into the hearts of the native population of India within the last few weeks under the guise of intelligence supplied to them by the native newspapers. ” However, it is believed that this is a compliment which the native press did not deserve !

Since the question of the freedom of the press is bound up with the question of the freedom of the country, a historical survey of the struggle for the freedom of the press is an important aspect of the history of the freedom movement. Though the Moghuls did have newsletters, these, as Mr. Natarajan rightly points out in his *History of the Indian Press* (Asia Publishing House, 1962), were not strictly newspapers in the modern sense. The first newspaper proper in India was the *Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser*, which was started in 1780. Its editor was James Augustus Hickey, who was a rather colourful personality even for those somewhat adventurous times. It is interesting that the editor of the very first paper in India should find himself in conflict with the authorities, though from a motive no nobler than personal gain. It was his attempt to blackmail

the Company's servants through scandal-mongering that brought him into conflict with the powers that were. In Bombay and Madras there were no such early tussles between the press and the authorities. The story continued to be one of conflict between the press and the ruling class in Bengal. After Hickey, William Duane of the *Bengal Journal*, in 1791, and Dr. Charles Maclean of the *Bengal Harkaru*, in 1798, ran into trouble with the authorities. The first systematic effort to muzzle the press was made through the Press Regulations of 1799, which required that a newspaper should carry in imprint the names of the printer, the editor and proprietor. They were required to declare themselves as such to the Secretary to Government, to submit to the Secretary's scrutiny all material published in the paper prior to his permission, and not to publish on Sundays. If any of these provisions were violated, the punishment was deportation. Obviously this was directed against troublesome Europeans who could misuse the press. The Secretary functioned as the censor under the regulations. Also there were separate rules requiring the Secretary to exclude from publication any information relating to the movement of ships or the embarkation of troops, stores or specie, all speculation about the relations between the Company and any of the native powers, and information likely to be of use to the enemy or likely to create alarm or commotions within the Company's territories. The list of prohibited items included further all comment on public debt, revenues, finances of the Company, conduct of government officers, and private scandals and libels on individuals. Finally, it was forbidden to publish extracts from European newspapers likely to cause a breach of the foregoing provisions. The primary motives behind these regulations were to prevent publication of news which would affect adversely the campaigns that the Marquess of Wellesley was expecting to engage in, and to keep the European population of Calcutta under control.

In the teeth of bitter opposition from the Court of Directors and from his own Council, Lord Hastings pursued a more liberal policy towards the press. It is revealing that the Government looked with suspicion upon the journalistic activities of progressive Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, while tolerating those of more orthodox Hindus. A leading figure in the struggle for a free press at this time was James Silk Buckingham. He was a close friend of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and he edited the *Calcutta Journal*. The next major onslaught on the freedom of the press came from the Adam Regulations of April 4, 1823. These

regulations sought especially to restrict the Indian languages press, and foreshadowed the notorious Vernacular Press Act. In the early 1830s Lord Bentinck followed a liberal policy. Soon after, Sir Charles Metcalfe introduced the new, liberal Act of 1835. This Act created a climate conducive to the growth of the Indian Press. After the Revolt of 1857, the government introduced a Press Act which revived the Adam Regulations of 1823. The next landmark in the attempt to paralyse the press was Act XXVII of 1870, which has a section containing the following provision : “ Whoever by words, either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representation or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with fine.” This provision became later the notorious Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code. In 1878 came the Vernacular Press Bill, which became Act IX of 1878. Lord Ripon repealed this Act on 7 December, 1881. In 1890 the Government passed the Press and Registration of Books Act. Later, by a notification dated June 25, 1891, the Government of India, through the Foreign Department, imposed restrictions on the press in the Indian States. The notification reads :

“ 1. No newspaper or other printed work, whether periodical or other, containing public news or comments on public news, shall, without the written permission for the time being in force of the Political Agent, be edited, printed or published after 1st August, 1891 in any local area administered by the Governor-General in Council but not forming part of British India.

“ 2. If this is contravened, the Political Agent may by order in writing, (a) require him to leave such local areas within seven days from the date of such orders, (b) and prohibit him from re-entering such local areas without the written permission of the Political Agent.

“ 3. Disobedience of orders mentioned in the last foregoing paragraph shall make one liable to forcible expulsion.”

The subsequent attempts to curb the freedom of the press resulted in the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908, and the Press Act of 1910. Later both these Acts were repealed on the recommendation of the Sapru Committee. From 1922 to 1930, some kind of precarious peace existed between the press and the Government. With the Press Act of 1930, hostilities were resumed. After Gandhiji's arrest, this Act was elaborated into the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932, espe-

cially in Section 4. With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, the Defence of India Act came into force, and the press came under greater restrictions. The Official Secrets Act drove another nail into the coffin of the free press in India. The Quit India Movement of 1942 made the attitude of the authorities more intolerant towards the press. As this brief narration indicates, the British in India attempted throughout the course of our struggle for freedom to stifle the free press, because the press was in the forefront of that struggle. But those attempts had the unintended result of stiffening the resistance of the press, and of making it into a more uncompromising fighter for the country's freedom.

The role of the nationalist press in Karnataka fits in with the broader all-India background. Roughly the story was the same, but on a somewhat smaller scale. It was also a story of a dedicated nationalist press throwing in its lot with the freedom movement in Karnataka. Such a tremendous upsurge as the political awakening of the people in Karnataka, which contributed eventually to the liberation of the motherland, could not but be many-sided. It drew strength and sustenance from every source, however humble. Of these sources, the press in Karnataka was undoubtedly one of the most important. Since our concern is with the freedom movement, our focus will necessarily be on the nationalist press.

The nationalist press may be defined as the press which positively espoused the cause of national freedom, whether in its editorial policy, presentation of news, feature writing, or in any other manner within its normal framework. No doubt there were other papers which for whatever reason, could not be so openly nationalistic. While some of these were cold and indifferent to the battle for freedom that raged round them, there were others which took a nationalistic stand on occasion. The role of the press in any large-scale movement is bound to be crucial since it is the press that creates our image of the world. The nationalist press, edited and sponsored by men who were inspired by the ideal of self-sacrifice in the national cause, created an image of our very nationalism. The press made us actually aware of the fact that we were a nation—in fact, a great nation—and that we had a birthright of freedom as a nation. Nationalism not only feeds a freedom movement but is fed by such a movement to a considerable extent. Nations are forged in the flames of such struggles for freedom, and India is no exception, though the struggle took a non-violent form.

To tell the story of the nationalist press in Karnataka, or, for that matter, the story of the freedom movement itself, is a formidable task. The present single State comprising all the Kannada-speaking areas did not exist prior to 1956, and the press in Karnataka had to function on a territorially fragmented basis. The Kannada-speaking people were scattered over the southern and western parts of India, particularly in the old Indian States of Mysore and Hyderabad, and the composite British Indian Provinces of Bombay and Madras. This means that the role of the nationalist press in Karnataka will have to be discussed on the basis of separate areas, and the separate studies to be pieced together into a mosaic. As a matter of fact, this administrative and political fragmentation of the Kannada people was a severe handicap. It has been rightly said : “ For a variety of reasons, there were no newspapers before 1857 in the Kannada-speaking area which was known as the Southern Maratha country and where Marathi was the official language. . . . ” (*Report of the Press Commission, Part II, 1954, p. 62*). In some Madras areas, the Telugu language tended to dominate the local language. Thus, being a minority everywhere, the Kannada people were inevitably subjected to cultural or linguistic pressures by the majorities. There was another handicap, namely “ the problem of variation in the language as current in the Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western districts of the area ”. (*Report of the Press Commission, Part II, p. 62*).

The freedom movement within the Indian States was slightly different in its course from that in the rest of India. Here, there were noticeable two different phases. First there was the struggle against the internal autocratic regime, involving the demand for an increasingly responsible system of government. In the later phase, there was a more nationalist bias, involving an identification of interests with the rest of India. Of course, the two were essentially connected and continuous, for after all, the local rulers were ultimately maintained by British support. The Press in Mysore in the first phase was critical of the local authorities, though occasionally there were expressed opinions with wider nationalist implications.

The Old Mysore Area

One of the earliest papers in the region is believed to be the *Bangalore Herald*, which was started in 1859, with Mr. James as the Editor. This was an English paper. In the same year was

started an Anglo-Kannada paper, the *Mysore Vrittanta Bodhini*, with Mr. Bashyachari as its Editor. In 1862, the Rev. B. Rice started another Anglo-Kannada paper, the *Arunodaya*. This was closely followed by the Urdu paper, the *Quasim-ul-Akhbar*, in 1863. This paper was definitely anti-British. In 1865 was born the *Karnataka Prakasika*, also Anglo-Kannada, and its Editor was Mr. Dikshita Tirumalacharya. This paper was definitely critical of the administration. For a short while it suspended publication, and was revived in 1873 with Mr. T. S. Srinivasacharya as its proprietor and Mr. Bashyam Tirumalacharya as its Editor. This was a period when nationalism was slowly emerging; only a decade or so later its firm basis was laid when the Indian National Congress was founded. Already in this period one comes across clearly nationalist sentiments expressed by the press, and it was these sentiments that were crystallised more tangibly in the Congress.

The *Karnataka Prakasika* of 19th October, 1885, refers to "the rights of the people of India within the four walls of the House of Commons," advocating the despatch of a delegation to place before the English electorate the Indian case justly. (p. 10, the Confidential Report on Native Papers in the Madras Presidency, for 3 November, 1885). More outspokenly nationalistic is the following, from the editorial of the paper dated 17 December, 1885: ". But if a member of that service (*i.e.*, the I.C.S.) says to us: 'I myself will be your leader, because the wind ought to be taken out of the sails of conceited and half-taught (native) youth, who would become demagogues,' then, we cannot blame these youths if they turn round and say: 'We are not "conceited" and "half taught" as you suppose, and we, therefore, do not want you to lead us and our people, because your conceit, which is the offspring of "half-education" is just as great as you impute to us'." In its issue of 20 February, 1886, it roundly condemned the newly appointed Finance Commission as a "farce". In an editorial in its issue dated 25 May, 1886, it argued for the establishment of political associations in Mysore in order to obtain "the political rights and privileges to which they are entitled. . . ." In its issue of 3 August, 1891, it asserted: "The disadvantages of British rule in India are not so often discussed as the advantages. . . . Even the Negro of the West Indies and the savages of Australia enjoy more liberty than the Hindu." In its issue of 14 September, 1891, it defended the freedom of the press. In the issue dated July 27, 1896, it reviewed Mr. Rama Gopal Sanyal's book, *Criminal Pro-*

secutions of Europeans by Natives and said : “ The insults and injuries which the ruling race heaps upon the people of this country have necessitated the publication of this book those who in season and out of season praise the administration of justice in India will do well to read this book. . . . ” It is possible to multiply quotations to show how nationalistic in tone the *Karnataka Prakasika* was.

The *Deshabhimani* of Mysore was critical of the administration, and it was victimised under the Dewanship of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer towards the close of the nineteenth century. On 14 March, 1894, the Secretary to the Dewan addressed a letter to its editor, Mr. B. C. Srinivasa Iyengar, taking objection to some material as anti-Government. The objectionable material had appeared in the issue of *Deshabhimani* dated 24 February, 1894. On 15 April, 1894, the editor protested and added that he was not afraid of anyone in discharging his duties. The paper was suspended for a period of twelve months from 15 April, 1894. Not only that ; the editor was harassed a good deal. Another paper which was victimised at about this time was the *Mysore Vrittanta Bodhini*.

Among the papers which made a considerable contribution to the freedom struggle between 1881 and 1908, mention may be made of the *Vishwakarnataka* and the *Tainadu*. In 1900, Mr. Venkatakrishnaiya, almost a legendary figure in the annals of journalism in old Mysore, started the *Mysore Herald* and the *Vrittanta Chintamani*. The same year witnessed the birth of the *Mysore Standard* and the *Nadegannadi*, both edited by Mr. M. Srinivasa Iyengar, and the *Vrittanta Patrika*, edited by Mr. Yajaman Veerabasappa. An event of importance in the struggle between the free press and the Government occurred in 1905, when a correspondent of the *Mysore Standard* was expelled from the Mysore Representative Assembly by its President, who was the Dewan. The paper was further victimised, and its editor, Mr. M. Gopala Iyengar, was given a warning. The press, it may be noted, was not confined to the premier cities of Bangalore and Mysore. The agitation over the division of Bengal fed the freedom movement with much fuel. It gave an extraordinary stimulus to the nationalist press in the Kannada-speaking areas. Among those who felt the impact of this agitation was a young teacher of Sirsi in the Bombay-Karnatak area, who migrated to Davangere, and started there in 1906 his paper, the *Dhanurdhari*, an avowedly nationalist venture. He was Hardekar Manjappa. The paper was primarily devoted to rendering into Kannada the

material in Tilak's *Kesari*. After a somewhat precarious, though fruitful, existence of some eleven years, the paper ceased publication. Manjappa's later contribution to the freedom movement through the nationalist press belongs to the story of the press in the Bombay-Karnatak area, and may be considered in that connection.

In 1908 came the Mysore Press Act, climaxing a period in which the free press was suppressed. The Act contained very stringent provisions prohibiting the publication of any news or comments on news of a public nature, without the prior sanction of the Government. The Government could withdraw such sanction. If this rule was violated, the party considered guilty was liable to expulsion from Mysore. If, without permission, the party re-entered the State, he could be externed without even the show of a trial. The Act, as was perhaps intended, increased the incidence of mortality among the free papers. Among the casualties were the *Bharathi*, the first daily in Kannada, the *Mysore Herald*, the *Vrittanta Chintamani*, the *Mysore Standard* and the *Nadegannadi*. This notorious Act was condemned every year in the Representative Assembly, and the opposition to it gathered great momentum in 1917. It was only with the assumption of the Dewanship by Mr. M. Visvesvaraya that the press could breathe more freely. That enlightened administrator eventually succeeded in having the Act modified on more liberal lines. Meanwhile in 1917, Mr. D. V. Gundappa became a target of Government's hostility. In its issue dated 23 June, 1917, his paper, the *Karnataka*, had published matter under the title, "Why should we be Home Rulers?" This provoked the wrath of the Government, whose Secretary wrote a letter to Mr. Gundappa on 2 August, 1917 (*vide* confidential file, S.L. No. 65, File No. 297). The letter said: ". . . . It is regretted that the warning quite recently conveyed to you in my letter Nos. G. 12283 and C.S. 54 dated 10th March and 10th May last has had no deterrent effect on the publication in your paper of views and sentiments of a very objectionable character. On the contrary you have deemed it fit to comment upon the warning in a spirit of resentment. (*vide Karnataka* 14—'17)" The Government demanded from him an unqualified apology if he did not want the Government to withdraw the permission granted to his paper. The editor in question gave in, but not without a fight.

In the twenties, the *Mysore Sampatabhyudaya*, edited by the great veteran, M. Venkatakrishnaiya, took a leading role in the task of moulding public opinion along nationalist lines. For

example, in its issue of 17 January, 1921, it underlined the unity of interests between British India and the so-called Indian India, when it claimed : “ The inclusion of all Indian States into the Indian Provinces for the purposes of Congress activities has made the political interests of British India and Indian States identical ” In its issue of 13 December, 1921, it did not hesitate to lash out at public apathy in such a blunt statement as, “ in most of the Indian States, public opinion is at a zero point ” The paper published in its issue of 10 October, 1923, an article entitled “ Civil Disobedience,” which attempted to justify the Satyagraha movement. Earlier, in its issue of 21 September, 1923, it published an article on the Congress. But even before the appearance of these articles, its editor had got into some trouble with the authorities. In his capacity as the editor of both the *Mysore Sampatabhyudaya* and the *Sadhvi*, Venkatakrishnaiya was warned by the Chief Secretary through the confidential letter D.O. No. 1741/C.B., dated 5 October, 1922. In his moving rejoinder to the Resident, dated 17 December, 1922, the editor wrote : “ For nearly 50 years I served the State and the British government most loyally. I see that I can no longer do so. . . . If the Government of Mysore and you, their friend, philosopher and guide are bent upon a policy of unjust and unfair pinpricks, I shall retire from the field of governing the policy of the papers and bid you and Mysore Government good-bye. . . . ” This was the point to which men dedicated to public service were driven by the authorities. However, the spirit of the *Mysore Sampatabhyudaya* could not be so easily crushed. In the very following year, it came out, along with Mr. Gundappa's *Karnataka*, with a criticism of the recommendations of the Brajendranath Seal Committee as reactionary. Later, in its issue of 28 May, 1926, it made a forthright comment on the state of affairs in the Indian States, by writing, “ . . . Most of the Indian States are in a pitiable condition. The Maharajas squander public money as they like and adopt coercive measures to put down the aspirations of the people. . . . ”

The nationalist press in old Mysore was not to be easily intimidated by the acts of repression perpetrated by the authorities, and it continued to serve the people of the State and the nation as a watchdog of their liberties and rights. In the late twenties, *Viswakarnataka* and *Veerakesari* were in the forefront of the national struggle. Commenting on the shooting of Indians at the Binny Mills by a European police officer named Searle, *Vishwakarnataka* said in its issue of 25 July, 1926, “ Inspec-

tor Searle's conduct was characterized by utter ruthlessness. This may be the result of white plague. . . . " As already noticed, the nationalist movement within the State evolved out of the movement for internal democracy. Hence the press was critical of the internal autocracy. *Prajamata* of 29 December, 1926, argued that, " Indian rulers who held sway over their respective areas have been enjoying no independence since the advent of the British and have remained mere tools in their hands It is not proper that the subjects of these States should remain dumb while their brethren in British India have been marching towards Swaraj. It is well for the future that Congress which hitherto paid no attention to the affairs of the Indian States has revised its attitude on the subject. . . . " Incidentally, this statement reveals clearly how closely connected were the issues of internal reform and the wider national freedom. The same feeling was shared by Hosakoppa Krishna Rao who, in an article in *Sampat-abhyudaya* of 11 June, 1927, welcomed the change in Congress policy towards the States. It was in 1928 that the Congress actually passed a resolution on responsible government in the States. This increasing identification of interests between the States and the nation was most dramatically expressed by *Nava-jeevana* of 23 and 25 of January, 1929. It declared : " . . . We are Indians first and Mysoreans next. . . . ", and then went on to condemn unequivocally the Simon Commission.

A little earlier an event of considerable explosive power had occurred. This was the Bangalore Disturbance of July, 1928, over Ganapati worship in the quadrangle of a middle school in Sultanpet. The newspapers were sharply critical of the Government's indifferent attitude to the occurrence. The papers were promptly required to pay the penalty. The Government issued an order suppressing *Veerakesari*, *Viswakarnataka*, and *Nava-jeevana*. But after a very short while the papers were allowed to resume, and they also resumed their critical attitude to the authorities. It was the period in which the Kannada press became dear to the public heart, and the courageous stand of Sitarama Sastry, the editor of *Veerakesari*, made him something of a hero in the public eyes. He and Aswathanarayana Rao, the editor of *Nava-jeevana*, were convicted for sedition, and were made to serve a short term of imprisonment. The regime of suppression continued well into the 1930s. The suppression included outright suspension of papers as well as the withdrawal of Government advertisements from papers considered hostile to the Government.

ಸ್ವದೇಶಾಭಿಮಾನಿಯು

ಮೊದಲಿನ ಸಂಚಿಕೆಯ ಮೊದಲಿನ ಪುರ.

(ಅ ಗ್ರ ರೇ ಖ .)

ಪುಸ್ತಕ 1.

ಮಂಗಳೂರು 1ನೇ ಜನವರಿ 1907.

ಸಂಚಿಕೆ 1.

ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪತ್ರಿಕಾಕರ್ತರ ಉದ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವು.

ಕೊಳುಗುಳದೊಳೊಡನೆ ಹೆಜ್ಜೆಗೆ
ಫಲಮಹಾಪಾತಕವು ಮುಂದಣಿ .
ಗೊರಿದುಹಜ್ಜೆಯನಿಡಲು ಹಜ್ಜೆಯೊಳಶ್ರಮೇ

ಧರ್ಮ

ಅದನಾದರೆ ದೇವಲೋಕದ .
ಲಲನೆಯರು ತೊತ್ತಿರು ಸುರೇಂದ್ರನ .
ನಿಲನ ನುಗ್ಗಡಿಸುವರು ವೀರಸ್ವರ್ಗವಹುದೆಂದ

ಮಹಾ ಭಾರತ

"ಪೌರ್ವಾತ್ಯ ಜನಾಂಗಗಳ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಕೆಯು ಸ್ವಾವರ ಸ್ವಭಾವದ್ದು ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯರು ಉನ್ನತಿಯ ಪಥದಲ್ಲಿ ವೃದ್ಧಿಸುವವರು" ಎಂಬ ಈ ಮಾತು ಯುರೋಪಿಯ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಕರ್ತರ ಪ್ರಿಯತಮ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತವಾಗಿತ್ತು (Sir H. Maine) ಸರ್. ಹನಿ ಮೇನ್ ಬ್ಲಾಂಕ್ಸ್ ಮುಂತಾದ ರಾಜನೀತಿ ವಿಶಾರದರು ಈ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಕ್ಕೆ ಸಹಿ ಹಾಕಿದ್ದಾರೆ ಚೀನ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು-ಅಚರಿತ-ದುರ್ಗಂಧ ಜಲಕಟಾಳಪ್ರಾಯವಾದ ಸ್ವಾವರ ಪದ್ಧತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಧೃಷ್ಟಾಂತವಾಗಿಟ್ಟರು. ಕಾರಾಂತ. ಆಸ್ಯಾ ಖಂಡದವರು ಯುರೋಪಿಯರ ದಾಸ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದವರು ಎಂದೂ ಇವರು ಕತ್ತಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊರ ಲಾಡುವ ಬಡಿಮಿತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಬೆಳಕನ್ನೀಯುವ ದೇವತೆಗಳೆಂದೂ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ ಹುಟ್ಟಿತು.

ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯ ಪರಿಜ್ಞಾನದಿಂದ ರಚಿತವಾದ ಈ ದುರ್ಗಂಧ ಜವಾನ ದೇಶವು ಮೊದಲನೇ ಒಡಕೊಟ್ಟಿತು ಯುರೋಪಿಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಂದಾಳಾದ ರುಸ್ಸದ ಕೊಬ್ಬನ್ನು ಆಸ್ಯ ಖಂಡದ ಸಿನ್ನೆ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಚಕ್ಕೆ ದ್ವೀಪವು ಮುಂದು ಲೋಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕರಿಗೆ ವಿಸ್ಮಯಾನಂದವನ್ನೂ ಅನೇಕರಿಗೆ ಅಸೂಯಾ-ಭಯಗಳನ್ನೂ ಹುಟ್ಟಿಸಿತು ಯುರೋಪಿಯರ ಅನುಸರಣೀಯವಾದ ಉತ್ತಮ ಪದ್ಧತಿಗಳನ್ನು ತನ್ನಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಚಾರಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದ ಕಾರಣ ಜವಾನವು ಈ ಅದ್ಭುತ ಕಾರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಕೈಗೊಂಡಿತೆಂದು ನೋಡಿ ಆಸ್ಯದ ಮಿಕ್ಕ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳು ಇದೇ ದಾರಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ ಇದ್ದುತಾರೆ ಪಾರ್ಶ್ವ ದೇಶದ ಶ್ಯಾಹಾನು ತನ್ನ ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಜಾಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಗಳ ಸಭೆಯನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದನು ಚೀನಾ ದೇಶವು ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯರ ಯುದ್ಧರಚನೆಯ ರೀತಿಗಳನ್ನೂ ಭೇದಿ ಮುಂತಾದ ಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಗಳನ್ನೂ ತನ್ನಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲೆಗೊಳಿಸಿ ಸುಸಂಯೋಜಿತ ರೋಹನಯುಕ್ತ ರಾಜಪದ್ಧತಿಯನ್ನು ನಲವಿಸುವುದು ಅಭಿಮಾನ ದೇಶದ ಅಮಿರನೂ ಸಹ, ಮತ್ಯೆಕಾಧಿಮಾನವೇ ಸಲ್ಲದೆಂದು ಕಂಡು ಎಹಿ ಕಾಶ್ಯಗಳನ್ನೂ ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಲಿಸುವ ವಿರ್ಬಾಡು ಮಾಡಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ ತನ್ನ ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ವಿಧವಾದ ಪ್ರಜಾಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿ ಸಭೆಯನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಿದ್ದಾನೆ ಈ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಪ್ರವರ್ತನಗಳು ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯರ ಉದ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಗಳನ್ನು ಧ್ವಂಸಪಡಿಸುವವು

ವಸ್ತುತಃ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಕೆಯ ಸೂರ್ಯನು ಮೊದಲು ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂಡಿ ಶ್ರಮೇಣ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಕ್ಕೆ ತೆರಳುತ್ತಿರಲು ಈ ಪ್ರಾಂತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕತ್ತಲೆಯಾಯಿತೆಂದು ಇತಿಹಾಸ ದಿಂದ ತೋರುವುದು ಯುರೋಪಿಯ ಜನಾಂಗಗಳನ್ನು ಉನ್ನತಿಗೆ ತಂದ ಕ್ರಿಸ್ತಧರ್ಮ ಬೋಧಕನು ಆಸ್ಯಖಂಡದವನು

ಸುತ್ತಲಿನ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತೋರುವ ವೃದ್ಧಿಸೂಚನೆಗಳು ಹಿಂದೂ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕಣ್ಣಿಗೆ ಬೀಳುವವು ನೇಶನಲ್ ಕೋಗ್ರಿಸ್, ಸೊಸಿಯಲ್ ಕೊನ್ವೆನ್ಷನ್ ಮುಂತಾದ ಸಭೆಗಳೂ, ಬ್ರಹ್ಮ ಸಮಾಜ, ಆರ್ಯ ಸಮಾಜ, ಮುಂತಾದ ಕೂಟಗಳೂ, ಈ ಚಳಿ ವಲಯ ಕುರುಹುಗಳಾಗಿವೆ ನಾವೂ ರಾಜಕೀಯ, ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ, ಸಾಂಪ್ರದಿಕ. ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ತೀರು ಸ್ಥಿತಿಗೆ ಗಮನಕೊಡತೊಡಗಿದ್ದೇವೆ ಆದರೆ ಈ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಯನ್ನು ನಿವಾರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ನಮಗೆ ಹಲವು ಅಭ್ಯಂತರಗಳಿವೆ. ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ಎಕರಾಷ್ಟೀಯ ಕಲ್ಪನೆಯು ಇನ್ನೂ ಬೇರುಗೊಂಡಿಲ್ಲ. ಭಾಷಾಭೇದ, ಜಾತಿಭೇದ, ಮತಭೇದ ಕುಲ ಭೇದಗಳಿಂದ ತುಂಬುತುಂಬಾಗಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಸನಿಯಂತ್ರಿತ ರಾಜ್ಯಪದ್ಧತಿಯಾದರೋ ಹಿಂದೂದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಶ್ರುತದೃಷ್ಟ ಪೂರ್ವವೇ. ವಿಲಾಯತಿಯ ಜನರಿಗಾದರೆ ಅವರ ರಾಜಪದ್ಧತಿಯ ದೆಸೆಯಿಂದಲೂ ಅಲ್ಲಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ (Association) ಸಂಘ (Club) ಕೂಟಗಳ ಮೂಲಕವಾಗಿಯೂ ಆಗಾಗ್ಗೆ ರಾಜನೀತಿ ವಿಶಾರದರು ಹಳ್ಳಿಪಳ್ಳಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಜನರಿಗೆ ಕೊಡುವ ವಾಪಾಡಿಂದಲೂ, ಅಕ್ಷಗಟ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಂಡುಕೊಳ್ಳಲ್ಪಡುವ ಪತ್ರಗಳ ಮುಖಾಂತರವೂ ತೇಜದ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ವಿಷಯಗಳು ಕುಲಾಂಕುಶವಾಗಿ

ತಿಳಿದು ಬರುವವು ಈ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವು ಎಷ್ಟರಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಸಮಾಜದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ವರ್ಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಹರಡಿದೆಯೆಂದು ವಿಲಾಯತಿಯಿಂದ ಬಂದ ಒಬ್ಬ ರಸಿಕ ಹಿಂದೂ ಗ್ರಹಸ್ವರು ಹೇಳಿದ ಒಂದು ಚುಟುಕು ಸಂಗತಿಮಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು ವಿಲಾ ಯತಿಗೆ ಹೋದೊಡನೇ ಇವರ ಆಪ್ತರು ಪೇಟೆಗೆ ಎಕಾಕಿಯಾಗಿ ಹೋಗಬಾರದೆಂದು ಬೋಧಿಸಿದರು ಆದರೂ ಇವರು ಒಂದು ಬೆತ್ತವನ್ನು ಕೊಂಡುಕೊಳ್ಳಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ತ ಒಂದು ಅಂಗಡಿಗೆ ಹೋದರು. ಈ ಗಿರಾಕಿಯನ್ನು ಕಂಡಕೂಡಲೇ ಅಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಹೆಂಗಸು (ವಿಲಾ ಯತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಜ್ಜಾಗಿ ಹೆಂಗಸರು ಮಾರಾಟದ ಕೆಲಸವನ್ನು ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ.) ಇವರನ್ನು ಕುಂಡಿಸಿ ಸಿನ್ನೆ ರಾತ್ರಿ ಪಾರ್ಲಿಮೆಂಟಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಮೆ ಬಾಲ್ಕರ್ (ಮಾಜಿ ಪ್ರಧಾನ ಮಂತ್ರಿ) ದೊರೆಗಳು ಮಾಡಿದ ಭಾಷಣದ ವಿಷಯ ಸಮ್ಮ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವೇನೆಂದು ಕೇಳಿದಳು. ಈ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗೆ ಗಿರಾಕಿಯು ತಟಸ್ಥನಾದನು. ಮತ್ತು ಅಂದಿನಿಂದ ದಿನಸ ದಿನಸದ ವರ್ತ ಮಾನ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಗಳನ್ನು ಓದಿದ್ದರೆ ಕಿರಕುಳ ಅಂಗಡಿದಾರರಿಂದಲೂ ತನ್ನ ಅಭಿಮಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಕುಂದು ಬಂದಿತೆಂದು ಎಣಿಸಿದನು

ಸರ್ವಸಾಧಾರಣರಿಗೆ ಇಂಥಾ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಸಿಕ್ಕದಿದ್ದರೆ ಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿ ಸಭೆಯು ಪಾಪಿಸ ರಾರದು. ತತ್ಪಾಪಿ ಪಾಪಿಸಿದರೂ ಬಡ್ಡಮೂಲವಾಗಿ ಬಾಳಲಾರದು. ಯಾಕೆಂದರೆ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ವರ್ಗವು ವಿದ್ಯಾ, ಬುದ್ಧಿ, ಧನಸಂಪನ್ನವಾಗಿರುವುದೋ ಅವರ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜಭಾರವು ಸೇರುವುದೆಂದು ಇತಿಹಾಸದ ಪರಿಚಿತಿಯು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸುವದು. ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಜಾಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರು ಅತಿಶಕ್ತರಾಗಿ ಸಂಭಾವಿತ ಕಾಟುಂಬಿಕರು ವಿರಳ ವಾಗಿಯೂ, ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಮತ್ಸರಪೀಡಿತರಾಗಿಯೂ, ಭೋಗಾಸಕ್ತರಾಗಿಯೂ, ಇದ್ದ ಸೀಮೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜನೇ ಸರ್ವ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರನಾಗಿರುವನು (Absolute monarch). ಕುಲಿನ ಮಂಡಳಿಯವರು ಬಲಾಢ್ಯರಾಗಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಂಪನ್ನರಾದ್ದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಇವರ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿ ಕುಲೀನಾಧಿಪತ್ಯವನ್ನಿರುವದು (Aristocracy). ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರು ಸುಶಿಕ್ಷಿತರಾದರೆ ತಾವು ತರುವ ಕಂದಾಯ ವಿಜ್ಞಮಾಡುವದರಲ್ಲಿ ತಮಗೆ ಅಧಿಕಾರವಿರ ಬೇಕು, ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರವು ಪ್ರಜಾಸುಖಕ್ಕಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ಸರಕಾರದ ರಾಜನೀತಿಯನ್ನು ಚರ್ಚಿಸ ರಕ್ಕೆ ನಮಗೆ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಬೇಕೆನ್ನುವರು. ಈ ರೀತಿ ಪ್ರಜಾಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಗಳ ಸಭೆಗೆ ಅವ ಕಾಶವಾಗುವದು ವಿದ್ಯೆಯೇ ಭಲದಾಯಕವಾಗಿರುವದು

ಪ್ರಜಾಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕೆ ಹಿಂದೂದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಸೌಕರ್ಯವಿರುವದು? ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿಯ ಸಭೆಗಳು ಕುಛಂಕರ್ಣನಿಗೀತಲೂ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ. ಇವು ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೊಮ್ಮೆ ನಿದ್ರೆಯಿಂದಿದ್ದು ಅಂಗ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉಪನ್ಯಾಸ ಮಾಡುವರು ರಾಜಕೀಯ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ಚರ್ಚಿಸುವ ಸಂಘಗಳು ಈ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಲ್ಲವೆನ್ನಬಹುದು ಇದ್ದರೂ ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಿದ್ರೆಯುಂಟು ಭಾಷಣಗಳು ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷಿನಲ್ಲಿಯಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ಸಾಧಾರಣರಿಗೆ ಅವು ಅಗಮ್ಯವೇ. ಜನರಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ ಭಾಷಾಪರಿಚಿತಿಯು ವಸರಿಸುವ ವರೆಗೆ ಕಾದರೆ ಲೋಕಾಂತ್ಯದ ವರೆಗೂ ಕಾಯಬಹುದು

ದೇಶೋನ್ನತಿಯ ಈ ಉತ್ತಮ ಮಾರ್ಗವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ದೇಶಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ರಚಿಸುವ ಪತ್ರಗಳೇ ಸಹಕಾರಿಗಳು. ತಾವು ಘರಿಸಿದ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸಮುದಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ತಿಳಿಯಹೇಳಿ ಅವರನ್ನು ತಿದ್ದಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಸುಶಿಕ್ಷಿತರಾದ ಮಹನೀಯರಿಗೆ ಇದೇ ದಾರಿ. ಸ್ವಭಾಷಾಪತ್ರಿಕೆಗಳ ಉದ್ದಿಷ್ಟ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವು ಇದೇ. ಈಗಲಾದರೋ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಗ್ರ ನಿಪುಣರಾದ ಹಿಡಿತಂಬ ಜನರಿಗೂ ಉಳಿದ ಕೋಟ್ಯಾಧಿ ಸರ್ವಸಾ ಧಾರಣರಿಗೂ ಸಹಾನುಭೂತಿ ಸಮವೇದನೆಗಳಿಲ್ಲ ಈ ಎರಡು ವರ್ಗಗಳ ನಡುವೆ ನಿರ್ಮಿತವಾದ ಈ ಅಗಲನ್ನು ದಾಟಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಸಹಜವಾದ ಸಂಕಲ್ಪ ಸ್ವಭಾಷೆಯೇ! ಆದ್ದ ರಿಂದಲೇ ಬಂಗಾಳ ದೇಶದ (National Council of Education) ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಭೆಯು ತಾವು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸುವ ಶಾಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವಿಧ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ದೇಶಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಲಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ನಿಶ್ಚಯಿಸಿ ಈ ಸಲುವಾಗಿ ತಕ್ಕ ವಾಕ್ಯಸ್ತಕಗಳನ್ನು ರಚಿಸ ಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಕಮಿಟಿಯನ್ನು ನೇಮಿಸಿದರು. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಕಲ್ಪನೆಯು ಎಲ್ಲರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ನೆಲೆಗೊಂಡು ಜನರಲ್ಲಿ ಎಕ್ಯಭಾವವು ಬೆಳೆದು ಹಿಂದೂದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಭೇದಗಳು ನೀಗ ಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಸ್ವಭಾಷಾ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಗಳು ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಸಹಕಾರಿಗಳೆಂದು ನಾವು ನಂಬಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಹಿಂದೂ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಎಷ್ಟು ಕಾಲ ದಾಟಿದ ನಂತರವಾದರೂ ಇಂಥಾ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯು ಒದಗಿದರೆ ಈ ಪತ್ರಗಳ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಗಳು ಸಫಲಿಸುವವು. ಈ ಪತ್ರಗಳ ಜೀವನವು ಹಿಂದೂದೇಶದ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಗಣನೀಯವಾಗುವದು.

The first "editorial" of "Swadeshabhimani" of Mangalore, a Kannada weekly.

During the Civil Disobedience Movement, the press played a significant part, and as a result it was honoured with the hostile attention of the Government. *Viswakarnataka*, under the editorship of T. T. Sarma, was banned. *Prajamata*, under the editorship of B. N. Gupta, was forced to shift its activities from Bangalore to Madras. Physically the press was suppressed, but its spirit of freedom could not be dealt with so easily. In the absence of the regular papers, the cause of freedom was served by a few locally cyclostyled news bulletins. The emergence of the Mysore Congress in 1938 was the logical culmination of the gathering momentum which the freedom movement in the State had acquired from October, 1937, onwards. This gave the press a clearly national perspective. In the tragic days of the 1942 Quit India Movement, the press reported the freedom struggle then raging fiercely all over the land, and this was done at great risk. *Tainadu*, *Viswakarnataka* and *Janavani* played a memorable role during those troubled days. The editors of these nationalistic papers were ordered to be arrested. After a few days behind the bars they were released. The press continued to support the cause of freedom, and, during the final phase of the struggle in Mysore, *Viswakarnataka*, under the editorship of T. T. Sarma, attacked bitterly the arrest and conviction of the popular leader, K. Hanumanthaiya. It supported the struggle for responsible government in 1947, in which leaders like K. C. Reddy participated.

In the Kodagu area, which was a distinct administrative unit under the British, there was a paper called *Coorg Chandrika*, which commented boldly and critically on the administration as early as in 1885. But by and large, the Coorg area was served in the cause of freedom by the press in the old Madras area and the old Mysore area.

The Madras-Karnatak Area : The Madras area comprised the districts of Bellary and South Kanara. Since South Kanara was in many respects one of the most advanced areas in the composite Madras State, we may begin with it.

The Christian missionaries, as in the other parts of Karnataka, were the pioneers in the field of printing and journalism. The first important nationalistic paper of which documentary evidence is available is the *Swadeshabhimani* of Mangalore. The paper was started in 1907 by V. S. Kamath, who was also its editor. In the preparation of the paper he is believed to have been assisted by M. N. Kamath, Vadlamani Sitarama Sastry, Ullal Mangesh Rao and Panje Mangesh Rao. Since most of them were Govern-

ment servants, their contributions had necessarily to go under pen-names. The paper was wound up in 1947, and it thus spanned the crucial years in our freedom struggle. The outlook of the paper was clearly nationalistic. The main editorial of the inaugural issue, dated 1 January, 1907, summed up its objectives thus : “ The Western myth that the West is superior to the East in the matter of political organization and thinking should be exploded. This, however, does not mean that there is no need for political awakening in the East. . . . In order to bring about this political awakening at the mass level, the press in the local languages has a great role to play. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that we have in this country no associations devoted to the discussion of national issues. Even if there are a few, they carry on in English, and so they remain inaccessible to the general public. . . . People who are enlightened have the responsibility to make their knowledge available to the less educated and to take them on the right path. The objective of an Indian language paper is just this.”

In the 1920s there were quite a series of nationalist papers of all kinds. About most of them nothing is known beyond the fact of their existence. Of these, mention may be made of the *Satyagrahi* of Udipi, edited by Ramaraya Mallya ; *Rashtra Bandhu*, also of Udipi, founded by Dr. U. Rama Rao (about 1924) and edited by K. R. Achar ; *Navayuga*, founded and edited (about 1922 or 1923) by A. B. Shetty from Mangalore, and *Tilaka Sandesha*, edited by D. K. Bharadwaj from Mangalore. The nationalist press in South Kanara was given tremendous impetus by the visit of Mahatma Gandhi with the Ali brothers to Mangalore in 1921. Besides these indisputably nationalist papers, there were others, like *Kanteerava* of Mangalore, started in 1919, which supported the nationalistic movement indirectly and occasionally. This paper contributed to the growth of the nationalist spirit indirectly by rousing the Kannada people to the sense of their literary and linguistic heritage. In fact, it supported the movement for the unification of all the Kannada-speaking areas.

Swadeshabhimani seems to have managed to maintain a consistently nationalist outlook over a long span of time, though it was never aggressively nationalistic. Some instances when this paper took a nationalistic line may be indicated. In 1914, it commented critically on the orders passed, first by the Madras Government and later by the Central Provinces Government, to impose on students restrictions of a political nature. In its issue

of August 4, 1917, it supported the Home Rule Movement, and said that the aims of this movement were the same as those of the Congress. It hinted some surprise at the fact that Congress leaders like Surendranath Banerjea, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and V. S. Srinivasa Sastri should keep aloof from the Home Rule Movement. In its issue of 9 May, 1919, it condemned editorially the high-handed administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and blamed him for the Punjab disturbances. In its issue of 7 May, 1920, it did not hesitate to criticise the demand of security from a Delhi newspaper under the Press Act, and to condemn it as "suppression". The paper reported fully all events of a nationalistic nature. It gave a full and detailed account of the Congress Session at Belgaum in 1924. This brief account of the nationalist press in South Kanara is a sufficient indication of the important contribution it made to the development of the nationalist spirit and the popular urge for political freedom in that area.

In Bellary, *Vijayadhwaja*, started in the 1880s, upheld the nationalist cause. It was sharply critical of the authorities. In its issue of 15 June, 1887, it said: ". . . . Although the British have been ruling India for nearly two centuries we can confidently assert that they have not gained the confidence of their Indian subjects." In its issue of 22 March, 1888, it criticised the Europeans resident in the Mysore State. In its issue of 2 August, 1888, it pointed out shrewdly that corrupt officials naturally feared and disliked editors who exposed them in the public interest. Among the papers banned during the Civil Disobedience Movement of the 1930s, *Vijayadhwaja* was one.

Though the City of Madras does not come within the Kannada-speaking area, it contributed to the growth of the political consciousness of the Kannada people in the Province. This was but natural since the city was the political and administrative centre of the composite province of Madras, which comprised Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada people. In view of this, it is not surprising that there should be Kannada papers of a nationalistic nature published in the city. One such paper, *Veerakesari*, has been mentioned in the confidential Report of Native Papers in the Madras Presidency for 1908. This paper was quite critical of the administration of the Presidency.

North Karnatak Area : Though there is evidence that there were a number of papers in this area in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it is difficult to decide how many of them can be called nationalistic, and if they were nationalistic, to what extent

and in what manner. In the 1890s there was a paper called *Kannada Simha*, and about the same time another, *Rajahamsa*, which appear to have been of a nationalistic character. Among the events which gave a great stimulus to the papers here was the agitation over the partition of Bengal in 1906. Regarding the period preceding it, mention may be made of Gadagayya Honnapurmath's *Chandrodaya*. It is difficult to say anything about the contents of this paper, but it is known that Honnapurmath became a staunch follower of Tilak. There was a paper called *Karnataka Vaibhava*, believed to have been started in 1892 in Bijapur. Nothing is known about its early career.

The earliest clearly nationalistic paper about which we have clear evidence is Mudvid Krishna Rao's *Karnataka Vrittanta*, with which was later merged another of his papers, *Dhananjaya*. In the absence of further evidence, Mudvid Krishna Rao must be counted the pioneer of nationalist journalism in this area. The evidence, which dates from about 1910, of *Karnataka Vrittanta* reveals a nationalistic attitude. After him, Hardekar Manjappa should be mentioned as the founder of a paper dedicated beyond dispute to the nationalist cause. His paper, *Dhanurdhari*, started in 1906. But this was started outside this area, though the founder belonged to it. Apart from the 1906 agitation, this region came under the spell of Tilak's personality. This fact came to be reflected in the nationalist press in this area. *Dhanurdhari* itself planned to be a Kannada version of Tilak's *Kesari*. Dr. N. S. Hardikar in 1907 started the Kannada *Kesari*. This was published in Hubli, and it also purported to be a faithful Kannada version of the Poona *Kesari*.

During the Gandhian era of our nationalistic struggle, a considerable contribution was made to it by *Karnataka Vaibhava* of Bijapur, under the editorship, first of Jaya Rao Deshpande and later, from 1922, of Moharay Hanumantha Rao. Sir Valentine Chirol, in his *Indian Unrest*, mentions this paper as a fair representative of the extreme political views held by the Kannada people in this area. Round about 1920 were started two other nationalist papers, *Veerakesari* of Hubli, edited by Mutalik Desai, and *Vibhakar*, edited by Panditappa Rayappa Chikkodi. *Karma-veera* was started in 1921 by R. S. Hukkerikar and R. R. Diwakar. At a time when political life was at its lowest ebb in India in 1924, Belvi, Narayan Rao Joshi and B. N. Datar founded *Sam-yukta Karnataka*. Also in 1924 *Lokamata* was started by V. B. Puranik in Hubli. This paper bore in English the motto "The Voice of the People is the Voice of God". In 1926 was started

a paper called *Vijaya*, edited by Hosakeri Annacharya. Till about 1943 this paper continued to serve the nationalist cause. *Taruna Karnataka* was started in 1928 under the editorship of L. S. Patil. This paper took an outspokenly nationalistic stand and identified itself with the cause of national freedom. In a typical editorial, entitled "The Indian Hunger for Self-government," in its issue of 18 May, 1931, it lamented the country's loss of freedom and condemned the authorities. It also welcomed wholeheartedly the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. *Samyukta Karnataka* was converted into a daily in 1933, and in 1934 Moharaj Hanumantha Rao took over its editorship. This paper was in the thick of the freedom struggle, since its sponsors were all leaders in the national movement. The paper not only reported news from a nationalist perspective, it also made editorial comments from that perspective. It was in 1931 that Hardekar Manjappa, who had already been associated with the press as editor of *Dhanurdhari* and *Khadi Vijaya* (later re-named *Udyoga*), launched his paper *Sarana Sandesha* in Alamatti, where he had his ashram and school. Though this paper did not always see eye to eye with the leaders of the freedom struggle, there can be no question of its policy being other than nationalistic. With Manjappa, journalism was more a mission than a profession. A man of independent thinking, he always produced unusual, though nationalistic views. In an editorial on the Communal Award of 1932 in the *Sarana Sandesha* of 22 August, 1932, he said, "When we ourselves lack unity and go to a third party for arbitration, there is no point in accusing the third party. After all, the British Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, is not an ascetic counting sacred beads, whether Rudrakshi or Tulasimani. He is a politician, and if our own politicians or statesmen like Mr. Vithalbhai Patel or Dr. Ansari were in Mr. MacDonald's place, their decision would have been pretty much the same. . . ." The remarkable thing about this comment, apart from its political wisdom, is that its author, while being a thorough nationalist, could still succeed in looking at a nationalist opinion critically. The masthead of this paper carried the following characteristic quotation from Shri Basaveshwara :

Severe in my justice,
Amenable to no passing influence,
Enemy of the world, if need be,
I bow to the Lord and fear none,
In Lord Kudala Sangama's regal light,
I take my stance !

During the Civil Disobedience Movement of the 1930's, the Government banned *Taruna Karnataka*, *Janmabhoomi* and *Karmaveera*, all from Dharwar, *Udaya* and *Karnataka Vaibhava* of Bijapur, and *Samyukta Karnataka* of Belgaum. The editors of these papers refused to furnish the security demanded, and were arrested and their papers had to be suspended. The editor of *Karnataka Vritta* of Dharwar, Mudvid Krishna Rao, was fined Rs. 200 for publishing the Congress Programme. R. R. Diwakar was sentenced to 3 years' R.I. for sedition, and his press was forfeited. In one way or other the press in this area made sacrifices, and it continued to give its staunch support to the struggle for freedom. When the regular papers could not function, a crop of privately circulated and cyclostyled bulletins, such as *Swatantrya* of Haveri (1933), informed the people about the freedom struggle, and inspired them to resist the government.

Hyderabad-Karnatak : While considering the role of the nationalist press in the Kannada-speaking areas of the erstwhile Hyderabad State, certain unique conditions which obtained there have to be borne in mind. Firstly, under the feudalistic system of administration, there was a near monopolistic concentration of all important activities, including the journalistic, in the capital city, Hyderabad, and in the adjoining city of Secunderabad. Hence it is almost impossible to trace evidence for the existence of nationalistic papers in the Kannada districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur. Secondly, the cultural dominance of the Urdu language minimised the chances of any other Indian language producing papers. Thirdly, the rigour of the feudal order proved to be the greatest obstacle to the growth and functioning of a free press. However, some of the Urdu and English papers were nationalistic, and such of these as reached the Kannada districts must have fed to **some extent the nationalist** sentiment.

There were, for instance, the English papers, the *Deccan Times* and the *Hyderabad Record*, both during the latter half of the 19th century. In particular, the *Hyderabad Record* was an openly nationalist paper. In its issue of 19 December, 1888, it commented critically on Lord Dufferin's anti-Congress views and said : " We can say that it is a fortunate circumstance for us, that the retiring Viceroy's shallow denunciation of the Congress has so soon given us an opportunity to be forewarned and thus to be forearmed. " Its editor, Job Solomon, could hardly run the paper for five years. In 1891, the Government of Hyderabad imposed severe restrictions on the press, including the

prohibition of publication of any matter that would “ threaten an injury to a Government servant or tend to prejudice the mind of the people against His Highness the Nizam’s Government or any of its officers.” Thus the press was in a none-too-happy position. It is also well known that there was a considerable inflow of nationalist papers in Kannada from the outside into the Hyderabad–Karnatak area, and this must have met the local need for a nationalistic Kannada press. For instance, *Kannada Kesari* of Hubli seems to have had substantial influence. Later on, in the forties, one comes across a few sporadic papers with a clearly nationalistic bias. One such was *Vartha Vahini* of Raichur, edited by R. S. Joshi.

The overall picture that emerges when the separate historical accounts are pieced together is remarkably clear, except in the case of the Hyderabad area. In all these areas the nationalist press commanded wide popularity, inspired the people to a sense of nationalism and inevitably encountered rough treatment at the hands of the authorities. It gave the people a sense of what was happening in terms of a nationalistic vision. This meant that it not merely reported on the freedom movement in Karnataka and the country, but that it also took an active part in the movement itself. It published editorial comments and articles which contributed not a little to the growth of the national feeling. It performed this great service in the face of Government suppression which, at times, could be savage. It is no accident that most of the leading figures in the nationalist movement are also commanding figures in the saga of the nationalist press. In the old Mysore area, the leading nationalist papers were *Deshabhimani*, *Vrittanta Bodhini* and *Karnataka Prakashika* in the latter part of the 19th century ; *Vrittanta Chintamani* and *Nadegannadi* after 1910 ; *Sampathabhyudaya*, *Karnataka*, and *Veerakesari* in the 1920’s ; *Tainadu*, *Vishwakarnataka* and *Janavani* in the 1930’s and 1940’s. Among the leading editors were M. Venkatakrishnaiya, whom Dr. C. R. Reddy compared to Tilak, T. T. Sharma and B. N. Gupta. In the Bombay area the leading nationalist papers were *Karnataka Vritta* in the first decade of the 20th century ; *Karnataka Vaibhava*, *Karmaveera*, *Lokamata*, *Samyukta Karnataka*, *Taruna Karnataka*, and *Sarana Sandesha* in the subsequent period up to the advent of independence. The nationalist press in this area threw up such leaders as Mudvid Krishna Rao, Hardekar Manjappa and R. R. Diwakar. In the Madras area, the leading paper was *Swadeshabhimani*, in the sense that though not the most militant, it was the most sustained medium of nationalist sentiment.

The leading figures in the ranks of the nationalist journalists here were Dr. U. Rama Rao, D. K. Bharadwaj, V. S. Kudva, V. S. Kamat and M. Babu Rao.

While it is obvious that the nationalist press was in the thick of the freedom movement, it also performed another function, indirectly related to the issue of freedom. Under a regime of bureaucratic autocracy, the press performed the function of an opposition party. It was a salutary thing that there was somebody to criticise the authorities. The achievement of the nationalist press as the vanguard of our freedom struggle is of a kind not easily susceptible of measurement. None, however, can deny the general character of that achievement.

Hardekar Manjappa, the Karnatak Gandhi (1885–1946)

It may or may not be generally true that prophets are honoured abroad while stoned at home ; but it certainly is true that, in India, there is a tendency to ignore our great men. Only when some outsider points out to us our great men, do we vie with each other to pay our belated homage. The unfortunate truth of this generalisation is borne home most effectively in the case of Hardekar Manjappa, a truly great son of Karnataka. Against odds so formidable as to crush lesser spirits, Manjappa soared to remarkable heights of distinction in practically every field of public life. His is the story of an indomitable spirit, the stirring story of a poor young man from the backwoods of coastal Karnataka who, by the sheer weight of his worth, grew into one of the greatest figures thrown up by the freedom struggle in Karnataka during the first half of this century. He was named Manjappa, that is snow, and he was pure as snow. He was called the Karnataka Gandhi, and never was a title more befitting. As simple, as pure, as noble and as spiritually commanding as Gandhiji, he became the greatest preacher and follower of Gandhian ideals in Karnataka. But Manjappa was nobody's camp-follower. He could and did criticise the Mahatma himself if the occasion demanded it. His rich and varied public life covered the whole span of the most crucial phase of our national struggle for freedom, a span of forty years that began in 1906 and ended with his death in 1946.

Before any account of his manifold contributions to the political and public life of Karnataka is given, a brief and rapid sketch of his life may be offered. He was born in 1885 in Banavasi, hallowed by the memory of Pampa, the first great poet in Kannada.

Banavasi is in the North Kanara District of the then Bombay Presidency. Born in a poor family, he began early to earn and contribute to the family resources. His brother, the chief breadwinner of the family, was a Government clerk at Sirsi on a salary of Rs. 15 per month. After finishing his Mulki examination Manjappa became a teacher at the age of 17. He earned Rs. 7 per month, and supplemented it with Rs. 4 per month by giving private tuition to two boys in the evenings. He was a successful teacher. Quite early in his life he displayed his talent for writing. He was also eager to acquire Sanskrit but he was foiled in the attempt, as the Brahmin teacher who had promised help was prevented from doing so by the pressure of caste prejudice. His talent for writing caught the attention of an Arya Samajist lawyer from Bombay, who suggested that he should translate Swami Dayanand's *Satyarth Prakash* into Kannada. Manjappa did translate as many as a hundred pages of the original, but that was the end of the project. This was the time when the proposal to divide Bengal had released a flood of furious popular opposition, and the whole country was affected by it. Public interest also greatly centred round the need for social reform. At about this time Manjappa took part in public functions. At a Ganapati festival celebration he spoke publicly against child marriage. In Gokarna, in 1905, he spoke briefly in favour of swadeshi. Political interest naturally drew him to Tilak's *Kesari*. Manjappa's brother was also drawn to political issues, and even toyed with the idea of abandoning Government service for nationalist journalism. The fact that his brother Manjappa possessed some gift for writing further encouraged him in the idea.

Thanks to the financial assistance of Maganahalli Doddabasappa of Davangere, Manjappa launched his first journalistic venture there in September 1906, when the first issue of his paper *Dhanurdhari* came out. The journal was to consist of four pages of royal size, and it was to appear every Friday. Its contents were to be mostly Kannada translations of the Marathi material in Tilak's *Kesari*. Manjappa was well versed in Marathi. The paper successfully weathered the first year, and achieved a readership of 700—no mean feat by the standards of the day. Its finances were rather precarious, the expenses being just about matched by the income. However, the owner of the press where it was printed disliked the outspoken tone of the paper and virtually killed it by raising the rent beyond Manjappa's means. As a result, *Dhanurdhari* was forced to discontinue. A little later, plague broke out in Davangere. With nobody to help him, all

alone, Manjappa determined not to give in. After a short period of near-starvation, he succeeded eventually in gaining the financial support of his friend Bondade Balappa. They ran an old printing machine to earth in Shimoga, and bought it for Rs. 400. The press was named "Sachidananda", and *Dhanurdhari* was resumed in 1908. The staff was less than meagre, and the machine was none too good. Ink had to be smeared over the types by hand; yet when the paper appeared at the end of the week, it more than compensated for every hardship and handicap. 1908 was a dark year for the country. The Bengal famine deepened the sense of national gloom. Manjappa published in his paper the speeches of Lala Lajpat Rai, Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal (popularly known as the Lal-Bal-Pal trio). The suppression of popular forces both in British India and in the Indian States was at its height. The Mysore Government warned him under the Mysore Press Act.

Manjappa took the vow of celibacy on 25th July, 1910. He felt that marriage would come in the way of his public activities. Accordingly he changed his food habits also. He abjured salt, sour and spicy food, and wheat. He took rice, milk, and germinating Bengal gram. Later on this was supplemented by a little ghee and vegetables. As he lived alone, he cooked his own food. He finished his meal before sunset. After a short walk, followed by a brief visit to his friend Balappa's shop, he would read till 11 p.m. All this was calculated to make his life of celibacy less difficult. In 1913 his mother joined him. She did not approve of his food habits, but she knew him too well to try to change them. In 1914 his interest turned towards the problems of yoga, rebirth and God. In this year Tilak was released, and Manjappa went to Poona to seek his permission personally for translating *Gita Rahasya* into Kannada, and to seek his views on the issue of rebirth. The conversation did not satisfy the young man, but Tilak suggested that he would answer him in writing if he (Manjappa) left a written note of his views. Tilak never wrote his answer. In this year Manjappa attended the Congress session in Madras. The following year *Dhanurdhari* ceased publication, owing to lack of finance.

Manjappa's mind now turned to the need for books on modern subjects in Kannada. As part of his attempt to meet this need, he published in 1915 *Swatantra Siddhanta*, which proved to be a popular success. In the same year he had a glimpse of Gandhiji for the first time. In the following year he published *Buddhiya Matru* from Sirsi. This too became a best-seller. In

1917 he was drawn to Mrs. Besant's Home Rule movement, but as he was bereft of his paper there was little he could do about it. In 1919 Mahatma Gandhi started his activities in right earnest, and Manjappa brought out a volume containing a sketch of Gandhiji's life and a few of his articles. This volume was also a success. He made up his mind to publish one book at least every year, and the remarkable fact is that he did live on the income from the sale of his books—an unusual achievement at any time.

Coming under the spell of Gandhiji, Mysore took enthusiastically to the khadi programme. Manjappa gave up the use of mill cloth on 1st August 1920, and began to wear khadi. It is a measure of his independence that he disagreed with the idea of making bonfires of foreign cloth. He held the very sensible view that such cloth should be given to the poor, thus supporting Andrews against Gandhiji. His mother had misgivings about his khadi activities, and she feared that he might run into trouble with the Government. So fierce was his honesty that he confesses in his autobiography that he felt that it would be good if his mother died before he got into trouble. This drove him to take special care of his health. In 1921 he mooted the idea of the "Rashtra Jeevana" publication series. The plan was to publish four books every year. The patrons were those who paid an initial sum of Rs. 25, and they were to be given the books free. Dodda Adivappa Kubasad of Hirekerur came forward with a contribution of Rs. 700. The first year produced a rich harvest, which included Manjappa's own important work *Bharatiyara Desha Bhakti*, his *Veerasaiva Samaja Sudharane*, and the four parts of Swami Ramanand Tirth's lectures.

In the twenties Indian politics was dominated by Gandhiji. When Gandhiji was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment in 1922, Manjappa was not as powerfully affected as he had been in 1908 when Tilak was arrested. But Manjappa's evaluation of Gandhiji was very high, and he considered March 18, 1922 to be the beginning of a new era, the Gandhian era. He was inspired with a missionary zeal, and preached the gospel of satyagraha in his own Karwar district. At Sirsi, Kumta, Honnavar, Gokarna, Ankola, Geresoppa and Siddapur, he expounded the nine tenets of Gandhism. He formed a Satyagraha Samaj whose membership was open to anyone, without the barriers of caste and community, who subscribed to the nine ideals Gandhiji had formulated at Sabarmati—Satya, Ahimsa, Brahmacharya, Asteya, Aparigraha, Aswada, Nirbhaya, Swadeshi and Asprisyanivarana. The mem-

bers were required to use khadi, to eschew untouchability, and to practise kindness to animals and men. Since its aim was not political, it was hoped to attract a wide membership. All these activities of Manjappa received the assistance, encouragement and blessings of Shri Mrityunjaya Mahaswami. In 1922 he stepped for the first time on the soil of the Nizam's territories, when he attended, with Swamiji, the Veerasaiva Sabha at Itagi. He impressed the people there to a considerable extent. This year came out his *Stree Neeti Sangraha* and the fifth part of Swami Ramanand Tirth's lectures. He took the initiative in organizing the Veerasaiva youth at Bagalkot under the presidentship of Shriman Kambli. Incidentally it almost proved to be a fatal year for him when he narrowly avoided drowning at Aihole.

His search for the basic principles of religion led him to compare Gandhiji's tenets with those enshrined in Islam, Christianity and Buddhism, in his book *Mahatma Gandhi Praneeta Satyagraha Dharma*. He confessed that the ideal of khadi could not be supported by any of the scriptures. His joy knew no bounds when he discovered that the 21st injunction of his own Veerasaiva faith clearly implied support for khadi. The injunction in question declared that a true Lingayat should wear cloth woven by a true believer who does not use chimney pipes in its making! This discovery had the added advantage of attracting the Lingayats to the Gandhian ideal. His *Satyagraha Dharma* (1922) incorporated this idea. It also contained a declaration of intellectual independence in the statement: "Though I follow the Satyagraha Dharma of the Mahatma, I do not agree with all his views. I cannot accept many of his views on Hinduism. I do not agree with him on the issue of Swarajya. Therefore I am not a member of the Congress." He sought to purge the Gandhian ideals of their political association and give them a purely ethical and religious content. On such ideological foundations he established in Hubli his Satyagraha Samaj on 18th September 1922. In organizing it Manjappa derived some help from Dr. Hardikar. The president of the Samaj was Saha Visanji Seth, its treasurer being Alur Nagappa of Sirsi, and its secretaries H. Narayana Sarma and Manjappa himself. The emblem of the Samaj was a map of the world with an inset of the spinning wheel. Its aims and objectives were published in English also.

The work of the Samaj was to be complemented by an ashram which would train preachers for the propagation of the Gandhian ideals. The ashram was to be on the lines of the

Sabarmati Ashram. His friend Bondade Balappa gave him some land on the bank of the Tungabhadra near Harihar for the purpose. It was a modest set of two buildings, quite in keeping with its ideal of simple living. Its building had cost in all Rs. 375 and 14 annas. Financial help came from Balappa and Alur Nagappa. The shift of the Ashram signalled a painful severance from Davangere, which had been the centre of his activities for about 17 years. The entry into the Ashram, accompanied by a little ceremony of speech-making, took place on 26th March 1923. The break with the earlier life was symbolised by a change of dress. He gave up the use of metal, and replaced his silver linga by a sandal one. His possessions comprised a small timepiece, a small mirror, some eight or ten kitchen utensils, some books, and four or five boxes of various sizes. His principle was to stock the Ashram only with provisions adequate for a week. There was some stock of beaten rice, jaggery, groundnuts and dried cocoanut for guests. The routine of the Ashram was as follows : waking up at 4.0 a.m., gardening from 4.0 a.m. to 6.0 a.m., devotional singing from 8.0 a.m. to 9.0 a.m., spinning from 9.0 a.m. to 10.0 a.m., meals from 10.0 a.m. to 11.0 a.m. ; 11.0 a.m. to 1.0 p.m., correspondence and newspaper reading ; 1.0 p.m. to 3.0 p.m. gardening ; 5.0 p.m. to 6.0 p.m. evening meal and rest ; 6.0 p.m. to 7.0 p.m. devotional singing ; 7.0 p.m. to 9.0 p.m. writing of books and 9.0 p.m. to 4.0 a.m. sleep. If guests arrived, there could be slight variations, but in any case, the period of spinning and the evening meal were adhered to. The problem of getting trainees was serious since the rigour of the routine was severe. His mother joined him on 22 April, 1923. Besides the Ashram routine, Manjappa visited the surrounding villages with his one-stringed musical instrument. He spoke to the rural folk in the way they could understand. He sang songs on satyagraha, preached the virtues of khadi, and exhorted them to abandon evil habits like alcoholic drink, tea and smoking. Shri Mrityunjaya Swami took an interest in the work, and once held a religious discourse in the Ashram. Shri Kumarswamiji of Hangal also visited it and helped it financially.

The Ashram life left a good deal of time for reading and writing. He could write books on satyagraha, brahmacharya, ahimsa and khadi. He also composed verses on satyagraha, and collected them into the volume *Satyagraha Padyavali*. These publication ventures were financially assisted by Shri Gurumathakal, Shri Shantaveera Swami, Seth Rustomji Bhai Punegar and the Bagalkot public. The same year saw the publication of an

account of the Indian travels of the British M.P., Keir Hardie, and a life of the Buddha. From 1915 to 1923 Manjappa had published 15 books in some 23 thousand copies. Then he undertook the writing of a life of Shri Basaveshwara on scientific historical lines in the face of considerable opposition from orthodox quarters. Meanwhile there was an attempt to discredit him in an article in *Mysore Star* of 17th June 1923, by a writer signing himself "Odanadi". Manjappa was pained, but chose to ignore it. However, his wellwishers and admirers defended him. Then on 6 August, 1923, came another calamity, this time from the heavens above. An unprecedented rainstorm flooded the Ashram. Fighting against time he managed to rescue his mother and books from the flood.

During 1922 to 1923, single-handed he spread the ideals of Gandhiji, especially the khadi ideal, all over the Karnataka parts of the then Bombay Presidency. As always, the ethical and religious elements of Gandhism drew him most. It was at the end of one of those lecture programmes on Gandhism that Gangadhar Rao Deshpande called him the "Karnataka Gandhi". The Karnataka Provincial Congress met at Bijapur on 18th November, 1923, under the presidentship of C. Rajagopalachari. It was also attended by Sarojini Devi and Maulana Muhammad Ali. During the conference Manjappa made a speech which it was feared would offend the authorities to the extent of inviting arrest. The fear turned out to be unfounded. Manjappa himself presided, after some persuasion, over the Dharwar District Congress Conference at Haveri on 24th November 1923, though he was not a Congressman. In his address he advocated the cause of khadi, and advised the people to feed the untouchables, instead of the Jangams or Brahmins, on auspicious occasions. He assisted a friend of his, Shri Puranik, in his attempts to launch the journal *Lokamata* at Hubli.

When Gandhiji was released in March 1924, Manjappa decided to spend some time at the Sabarmati Ashram. Armed with a letter of introduction from Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Manjappa went to Sabarmati. The AICC was two weeks ahead, and Gandhiji was rather busy. A stream of political leaders was pouring in all the time. It was difficult to get time to talk to Gandhiji, but otherwise he found the Ashram routine quite congenial. When he did get a chance to talk to him, he raised the issue of rebirth. Speaking from the depths of his faith, Gandhiji declared, "I am as certain of the existence of rebirth as I am of the existence of the Sabarmati river flowing here." When

pressed for proof, Gandhiji could only say that his belief was not amenable to any intellectual process of argument. They also discussed the Gandhian principle of Asteya. Gandhiji remarked that even though a thing may not be of use to its owner, it amounted to stealing it if one used it without paying for it. The discussions with Gandhiji confirmed Manjappa in his conviction that what cannot be intellectually apprehended cannot be argued, and hence a belief in it cannot be rationally founded. He attended the All-India Congress Committee, and was carried away by the fiery oratory of Deshbandhu C. R. Das. He spent another week at the Ashram, and after the small mishap of boarding a wrong train, he arrived at Baroda. Here he saw the Museum and the Library, and asked himself why such institutions could not be established in Karnataka. In fact, he did try to interest the trustees of the Sirasangi Fund in the idea. Besides Gandhiji's ideal of action, Manjappa brought back from Sabarmati a spindle made of brick, a gift from Maganlal Gandhi. Soon he was joined by a young Chitpavan Brahmin, Lakshman Rao Bhide, who aspired to be an inmate of his Ashram. He proved to be a great help to Manjappa.

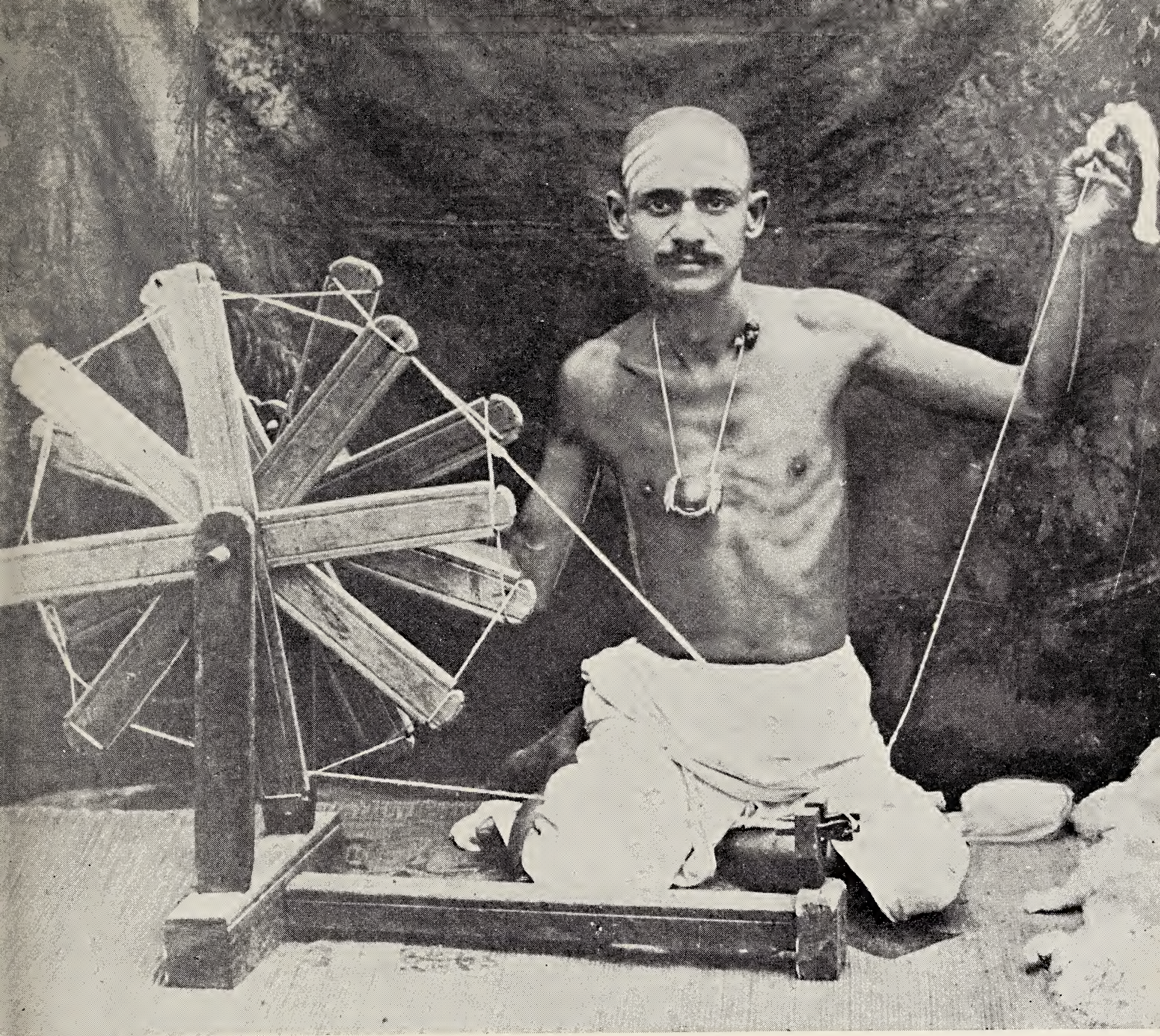
The All-India Congress Session at Belgaum in 1924, under Mahatma Gandhi's presidentship, offered Manjappa an opportunity to express his genius in more than one way. He trained a volunteer corps at his Ashram, called it Basaveshwara Seva Dal, and took it to the Congress Session. At about this time he had published his *Basava Charithe*, a pioneering work informed by the modern spirit of historical enquiry but frowned upon by the adherents of the orthodox, puranic approach. He saw to it that the Congress Session coincided with the publication of a booklet in Hindi and Marathi entitled *Satyagrahi Basaveshwar* which he got written by Lakshman Rao Bhide. He presented the leaders assembled copies of the booklet. Sambhaji Gangadharappa had borne the cost of printing it. He persuaded Gandhiji to attend a Veerasaiva meeting. It was also attended by Sarojini Devi. Before the meeting was convened, Manjappa gave the Mahatma some account of "Satyagrahi Basaveshwar", and suggested that the khadi principle was embodied in the tenets of Veerasaivism.

A few months later Manjappa lost his mother. At first he looked unruffled, but the following day the memory of the calamity broke him down. In 1927 he shifted to Alamatti, on the bank of Krishna, where he started his Vidyalaya. This became the centre of his activities in the last twenty years of his life. The school was craft-centred and sought to bring education and

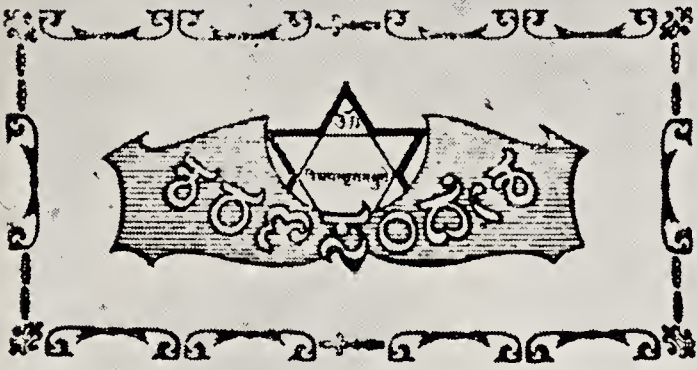
life closer. It was from here till he died that he edited the journal *Sarana Sandesha*. His preoccupation with public lectures and publications continued till he died in harness on 31-1-1946. He had published over fifty books and had delivered countless public lectures all in causes in which he genuinely believed. Thus at the age of 62 came to a close this rich, fruitful and memorable career of a man to whom life was work, and work worship.

The problem of estimating the contribution of a man who was variously and fruitfully active all his life is a formidable problem. However, there is no denying, as in the case of Gandhiji, the fact that the man was greater than the sum-total of his activities and achievements. The man himself presents a complex unity of many aspects. He was a saint who entered public life to purify it, not only by words, but by deeds. He was a religious man who could look at his faith in the light of cold reason and even in a scientific spirit. He was a politically influential figure, who to the end refused to be political in a narrow sense. He was a writer whose subjects ranged from the individual to the universe. He was a visionary who did not shun the world. His tenacity of purpose, his sincerity, his devotion to self-chosen ideals, the purity of his heart and the sharpness of his mind were amazing indeed. The key to his success as a man of action was self-discipline and the ability to persuade others with his moral influence. Men of action do not always exercise their intellect with real keenness. But Manjappa, notwithstanding his impressive practical achievements, had a mind which was razor-sharp. He was a public personality who did not court popularity. In sum, it was a great life and a rich life, a life that refused to be contained within conventional narrow categories.

From 1906 to 1946, from the agitation against the division of Bengal to the intensified struggle for freedom in the forties, Manjappa ceaselessly toiled to educate the masses politically. But it has to be clearly understood that he did not interpret the term "political" narrowly. Under it may be included his comprehensive attempt to stimulate an active sense of nationalism. To this purpose he undertook lectures, especially in the countryside. His approach was essentially constructive, and his emphasis was ethical and religious. He would carry with him a one-stringed instrument, sing nationalistic songs, and exhort the rural folk to give up the evil habits of drinking tea and coffee, and smoking. In particular, he preached Gandhian ideals, especially the khadi ideal. He wrote books which awakened the people to a sense of their national greatness. There was no section of the public



The Messenger of Freedom.



ಶರಣ ಶಂದೇಶ
ಗಾಂಧಿ

ಶಾ. ಶ. ೧೨೫೬ ನೆಯ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ ಬೃ||೧೨ ಸೋಮವಾರ.

ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯೇನೋ ಬೇಕು; ಆದರೆ ಮಾಡುವವರಾರು?

ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅದ್ಭುತವಾದ ವಿಚಾರಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯಾಗುತ್ತಲಿದೆ. ಹಿಂದುಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಆ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯ ಅಲೆಗಳು ಏಳುತ್ತಲಿವೆ. ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯೆಂದೇ ಶಾಂತಿಯುಕ್ತವಾದ ಅಹಿಂಸಾ ಮೂಲಕ ಸಂಭವಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರವು ಇಚ್ಛಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆಯೆಂದಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಹಿಂದುಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ವಿಚಾರಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯಾಗಬೇಕೆಂತಲೂ ಹಿಂದು ಜನಾಂಗದ ಸುಶಿಕ್ಷಿತ ವರ್ಗವು ಅಪೇಕ್ಷಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ.

ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಮೂಢಾಚಾರಗಳೂ, ಧರ್ಮಗುರುಗಳ ಬಲಾತ್ಕಾರ ಹಿಂಸೆಗಳೂ, ಅನರ್ಥಕಾರಿಯಾದ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ರೂಢಿಗಳೂ ಬಹು ಜನರಿಗೆ ಬೇಕಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟುಬಿಡಲು ಅಸಂಖ್ಯಾರು ಆತುರರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ವಿಧವಾದ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯೇನೋ ಮಧ್ಯಮ ತರದ ಸುಶಿಕ್ಷಿತ ಜನಾಂಗಕ್ಕೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಅದನ್ನು ಮಾಡುವವರಾರು?

ಸಮಾಜದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠರೆಂಬವರಿಗೆ ಈ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯು ಬೇಕಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದರಿಂದ ತಮ್ಮ ಘನತೆಗೌರವ ಸುಖ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯಗಳು ಲೋಪವಾಗುತ್ತವೆಂದು ಇವರು ಈ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯನ್ನು ವಿರೋಧಿಸುವರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಸಮಾಜದ ಅಶಿಕ್ಷಿತವಾದ ಜನ ಸಮೂಹಕ್ಕೆ ಇನ್ನೂ ತನ್ನ ಅಭಿಮಾನಿಯ ಮತ್ತು ಕಷ್ಟನಷ್ಟಗಳ ಅರಿವುಂಟಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಸಮಾಜದ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠ ವರ್ಗವು ಆ ಅಜ್ಞ ಸಮೂಹವನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ಕಡೆಗೆ ಖಿನ್ನಗೊಂಡಿದೆ. ಈಗಿನ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯ ವಿಚಾರಕರಂಗಗಳು ಜನ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರವೇಶಿಸಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಆ ಮೇಲಣ ವರ್ಗವು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸುತ್ತಿದೆ ಎಲ್ಲ ಮತಮತಗಳ ಗುರುಗಳೆಂಬವರ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಒಂದು ಜನ ರಂಗದ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿ ಸಮೂಹವು ಸಿದ್ಧಗೊಂಡಿದೆ. ತೋರುವ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕ ಕಾರಣಂತೆ ಈ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಿತ ವರ್ಗವು ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಂದು ಸಮಾಜದ ಕೋಟ್ಯಾಂತರ ಜನರನ್ನು ಸಿಕ್ಕಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅವರರೂ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ವಿಚಾರ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಗೆ ಬಲವನ್ನು ನೀಡುವುದಾಗಿದೆ.

ಬಂಡವಾಳಗಾರರ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥದಿಂದ ಕೊಲೆಕೊಂದು ಸಂಭವಿಸುವಂತೆ ಅಳರಸರ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥದಿಂದ ಪ್ರಜೆಗಳು ಮೂರುಸಹವಂತೆ ಗುರುಗಳೆಂಬವರೇ ವೇದವಲಾದ ಜಾತಿಯ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಿತ ವರ್ಗವರ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥದಿಂದ ಭಾವಿಕರಾದ ಜನಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರು ಒಲುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆವಕಾರಣ ಸಾಂಪತ್ತಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಕೀಯ ವಿಚಾರ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಗಳು ಹಿಂದುಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಎಷ್ಟು ಅವಶ್ಯಕವೋ ಅಷ್ಟೇ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ವಿಚಾರ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯೂ ಅತ್ಯಗತ್ಯ. ಇಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲ, ಹಿಂದುಸ್ಥಾನದ ರಕ್ಷಣಾಳಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತುಂಬಿರುವ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಪ್ರವೃತ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಈ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ವಿಚಾರಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯಾದ ಎನಾ ಅರ್ಥಕ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಕೀಯ ವಿಚಾರ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಸ್ಥಿರತ್ವವು ಬರಲಾರದೆಂದೇ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು.

ರಶಿಯಾ ದೇಶದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಸಾಂಪತ್ತಿಕ ಪರಿವರ್ತನಗಳಾಗಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ವಿಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಅತ್ಯದ್ಭುತವಾದ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲವೆ? ತುರ್ಕಿಸ್ಥಾನದ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯನ್ನು ಮಾಡುವಾಗ ಕೇವಲ ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯರಂತೆ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಮೂಢಾಚಾರ ವಿಚಾರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯನ್ನುಂಟುಮಾಡುವುದು ಅವಶ್ಯಕವಾಗಿ ಕೊರಲಿಲ್ಲವೆ? ಅದುದರಿಂದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ನಿಜವಾದ ಉನ್ನತಿಯು ಸಂಭವಿಸಿ ಅದು ಸ್ಥಿರಗೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ವಿಚಾರಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯು ಅತ್ಯವಶ್ಯಕವೆಂದೇ ಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಈ ಸತ್ಯ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತವು ಈ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಜನರಿಗೆ ಮನವರಿಕೆಯಾಗಿ ಹಿಂದುಗಳ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ತಪ್ಪು ಆಚಾರವಿಚಾರಗಳನ್ನು ತಪ್ಪಲು ಅಲ್ಲಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಲು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಗಳು ಫಲಗಾಣಬೇಕು? ಈ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ವಿಚಾರಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯನ್ನು ಹೇಗುಂಟುಮಾಡಬೇಕು? ಇಂಥ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯೇನೋ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಈಗ ಅತ್ಯವಶ್ಯಕವೇ ಆಗಿದೆ. ಅದನ್ನು ಅಸಂಖ್ಯಾರು ನಿರೀಕ್ಷಿಸುತ್ತಲೂ ಇದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಅದನ್ನು ಮಾಡುವವರಾರು?

ಹಿಂದಿನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜರಿಂದಲೂ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಿಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಪರಿವರ್ತನೆಗಳು ಸಂಭವಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದವು. ನಾನಾ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯಗಳು ಹೀಗಾಗಿಯೇ ಆಯಾಯ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಯುಕ್ತಕಂಡಂತೆ ಏರ್ಪಟ್ಟವು. ಈಗ ಆ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಒಂದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಅಧಿಕಾರವೂ ಉಳಿದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದು ಪ್ರಜಾಪ್ರಭುತ್ವದ ಕಾಲ. ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಸೂತ್ರವು ಹೇಗೆ ರಾಜರ ಕೈಯಿಂದ ಪ್ರಜೆಗಳ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬರಲಾರಂಭಿಸಿದೆಯೋ ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಸೂತ್ರವೂ ಗುರುಗಳೆಂಬವರ ಕೈಯಿಂದ ಶಿಷ್ಯರ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬರಬೇಕು.

ಶಿಷ್ಯರು ಸಂಘಮೂಲಕ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ವಿಚಾರ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯ ಕಾರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಕೈಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು. ಅಳರಸರ ಕೈಯಿಂದ ಅಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ಕಿತ್ತುಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಮತ್ತು ಬಂಡವಾಳಗಾರರ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥಕ್ಕೆ ಬಲಕೊಡಲು ಹೇಗೆ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಮತ್ತು ಕೂಲಿಕಾರರ ಸಂಘಗಳು ಏರ್ಪಡುತ್ತಲಿದ್ದು ಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳನ್ನು ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಲಿವೆಯೋ ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಗುರುಗಳೆಂಬವರ ಮತ್ತು ಜನ್ಮದಿಂದಲೇ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠತ್ವವನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿರುವವರ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಬಲಾತ್ಕಾರದ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ಸೆರೆಮಾಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕವಾದ ಆಯಾಯ ಮತೀಯ ಶಿಷ್ಯ ಸಂಘಗಳೂ ಏರ್ಪಡಬೇಕು.

ಈ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಒಂದುಗೂಡಿದ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುವಂತೆ ತಮ್ಮ ತಪ್ಪುಮತಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಅನೇಕ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ತಪ್ಪು ಆಚಾರವಿಚಾರಗಳನ್ನು ತೆಗೆದುಹಾಕಲು ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕವಾದ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಸಂಘಗಳು ಏರ್ಪಡಬೇಕು. ಮತ್ತು ಒಂದು ಏಕಗೊಳಿಸಿದ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಸಂಘದ ಬೆಂಬಲವು ಸ್ಥಿರವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಇದು ಈ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಲಕ್ಷಣವಾಗಿದೆ.

A leader article of "Sharana Sandesha," a Kannada weekly, in which the Editor emphasises the need for a revolution in thought.



ಮುಂಬಯಿ ಇಲಾಖೆಯ ರೈತರಸಂಘದ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾದ
ಶ್ರೀ ವಲ್ಲಭಭಾಯಿ ಪಟೇಲ
ಇವರ ಸನ್ನಿಧಿಗೆ

ಶ್ರೀಯುತ ಸರದಾರ ವಲ್ಲಭಭಾಯಿಯವರೇ,

ಸದ್ಗುಣ ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಿಂದ ಸ್ವಾಸ್ಥ್ಯವು ಪ್ರವಾಹದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ನಗರಕ್ಕೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಅಗಲವು ಸಮಾಗರಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಂಥ ಪುಣ್ಯದರ್ಶನ
ಯಲ್ಲಿ ಲೋಕೋತ್ತರವಾದ ಮುನೀಶ್ವರಿಯು ಅಭ್ಯಾಸದೊ ಸಭಾಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾದ ಅದ ಸಾಧ್ಯವು ನಮ್ಮ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ನಮ್ಮ ನಗರದ ಛಾಂದ್ರವರ
ಸರವಾಗಿ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠವಾದ ಸಂವಿಧಾನ ಸ್ವಾಗತವನ್ನು ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ತಮ್ಮಂಥ ಉನ್ನತರ ದೇಶಭಕ್ತರ ವಿಷಯಕ್ಕೆ ಉನ್ನತ
ಪ್ರಾಧ್ಯಯನ್ನು ಅರ್ಪಿಸಿಯಿಂದ ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸುವುದು ಮಾಡುತ್ತ ನಮಗೆ ಅಂತರರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯದ ಅಗಲವಾದದಿಂದ ನಮಗೆ ಸಮಾಜೋ
ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಿರುತ್ತದೆ.

[illegible][illegible]

ಸರವಾಸರೇ, ಈ ನಿಮ್ಮ ಸಾರವು ಸ್ವರಾಜ್ಯವರ್ಧನೆಯೇ. ಇದು ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದೊಳಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಮೇಲ್ಮೈಯ
 ಕೆಳಗೆ ಹಾಳೆಗೆ ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಲ್ಪಡುವದೊಬದನ್ನು ನೋಡುವೇಕೆಂದೂ ಇತರರ ಜಗತ್ತು ಅಜ್ಞಾನೋಪದೇಶವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಿಸಲ್ಪಡೆ
 ಈ ನಿಮ್ಮ ಬರೆಯುವುದಿಂಥ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಮಾನ್ಯವೆಲ್ಲ ತುಂಬಿದ ಹಾರಾಡು ಉತ್ಸಾಹವು ಮಹಾಭಾರತದ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಕೆರೆಯೊಂದೆ
 ಕಾಣಿಸಿದವು ಕೆರೆಯು, ಮಾಂಸದ ಅಗುತ್ತು ನೂಲುತ್ತು, ದುಂಬಿಗೆ ಹೆಣಗಿ, ಅಜ್ಜಿರೂ ಮೂರಳೆರಡೂ ಇವುಗಳೆರಡು ಉತ್ಸಾಹವಾಗಿ
 ತುಂಬಿ ಹೋಗಿ ನಡೆದಿರ ಕ್ಷಮೆಯೇ ಇವುಗಳಂತೆಯೇ ಇವು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಗಳೇ ಇವು ಬ್ರಹ್ಮನೆಯನ್ನು ಮೆಚ್ಚಿಕೊಂಡು ಹಾಡು ಬಯಸಾ
 ರಿಗಳಾದ ಇವು ಇದೂ ಮೆರೆಯಾರಿ.

ತಾಳು ವೊನ್ನಿನ ಬಾರದೇಯು ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ತಮ್ಮ ದೇಶವಾಂಧಗತ ದೇವಾಲಯ ವಹಿಸಿದ ತಾಳಗಣಿಸ್ತೆಲ್ಲ ಈಗ
ವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷರೂ ಅಕ್ಕಮದ್ದೆ ಅದರೂ ದೇಶವಾಂಧಗತ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯವು ಜನರಾಚಾರವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಿಸಿ ಕಳವಳಿಸುತ್ತಿ ಮೂಡಿಸಿದ ತಾಳಗಣ
ತಾಳಗಣ ವಿಸಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪದವೂ ಹೇಳದೆ ಈ ಪ್ರಕರಣವನ್ನು ಹಾಗೆ ತೋರಿಸಿದವಾರಿತ್ತೆ ತಮ್ಮ ವೊನ್ನಿನ ಅಲಾಪಕತ್ವ
ಮಾಡ ಯುದ್ಧವು ಉಪಾಕ್ಷರವಾದ್ದು ಈ ವಿಷಯ ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕವಾಗಿ ಮೂಡಿಸಿದ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಗಳು ಛೇದನಕರಣ ಹಾಗೂ ಬಾಪಿ
ದಂಕರಾಚಾರ್ಯರ ಕೃಷಿ ಕರ್ಮಾ ಕೈಗಾರಿಕೆ ಉದ್ಯೋಗದ ಉಪಜೀವಿಯವರ ಕಲಹಾಗಿಯೂ ಪಾತ್ರವೆ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಉತ್ಪ
ತಿಯ ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಕೌಶಲ್ಯದವರು ಕೊಡದಿರಲೂವದೊಳು ಕಲವರು ಸೇವ್ಯವರಾಗುವವರೂ ಕೇವಲ ಸಮಾನತೆಯ ಕಳಕರಿತ
ಈ ಮಾದರಿ ಕಾಲಕರವಾಗ ಈವು ಕೌಶಲ್ಯದ ಹೊರಗೆ ನಿಂತು ಬಾಪದೇವಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಧಿಕಾರ್ಯ ಕಾರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿ
ಕೊಡಿಸಿದರಿ ಅದರಂತೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಅಶ್ವಮೇವದ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ವಿಕಲ್ಪವಾಯ ಯವರು ಅನಿರ್ದಯ ಅಭ್ಯಾಸವದವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿ ಈ
ವದೇಗತಿಯೂ ಅಭ್ಯಾಸವದವರೂ ಅಗದಾಳ ಮಾಪಕಾರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಡಿದವರು ದೇಶಕೀರ್ತನೆನ್ನು ಮಾಡುವವರ
ವದೇಗತ ಮೂರ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಳಿಕ ಉದ್ದೇಶವದವರನ್ನು ಕೊಡಿಸುವವರಾಗಿ ಒಂದುಮಾತೆಯು ಕನ್ನಡವನ್ನು ವೆತ್ತವರು
ವದೇಗತ ವಾಚನಕ ಭಾಷಣಗವದವು ತಮ್ಮ ಬರ ಹೇವಿಕತೆ ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಧನ!

[illegible]

An address given by the peasants of Karnataka at Bailhongal to Sardar Patel reproduced from Taruna Kernatak, a Daily paper.

whom he did not affect. He educated the children in the language which they could follow, and familiarised them with our great men like Gandhiji, Basaveshwar, etc. In his *Stree Neeli Sangraha*, he sought to uphold the best ideals of womanhood. For adults he compiled *Buddhiya Matu*, which ran into twenty editions. Besides writing and lecturing, he established the Satyagraha Samaj in Hubli and the Ashram near Harihar. He did more than any man to spread Gandhism in Karnataka. Thus he advanced the cause of freedom in Karnataka by popularising the Congress, though he never identified himself specifically with the Congress. Later on he veered towards the Hindu Mahasabha, but he had his disagreements with that body too. The truth is that he wanted so much to be free to be himself that it is unfair to judge him by his attachment to a particular institution or cause at a particular time. In all he did, he believed himself to be first and foremost a nationalist. The goal of his life was the comprehensive regeneration of India as a nation. His efforts to examine her past were meant to provide a basis for such regeneration. In a very real sense, every one of his activities, whatever its apparent form, may be related to this central purpose of nationalism (Rashtriya Dharma). Great indeed has been his contribution to the growth of the spirit of nationalism in Karnataka, a spirit which eventually triumphed, though Manjappa did not live to celebrate it.

Manjappa was a political and social thinker in his own right, and he brought to bear upon the political and social issues he discussed considerable originality of thought as well as historical scholarship. His thinking centred round certain social, political and economic issues. Not all of these issues were of theoretical importance, and some of them had a very temporary interest. We may briefly indicate his views on (1) nationalism, (2) Gandhism, (3) history, (4) the individual, (5) the secular state, (6) an East-West synthesis, (7) the constitutional problem. He came under the influence of Basaveshwara, Swami Ramananda Tirtha, the Arya Samaj, Tilak, Gandhiji, and Buddhism so far as the Orient is concerned, and of J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, Max Muller, and quite a good deal of the scientific literature then available. Manjappa did not have any English, and the Western influence came to him *via* Marathi.

His most important work on nationalism is *Bharatiyara Deshabhakti*, which was published in 1921. It was somewhat of a novelty in Kannada since it attempted to examine philosophically the concept of nationalism. First of all Manjappa held,

not merely as a political expedient but as a principle, that the national interest must prevail against any partial or fragmentary interest. He was a vigorous critic of all fissiparous tendencies that tended to weaken national unity. Concretely he recognised nationalism as a historical fact. This meant that each nation was the product of an evolving, historical process, and this process went on in accordance with its inner law, "the Rastriya Dharma". A nation worth the name must evolve its own language and its specific ethos. But this does not mean that a nation should shut its windows against the world. Far from it; but one should be selective in assimilating alien influences. Among the basic driving forces in India's national evolution, Manjappa considered two as most important. The first was the dominance of the religious motif in her national life. The second was the tendency towards synthesis, towards a peaceful process of absorption of foreign and hostile elements. So far as the future of India was concerned, Manjappa suggested a democratic political pattern and even the secular state. His nationalism was neither monistic nor chauvinistic. On the one hand, it did not require the repression of group life within, but it merely required that group life and individual life should not be pursued as ideals at the cost of national integration. On the other hand, his nationalism was not aggressive. It did not imply a narrow-minded love of one's own nation. Manjappa had the vision of a world state, though he did not work out its details or examine its practical implications. Manjappa was well aware that the ideal of nationalism was not indigenous to India, and that the problem of sustaining this imported ideal had to be tackled with the greatest determination.

Gandhism remained the central theme of Manjappa's life. He was one of the earliest in Karnataka to emphasize it. He was among the very few in India who devoted themselves to the constructive aspect of the Gandhian programme. He not only preached, but also seriously practised, Gandhism. He accepted the nine tenets of Gandhism, namely, satya, ahimsa, brahmacharya, asteya, aparigraha, aswada, nirbhaya, swadeshi and aspri-shyanivarane. In interpreting Gandhism Manjappa emphasised the religious and ethical aspects. He even considered Gandhiji himself to be too political in their application. Of the Gandhian ideals, khadi had a special attraction for Manjappa. The programme of self-discipline in Gandhism appealed to his ascetic temperament. He regarded Gandhiji as implementing such ideals as were adumbrated by Swami Ramananda Tirtha. He

believed Gandhism to be an eclectic creed, and compared it, in his *Mahatma Gandhi Praneeta Satyagraha Dharma*, with the basic tenets of Islam, Christianity and Buddhism. He found parallels to all the Gandhian ideals except khadi, in the scriptures of these faiths. However, he did succeed in finding religious sanction for khadi in his own Veerasaiva faith in the 21st injunction. This discovery he developed into his book *Satyagrahi Basaveshwara*. While he held Gandhiji in the highest esteem possible, he was not a blind follower. He had occasion to disagree with the Mahatma. On the question of making bonfires of foreign cloth, he disagreed with Gandhiji, and supported Andrews's stand that it should be distributed freely among the poor. He also did not agree with Gandhiji regarding Swarajya as the goal of the Congress. He had sharp differences with the Mahatma on the nature of Hinduism. He expressed his dissatisfaction with Gandhiji's term " Harijans " for the untouchables, and preferred " Adijana ". He preached the uplift of Harijans. Manjappa considered Gandhiji a better leader of the masses than Subhas Chandra Bose.

There is evidence that Manjappa speculated on the nature of history. His view of history is a compound of two distinct theories, one that history is cyclical and the other that history is linear and progressive. The cyclical theory is invoked to explain world history. Both these theories find place in his last published volume, *Echetta Bharata* (Awakened India), 1946, a small volume of some 60 pages packed with sweeping and daring views. Briefly, the cyclical theory assumes that nations have their ups and downs as the sea has. When a nation reaches a high point, it begins to decline. At these historical heights nations develop extreme individualism, which releases destructive selfishness. Manjappa explained India's downfall with this theory, and prophesied that she would soon rise with her political independence. The linear theory assumes that world history moves in a progressive direction. The world, he believed, had progressed from a religious phase to an economic phase, from a phase in which public power was personalised to a phase in which public power is nationalised. For instance, the battle in the Ramayana was fought around two persons, Rama and Ravana, whereas the Second World War was fought around nations. Even Hitler was a mere figurehead for the German nation. On the whole Manjappa shared the historical optimism of the 19th century. As an Indian he felt that his country was on the threshold of a new era of happiness, and as a man he felt that human history was going in the right way.

Though Manjappa believed that excessive attachment to the individual self is a root-cause of national downfall, he never minimised individual freedom. He was a libertarian in his outlook. He himself refused to surrender his right to free thinking to any person or institution. Though he was a genuine disciple of Basavanna, he did not hesitate to express his honest doubts about him. None could have held Gandhiji in greater esteem or practised his ideals with greater sincerity, yet Manjappa did not hesitate to disagree with him. This was also the basis of his advocacy of toleration. He felt that nothing is worth-while unless it is backed up by genuine personal conviction. His social ideal obviously implied the individual as a basic value. Moreover, the Gandhian philosophy to which he subscribed gave the individual an important place.

Manjappa devoted considerable attention to the problem of the secular state. While he endeavoured to uphold the idea of a secular state, he was equally concerned to establish the salutary influence of religion on politics. He sought the basis of such an ideal in the very spirit of Indian history—a spirit of broad tolerance and an ethos of synthesis. But tolerance involved two issues—caste and community (in the Indian sense of religious groups). While he opposed both vehemently as sources of conflict, he was prepared to accept them on the basis of toleration. What Manjappa really objected to was neither caste nor community as such, but extreme and fanatical attitudes engendered by them. He believed that it must be possible for all groups to co-exist on a basis of mutual respect and a common political allegiance to a secular state. He preached and practised the doctrine that a good Veerashaiva could, and should, be a good Hindu and a good Indian. There was no essential conflict in being all three at the same time. However, under the impact of more egalitarian feelings, he condemned the caste system in principle. He denied that birth should be considered so very important. He opposed the practice of untouchability most vigorously. He always tended to discern the essential unity of faiths. Once in Poona, while listening to a lecture on Guru Nanak, he felt that there was nothing essential in the Sikh faith which a Veerashaiva could not accept! But if men of another faith attacked his, Manjappa was ready to fight, as he was against activities to mislead the Lingayats. He believed that caste and religious tensions would disappear under the pressure of economic progress. He believed in the trend towards the dominance of economic interest as implicit in the progressive movement of world history. In his last publish-

ed book, *Awakened India*, he prophesied that Hindus and Muslims will bury the hatchet in a free India. Though history has not confirmed his prophecy, who could have said at the time it was made that it was an absolute impossibility?

The possibility of a synthesis between the Indian and Western cultures has been a much debated question for the past century and a half in India. This question engaged the attention of Manjappa also. Like most Indians of advanced views, he was keenly aware of the difficulties it would present in practice. The problem, as he saw it, was one of assimilating what could and should be assimilated. He was an outspoken critic of those who merely aped the outward forms of Western culture. He distinguished between imitating a superficial habit and understanding and assimilating an idea. He ridiculed many Indians as Westernised in dress only but deeper down untouched by the spirit of modernism. In particular, he advocated the assimilation of the Western techniques of industrial and commercial organization, the Western capacity to carry on trustworthy business on a joint-stock basis, and the Western skill in organizing and operating public and political institutions on sound lines. He regretted that Indians had not assimilated these valuable things.

Lastly, Manjappa did consider, even if briefly, the constitutional problem of free India. This he did in his *Awakened India*. Broadly he distinguished three types of political system : constitutional monarchy, the American system of democracy, and the Russian system of dictatorship. He also defined these systems in terms, respectively, of imperialism, capitalism and socialism. He argued that free India will be influenced by them. Further, he agreed that, though the immediate influence of Britain was strong, there would arise the problem of making a conscious choice. He believed that India would do well to follow the American model, after purging it of such defects as economic inequality. He ruled out the Russian model altogether. Since the present Indian Constitution does contain some clearly American features, Manjappa should be allowed to have seen the problem with some insight. Beneath all this, he rejected totalitarianism and upheld democracy. He was aware of the defects of democracy but felt that, all in all, it was about the best system available.

In the widest sense every leader is an educator, as he is one who dedicates himself to the task of propagating certain ideals, values or ideologies. In fact, anyone with a mission is perforce an educator. Manjappa was an educator in this sense, and he

succeeded in reaching not only men but also women and children. He tried to educate the whole of Karnataka through his writings and speeches on the Gandhian and nationalist ideals. He was also an educationist, but not in the narrow sense. He was dissatisfied with the existing system of education, and experimented on his own at his Vidyalaya at Alamatti. The Alamatti Ashram was established in 1927. The school was started with public funds. The school emphasised the moral and religious aspects of education, as against the purely intellectual orientation of the ordinary school. The school was also craft-centred, and it sought to relate education to life. It was situated in a beautiful, elevated spot on a bank of the Krishna. There is a beautiful range of hills surrounding the area. The school was immensely popular for some time, but eventually public enthusiasm declined.

The first thing that strikes one about Manjappa as a writer is the sheer quantity of his output and the range of subjects he wrote about. Not only that, the range of readership was also fairly diversified. His major works such as those dealing with Gandhiji, nationalism, the Rigveda and Indian history show an original mind at work. He was also a master of a very flexible Kannada prose. It could be adapted quite adequately to different purposes. There is the deep sincerity and austere simplicity of his great autobiography, *My Thirty Years' Gift*. We have the serious style of scholarly discourse in his books on Gandhism, Basaveshwara and other themes. There is also the didactic style of this *Buddhiya Matu*. In *Awakened India* he handles political and historical themes in language which seems to suit them admirably. Finally, in his *Rigveda Sara* Manjappa writes about scientific subjects in a prose which could well serve as a model to our text-book writers. Had he chosen, he could have been a success purely as a writer.

Manjappa was all his life a journalist, but an unusual one. He began his public career as a journalist when he launched his great *Dhanurdhari* back in 1906. He remained a journalist till the end, and his last years were spent in editing, single-handed, the great journal *Sarana Sandesha*. He was not a commercial journalist. For him it was not a profession but a mission. It came in as a handy tool in the nationalistic cause which he championed. *Dhanurdhari* was started with the greatest handicaps and continued under no less handicaps. He was associated with the weekly for Veerasaiva youth, *Prabodha* of Belgaum. Jointly with R. R. Diwakar he edited *Khadi Vijaya* for about a year, then took over the sole editorship and re-named it *Udyoga*.

The main motive-force behind his journalism was, of course, nationalism. He was among the greatest nationalist editors Karnataka has produced. His journalism was characterised by selfless courage and fierce independence of mind. His writing was lively, intelligent and sharp. His editorials in *Sarana Sandesha* are testimony to his acute understanding of the national and international scenes, and his brilliant style. So great was his intellectual honesty that he refused to pander to the popular weakness for astrology, since he did not believe in it. He would sacrifice readers, rather than profess what he did not genuinely believe in. Some of his comments relating to the Second World War period are interesting still. For instance, he thought it was a mistake to have accepted office under the 1935 Act, but he felt it was a greater mistake to have backed out of office so abruptly.

It will be seen from the description given above that the contribution of journalists in Karnataka to the struggle for freedom is indeed incalculable. They formed an efficient and ever vigilant arm of the freedom fighters. It is not possible, however, to write in detail about the services of all those who contributed to the strengthening of the national movement. Their work of bringing about an awakening among the masses was also impressive. Want of space prevents us from giving a detailed account of the contribution of all these. We mention here only a few of the outstanding journalists. This does not mean that we are ignoring others whose names do not find mention here.

The names of M. Venkatakrishnaiya of Mysore, Gadigeyya Honnapurmath of Dharwar, Koujalgi Srinivas Rao and Moharay Hanumantha Rao of Bijapur, Mudvid Krishnarao, R. R. Diwakar, L. S. Patil, and V. B. Puranik of Dharwar district, M. S. Bharadwaj, P. R. Ramaiah, T. T. Sharma, B. N. Gupta, and Sitarama Sastri of Bangalore, V. S. Kamat (*Swadeshabhimani*), Ramaraya Mallya (*Satyagrahi*), K. L. Achar (*Rashtrabandhu*), A. B. Shetty (*Navayuga*), all from South Kanara district, H. C. Mudgal (*Indian Nation*), and Joachim Alva (*Forum*), who are a few of the outstanding journalists, are mentioned here. It was the effort of all these journalists and many others that helped the dissemination of news all over the country, to advance the cause of the fight for freedom. The tempo of the nationalist fight was well maintained by the nationalist press in Karnataka, and through their unstinted devotion to the country's cause the nationalist newspapers have carved out for themselves a place in the history of the country.

LITERATURE OF REVOLT

Waken ! O Mother, thy children implore thee !
We kneel in thy presence to serve and adore thee !
The night is aflush with the dream of the morrow,
Why still dost thou sleep in thy bondage of sorrow ?
O waken, and sever the woes that enthrall us,
And hallow our hand for the triumphs that call us.
Are we not thine, O Beloved, to inherit
The purpose and pride and the power of thy spirit ?
Ne'er shall we fail thee, forsake thee or falter,
Whose hearts are thy home and thy shield and thine altar,
Lo ! we would thrill the high stars with thy story
And set thee again in the forefront of glory.
Mother, the flowers of our worship have crowned thee !
Mother, the flame of our hope shall surround thee !
Mother, the sword of our love shall defend thee !
Mother, the song of our faith shall attend thee !
Our deathless devotion and strength shall avail thee !
Hearken, O Queen and O Goddess, we hail thee !

These verses, taken from the speech of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Nightingale of India, on " Self-Government for India " delivered at the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress in 1915, are a true reflection of what may be called the Literature of Revolt, which inspired millions of Indian nationals in their struggle for freedom between 1885 and 1947.

Indian literature in the pre-British period was, excluding grammatical and linguistic works, mostly religious and sectarian. From the earliest times to the 19th century, religion had a preponderant influence in Indian literature, just as in Europe, in the ancient and medieval periods, a similar situation existed. This does not mean that secular literature did not exist in India at all. Ancient poets like Kalidasa contributed to secular literature. But the bulk of literary creation in India was on religious themes. Indian poetry was often inspired by religious loyalties. Even in the case of secular literature, the convention was to propagate religious ideals in a subtle manner. Literature thus became the handmaid of religion. Poets were often saints or religious devotees. Literature was produced either under the influence of the ruler or under the magic spell of religion.

One of the important effects of the British conquest of India was a secularization of Indian literature. The Western contact brought far-reaching changes in literature. A literature of thought, prose writings, novels, short stories, blank verse, were the result of the Western impact. Indians began to use new forms of literature in Indian languages. Bengal was the first to come under the influence of Western thought and culture. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Tagore, are some of the giants of this literary renaissance. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was highly influenced by the West. He believed in the good effects of the British influence on Indians, but he dreamt of the revival of the ancient glory of India and composed the patriotic song "Vande Mataram" which was to inspire future generations in the national struggle. Tagore came under the influence of "Vande Mataram". He is reported to have first sung this song in 1896 at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress. The Age of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee paved the way for the Age of Tagore. Tagore was not only a staunch patriot but also a great humanist. Through his writings he revolutionised Indian literature and his works became a source of inspiration to authors in Bengali and other Indian languages. He is regarded as the greatest national poet of modern India. Other Indian languages similarly were influenced by Western forms of literature. In Hindi the impact of the West was manifested in the form of elegant prose at the hands of powerful writers such as Dayanand Saraswati. Men like K. Veeresalingam Pantalu and C. R. Reddy became pioneers of a literary renaissance in Telegu. Thus European and Indian scholars were responsible for a renaissance which may be said to have commenced from the second half of the 19th century.

Although English education and literary activity was in the beginning a slavish imitation by way of translations of English works into Indian languages and thus resulted in a kind of denationalization, later nationalist writings heralded a new age of revolt. Adopting the Western forms of literature, Indians began to write on Indian themes infusing patriotism and national consciousness among their readers. With the popularization of the printing press, Indian writers began to mould nationalist opinion through patriotic ballads, dramas, historical and social novels, and forceful prose. Even though they wrote literature on Puranic themes like those of the Mahabharata and Ramayana, the work was utilised to rouse patriotic feelings. The flame of nationalism was kept alive by patriotic writers.

1885 is a turning-point not only in the history of nationalism but also in the literary history of India. From 1885, or to be more accurate, from 1900, nationalist aspirations formed the theme of many writers. The early denationalization and Westernization introduced by the first effects of the British contact received a jolt and a literature of revolt or literature on Indian nationalism was inaugurated. Both the educated and semi-literate began to preach the message of nationalism and the new ideals of social equality, national unity and political freedom. Like the newspaper, literature was to be an instrument of national awakening. Indian men of letters borrowed Western techniques for propagating national and social ideas. Indian nationalists adopted Western techniques of carrying on the national movement through newspapers, platform speeches, pamphleteering, mass-meetings, political associations, etc. They copied Western modes but adopted Indian methods in bhajans, kirtanas, folk-songs, ballads, etc., to whip up the national awakening. All these forms of literature may be called literature of revolt or nationalist writing. Nationalist India, throbbing with new political and social ideals, started a new age of democratic literature.

The literature produced from 1885 onwards may be broadly classified under two headings—pro-British and anti-British. Indians were divided into two camps. The pro-British preached the value of the British connection, and the nationalist group pointed out the evils of British rule. The advent of modern means of communication permitted a quick exchange of ideas. Through cheap postal services, letters and newspapers could be circulated in a short time from one end of the country to the other. The postal service and the railway brought Indians together and they were cemented as one nation as never before. Indians came for the first time to think in terms of a common national liberation. The contribution of newspapers and nationalist writing to nationalism is noteworthy. The role of the newspapers in our national struggle is assessed in a separate chapter in this volume. Here we note the significance of patriotic writings.

Indian nationalists began to reconstruct Indian history in order to create a national consciousness. The heroes of the Ramayana and Mahabharata were extolled. Historic personalities like Ashoka, Rana Pratap, Akbar, Shivaji, the Rani of Jhansi were the subject of many books and were made familiar to the public. Indians no longer believed the hitherto distorted and

misinterpreted versions of Indian history. Under the leadership of Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, the national movement took firm root. Eminent leaders of national stature and their patriotic deeds inspired men of letters. The great sufferings and sacrifices of freedom fighters moved Indian authors. With the spread of nationalism new ideas of democracy and social justice began to flood even the rural areas. Thus Indian literature was influenced by the national struggle, while it also accelerated the national movement. Indian literature acquired a new look, breathing a spirit of national unity. In the following pages an attempt is made to show the relation between literature and the national struggle in Karnataka. The term literature is used in two senses. In a narrower sense it is restricted to pure literature claiming an aesthetic value. This category includes the usually recognised forms such as the novel, drama and poetry. A more liberal use of the term literature includes any writing. In this chapter we treat the subject in both the senses, excluding journalistic literature.

Karnataka has produced outstanding men of letters who contributed to the political and social awakening. We can consider the contribution of men of letters under four headings : (i) prose writers, (ii) poets, (iii) novelists, and (iv) writers of folk literature. Among prose writers, Hardekar Manjappa occupies the topmost place. He was a man of torrential eloquence with a passion for national service. Through his speeches and innumerable books meant for different age groups and classes, children, women, laymen and the thinking public, he roused the patriotic feelings of the people. From Davangere he wrote and published in his series "Rashtra Jeevana Grantha Male" as many as fifteen books. Some of these, such as *Stree Neeti Sangraha*, saw as many as 17 editions. Between 1915 and 1923 more than 33,000 copies of his fifteen books were sold. He was the first to write a book in Kannada on the life and the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. He wrote for the first time in Kannada a biography of Mahatma Basaveshwar, comparing the work of Basava with that of Mahatma Gandhi. Through many books and pamphlets he popularized Mahatma Gandhi's satyagraha technique and spread the gospel of nationalism. Like Swami Vivekananda, he became a political evangelist. Whether he wrote on historical or Puranic themes he interpreted events in the new spirit of the age. He later shifted his activities from Davangere to Alamatti, and published books in his new series, "Jana Jagrati". By 1936 two lakhs of copies of his books had been circulated. He published his autobiography

in Kannada in 1936. In 1946, he started a new series called "Pragati" to mark his 60th birthday. By 1946 about 5 lakhs of copies of his books had been sold, and vast numbers of people had been inspired by his eloquent speeches.

He was deeply interested in the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi and was the chief propagandist of khadi in Karnataka. At the request of Alur Venkata Rao, he wrote a book on the Science of Khadi, which was published in 1933 as the fourth book in the series "Nava Jeevan Grantha Bhandar" edited by Alur Venkata Rao.

Manjappa Hardekar is the most outstanding patriotic writer in Kannada. Through his works he enriched Kannada literature and spread enlightenment among the people. A separate volume would be required properly to narrate and assess the contribution of this eminent man to Indian nationalism. We propose here to give a few extracts from his Kannada work, *The Nationalism of Indians*, published in 1921.

Extracts from "The Nationalism of Indians"
by M. M. Hardekar (Davangere—1921)

(I)

A nation is like a ship and its people should regard themselves as fellow-passengers. If anyone bores a hole into its bottom, all of us are undone, for we are bound by a common destiny. We should not be indifferent to the fate of our countrymen. If there are many ignorant men in a country they will cause misery and injustice, and thus undermine the happiness of the wiser minority. If the number of diseased in a nation should increase, sickness will spread to the healthier few. If the number of the poor increases, they will have to live on the resources of the rich few. Unless good is made to spread sufficiently widely throughout the population of a nation, there can be no lasting good. The truth is that a nation is a system of interdependent individuals. This is why true nationalism implies the principle that everyone should strive for the physical, economic and intellectual development of the nation as a whole. In the benefit of all lies the benefit of each one of us.

While helping each other as members of a common nation, we should brush aside religious, sectarian and caste considerations. Whatever our religion, sect or caste, we all belong to one

nation. We should not promote development on any ground other than the secular, national one. Just as within a single family, individual members professing different religious opinions have equal claims to the common suffering and happiness of the family, so also different individuals of a common nation belonging to different religious orders designed to earn them bliss in the next world, have all equal claims to the nation's joys and sorrows. A true nationalist should discard any tenet or rite of his religion or caste, if it goes against the development of the nation as a whole. Even if, according to his religion, this might involve sin, he must be prepared to pay the price prescribed for it by his faith as punishment in the next world. For a true nationalist, it is a far finer thing to do good to his countrymen in this world and rot in the next than to do them harm here and flourish in heaven. This is, indeed, a cardinal duty of those who love their nation truly and purely.

(II)

In the ancient days Indians did not live like uncivilised people in jungles. In days of yore they were far ahead of the rest of mankind in many things—in sciences, fine arts and civilised amenities. When other nations were steeped in barbarism, the highest knowledge of the Self was disseminated in the land of the Aryans by the great Upanishads. Then lived great giants of metaphysical speculation like Kapila, great thinkers on the principles of social relations like Manu, great teachers of moral values like Vyasa, and great monarchs like Rama who looked after the welfare of their subjects with the affection of parents. Hence it is very surprising that India, which gave birth to many sciences and arts as well as reforms, should have failed to develop nationalism. Many reasons are advanced to explain this curious fact. Some aver that the very vastness of the land prevented the development of nationalism. This is not the whole truth. Others say that the fact that the land never came under a single administrative authority was the reason. This too is not a very satisfactory explanation. For instance, it is worth pondering that, though split up into kingdoms, there was no loyalty even to one's particular kingdom. There are some who maintain that the growth of too many religious and caste groups was to blame. This again is only part of the truth, because we have instances of people belonging to territories united by one religion refusing to rally round the rulers belonging to their own faith. Another

theory is that the predominance of agriculture was the cause, since a commercial social set-up could foster nationalism better. This is not very convincing because we know that India did in the past prosper in the field of commerce, yet this led to no development of nationalism. However, all the above factors were secondary, more obstacles to the spread of nationalism than preventers of its birth. It is an established fact that nations, like individuals, are driven by some distinctive inner urges, the urge to knowledge or by the ideal of action. In the nations inspired by the former, speculative philosophy reaches great heights. In those that are action-oriented, political science and physical sciences develop. In the latter, nationalism develops more easily. Ancient Indians, essentially theoretically-oriented, turned to speculative philosophy, neglecting political science. It is more satisfactory to explain our lack of nationalism in the past as associated with our characteristic obsession with thought and philosophy. (Chapter III).

Gandhi Literature

“With the Gandhian revolution in our political life there came about also a revolution in our writing. Gandhi was not in sympathy with the view that art or literature was absolutely autonomous and was far more inclined to make it a handmaid to life.”—*Indian Writing in English*, by Dr. K. R. S. Iyengar, 1962.

With the advent of the Gandhian Age in Indian politics, a very considerable literature in Indian languages grew up round his life and activities. Kannada had its share in the harvest of Gandhian literature. We may mention here the services of the following publishers : Nava Jeevan Grantha Bhandar, edited by Alur Venkat Rao, Dharwar ; Subodha Publishers, edited by Ramarao ; Minchina Balli Publishers, edited by Burli Bindu Madhav, Dharwar ; Gandhi Sahitya Bhandara, Bangalore ; Gandhi Sahitya Sangha, Bangalore ; Rashtreeya Vangmaya Trust, edited by R. R. Diwakar, Hubli ; Rashtriya Sahitya Samiti, edited by Ramaswami Iyengar, Gorur ; and Bharat Bhakta Grantha Mala, Hubli. Among the individual authors, the following names should be mentioned : R. R. Diwakar, Siddavanahalli Krishna Sharma, K. F. Patil, Gorur Ramaswami Iyengar, D. K. Bharadwaj, Burli Bindu Madhava Rao, R. S. Aradhya, and Gurunath Joshi.

Among the several works S. K. Sharma wrote, *Wardha Yatre*, *Parnakuti*, *Kuladeepakaru*, are an addition to the treasures of

Kannada prose. R. R. Diwakar's *Sereya Mareyalli* is unique as literature on jail life. K. F. Patil's biography of Subhas Chandra Bose and his other works are an excellent contribution to national literature. R. S. Aradhya's biographies of nationalist leaders are good studies of individual leaders. Burli Bindu Madhava's *Steps to Freedom* is equally inspiring. Bodda Bhaveppa Moogi's publications on the history of Kittur are valuable.

Of these prose writers on nationalism and Gandhism, the contribution of Siddavanahalli Krishna Sharma is significant. He was one of the finest contributors to Gandhi literature in Kannada. His work *Deep Male* is a very impressive book containing life-sketches of Indian patriots. His style is simple but very powerful and effective. His books in fact are monuments of the Gandhian impact on contemporary Indian literature. With this kind of writing the message of Gandhi went to the masses and the Kannada language flourished. His volume *Wardha Yatre* (Gandhi Sahitya Sangha, Malleswaram, Bangalore, 1939) gives a vivid pen-picture of Gandhiji and his disciples and associates as they lived in the Ashram at Wardha. Later on, Shri Sharma followed this account up with his *Parnakuti* (Gandhi Sahitya Bhandara, Bangalore, 1942), a close-up study of Gandhiji at Sevagram. Both these volumes contributed substantially to the growth of nationalism in Karnataka. Two extracts, one each from these volumes, are given below, and they are a fair indication of the power of Sharma's pen.

(I)

“ the atmosphere in the Wardha Ashram was not only deeply dignified ; it was relieved by occasional interludes of lighter moods and amusing situations. And Gandhiji had a keen sense of the humorous Only those who have experienced it know how the master could season and shape those who came into close contact with him. He could draw out nobility from the meanest men. He had the genius for encouraging other people's hearts to open out. Those who were afraid could seek his shelter. Those who came near him were spell-bound. In the darkness of ignorance and fear, his blessings and sympathy shone like a lamp. None has carried on agitation on so large a scale as he, and that too, in a country as vast as India and on the basis of non-violence. Who but Gandhiji could have the courage to determine to wipe out the scourge of untouchability, which had besmirched our record for thousands of years ? Who but he

could have become an uncompromising advocate of simple living in an age tempted by gold and other luxuries, and who but he could have championed the doctrine of hard work in an age running after the ideal of leisure and comfort created by machinery? Though his life was so much on the public plane, he attached the greatest importance to the life of the individual. His supreme interest was in the life of the ordinary folk. The people were the star of his life. The fundamental basis of his struggle was neither economic nor physical : it was the bedrock of truth. It was soul-force, not brute force. In his life he attached as much importance to the search for individual values as to the search for truth. Like the proverbial swan, he knew the art of separating milk from water. He was ever on the look-out for men who could pass his rigorous test. He was ever ready with a garland for those who could pass the test” (*Wardha Yatre*, pp. 151 to 153).

(II)

“ Gandhiji is not just an individual. He was an institution in himself. He was in the political field what Jakkannachari was in the field of architecture. Jakkannachari may have been an individual, but he represents to-day a style of architecture. It is the easiest thing to describe Gandhiji, the individual, but it is difficult to describe his elusive influence. Countless huts all over the country cherish his picture. Countless mouths constantly send up in chorus the words, “ Mahatma Gandhiki Jai ”. In huge meetings, innumerable people have awaited his arrival, all hope concentrating in their eyes. Their very breath seems to be suspended in their enthusiasm for him. They are absolutely silent, no change disturbing their attitude of eager expectancy. Having emptied their mind of every thought but that of him, regarding each moment as eternity, they sit waiting for the Mahatma. Look, what has happened. The entire crowd stands up as one man. Yes, it is Gandhiji’s arrival that causes it. For the people of India Gandhiji is a veritable charisma. People touch their eyes with the dust Gandhiji walks upon. Millions flank the paths of Gandhiji, waiting for a glimpse of him, and just one glimpse is sufficient to redeem them of their sins. They worship him as a god, as a Buddha or a Rama, as an incarnation of God. This homage comes even from beyond the bounds of India itself. This frail, dark-eyed ascetic’s name rings round the world. Even common men abroad, porters on platforms and attendants at the Vatican, know of him and identify India with

him. It requires rare courage to declare that one has unravelled the mystery that Gandhiji is. As one tries to construct a mental picture of him, one sees not one, but many images. One is moved by many feelings. Sarojini Devi has said that Gandhiji has many faces. Some cherish the image of Gandhiji the humourist, and some of Gandhiji the lively conversationalist. For some he is a pure ascetic ; for others he is a model householder. Some call him an astute politician, while others call him a blind devotee of the khadi cult. While some praise him as a man of the world, a man of action, others sneer at him as a lunatic. Every man carries his particular image of Gandhiji, and all of them claim to have touched the elephant, like the blind men in the fable. The way of his activity is no less difficult to pin down. Many are the agitations, many are the fields of his activity and many are the lands that have claimed his attention. And what path was his? Was it the khadi cult, the uplift of Harijans, non-cooperation, resistance to the law, cooperation, law-making, prohibition, fasting, celibacy, or devotion to God? He possessed verily a protean personality. No wonder that the whole of India bows at his feet. There exists a peculiar and mysterious bond between Gandhi and India. No words are necessary for either of them to understand the other. The result is that Gandhiji is India, India is Gandhiji. In the humble hut of the Ashram, surrounded by his disciples and friends, sits Gandhiji in lotus-style, meditating. None is conscious of the hut or the surrounding trees. One is arrested by the face of Gandhiji, suffused with such happiness as radiates from a lotus blossom. . . . (*Parnakuti*, pp. 1-4).

Kannada literature can boast of innumerable patriotic songs. Kannada poets who came under the impact of the national movement dedicated their pens to the cause of nationalism from as early as 1908. Panje Mangesh Rao, M. Govinda Pai, K. V. Puttappa, are some of the modern Kannada poets who composed poems on the national struggle. English translations of some of their poems are given at the end of this chapter.

Panje Mangesh Rao, who was a Government servant, published his patriotic poems under his pen-name "Kavi Sishya". In 1908 he came under the influence of "Vande Mataram" and composed the inspiring poem "Tookadikeyana Kaleyadeke Kuli-tihe Geleya?" M. Govinda Pai narrates the circumstances under which this song was composed. Mangesh Rao, then a Sub-Assistant Inspector of Education for Kasargod, stayed at Manjeshwar for a month or two, collecting material for some Kannada text-

books for Messrs. Macmillan. During this period he was inspired by the "Vande Mataram" agitation and composed the song. He seems to have taken every precaution to keep it a secret. Somehow Govinda Pai and some of his friends got scent of it. They asked Mangesh Rao to recite it to them, and at last he agreed to do so. After having securely shut every door and window, he sang it in a half-hearted manner, but it was better than nothing. When further pressed, he refused to sing it slowly enough to be written down. He was afraid that the Government might learn about this song. Later, some boys did manage to take the song down. First, they persuaded him to recite it again, and then several of them wrote it out. From the different versions, the actual text of the song was salvaged. When he learnt of this, Mangesh Rao was taken aback, but there was nothing he could do about it. This stirring nationalist song did not come to public notice under the name of Panje Mangesh Rao till as late as 1947, since when it has been included in text-books and in a few collections of national songs. Another thrilling patriotic song entitled "Huttari Hadu" was composed by Panje Mangesh Rao and it appeared in 1919 over the pen-name "Kavi Sishya". The song describes in very powerful language the heroic traditions of the people of Kodagu, where Panje Mangesh Rao served the Government for some time as a teacher. He also wrote poems on the need to eradicate untouchability as a necessary step for the attainment of political freedom. He was the first modern Kannada poet to sing a song against the practice of untouchability.

The most prolific and most spirited nationalist poet of Karnataka has been K. V. Puttappa ("Kuvempu"), a product of the Malnad. Gifted poet that he is, Puttappa was moved by the epic fight for freedom and wrote powerful patriotic poems. Both Panje Mangesh Rao and Puttappa were in Government service, the latter served as Professor of Kannada in Mysore University, which was run as part of the Education Department, Government of Mysore. But this did not come in the way of his composing patriotic poems. Nor was the authorship of these poems kept secret. Puttappa was influenced by the personality and nationalist writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Aurobindo Ghosh and Mahatma Gandhi. It would be impossible to give a full account of his patriotic writings. As a composer of modern Kannada poetry and author of patriotic poems, he occupies a very high place among the Kannada poets of his period. From the beginning till the achievement of the national goal, he

wrote brilliant poems voicing the freedom urge of his countrymen. His magnificent lyrics on Satyagraha, on the personality of Mahatma Gandhi, and on the tremendous sacrifices of the people, his courageous call to march towards the goal of the freedom fighters, his passion for social reform, reveal not only the richness and versatility of his constructive poetic genius but also his deep love of liberty. No single poet in modern Karnataka has composed so many patriotic songs as he. His poetry, his novels, his prose and his dramas have inspired the younger generation. He has been called the Tagore of Modern Karnataka.

Among other poets who have contributed to nationalist poetry, the late Punimchattaya of Mangalore, D. R. Bendre, Dinkar Desai, Gopalakrishna Adiga, and Siddayya Puranik should be mentioned.

Reference must also be made to T. P. Kailasam, the popular playwright. Though he composed plays on social themes he had the highest regard for the national leaders and sympathy for the national struggle. He composed in English the following sonnet on Mahatma Gandhi, which is evidence of his profound veneration for the Mahatma.

THE RECIPE

Into a bare handful of bone and skin
 Pour just an ounce of flesh and blood :
 Put in a heart love-full as sea in flood,
 Likewise a mind profound and free from sin ;
 Fix on two jumbo ears, two goo-goo eyes ;
 Paint on a smile of babe at mother's breast ;
 Inclose a soul that caps Himavat's crest
 And speaks with tongue which honey's sweet defies ;
 The "stuffing" ? Goat's milk, soya beans and dates !
 Now, cover to brim with suffering humans' tears
 And bake this dish in gaol for umpteen years :
 Take out and 'garnish' it with pariah mates ;
 Wrap up in rags, prop up with lithe bamboo
 And serve ; The World Redeemer : Our Bapoo !

Kannada literature is not lacking in novels. B. Venkatacharya and Galaganath, contemporaries of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Rabindranath Tagore, are the most respected pioneer Kannada novelists who through their popular novels spread the message of freedom. Venkatacharya translated the novels of

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee into Kannada and placed Kannada readers under a deep debt of gratitude. Galaganath's name is a household word in Karnataka. He began his literary career at the end of the 19th century.

Venkatesh Galaganath

Venkatesh Galaganath was born in 1868 in the village of Galaganath in the Haveri taluk of Dharwar district, in the lovely vicinity of the river Tungabhadra. He had his Mulki education at Haveri, and later on he studied at the Training College in Dharwar. Though he was a teacher by profession his major pre-occupation was with writing. He died in 1942. He was a contemporary of such leading literary men in Karnataka as B. Venkatacharya, Basavappa Shastry, M. S. Puttanna and C. Vasudevayya. In all he wrote about sixty books. His writings may be broadly classified into the religious and the nationalistic. Just as Venkatacharya served the cause of freedom in Karnataka by rendering the Bengali works of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee into Kannada, Galaganath rendered patriotic Marathi works into Kannada. Influenced by the neighbouring language of Marathi, he came under the spell of Tilak and Harinarayana Apte, the Marathi novelist. He began by writing novels on the heroes of Maharashtra like Sivaji. Soon he turned to the history of his own Karnataka for themes, and wrote a series of stirring novels about the glory of Karnataka's past. Not only were the themes heroic, but the style also was cast in a heroic mould. Novels like *Madhava-karunavilasa*, *Kannadigara Karmakathe* and *Durgada Bicchugatti* aroused Kannadigas to a sense of their lost freedom and inspired them to fight to regain it. He came under the influence of the Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha quite early in his life. Through his service to the Kannada language and literature, Galaganath served the cause of nationalism. Though he was not even a graduate, he succeeded in spreading the message of love for Karnataka as well as for the country. At a time when Marathi literature had cast its spell over North Karnataka, he came as a champion of Kannada. He turned the people away from the milk of a step-mother, that is, Marathi, and gave them a taste of their real mother's milk, that is, Kannada.

In reconstructing the greatness of Karnataka's past, especially her love of freedom, he provided a basis for a vision of the future. Some of his novels like *Rana Rajasinha*, woven round the theme of Rajput heroism, stirred in the hearts of Kannadigas a profound

love for their motherland. A veteran man of letters in Kannada, T. S. Venkannayya, paid a high tribute to Galaganath on 21 June, 1915, when he wrote that Galaganath's work *Satvasara* had a salutary effect on our national character, which was marked by a serious deficiency, lack of pride in our past, sense of duty and self-discipline. But the work which exerted perhaps the greatest influence was his novel *Madhavakarunavilasa*, a historical work about the great Vijayanagar empire. This book of about 400 pages was published in 1923. The object of this novel was to depict the greatness of Madhava and his philosophy. This work contributed beyond a shadow of doubt to the growth of our national consciousness. It rang with the thrilling message of freedom. Although its historical content was sketchy and although some facts of history were covered over with puranic material, there is no question that it breathes the spirit of freedom. A sample list of its chapter-headings indicates its patriotic fervour. Some of them are, "The Meeting of Heroes", "The Growth of National Self-Consciousness", "Patriotism and Betrayal", "The Vow of the Brave", etc. Along with the exposition of religious principles, the author awakens in the reader a spirit of nationalism and love of freedom. For instance, in the novel *Satvaprabhava*, a woman is made to utter the following patriotic words to the Commander of the Karnataka army: "Just wait a while, Veera-narasing. Do not move away yet. If need be, the men and women of Karnataka would sacrifice their lives for the sake of their principles. It is not worth losing one's life for anything less. The largest claim on us is that of our motherland, for whose sake no sacrifice is too great. If loss of one's principles contributes to the freedom of one's motherland, then it is worth losing. Even if one were to gain an empire in heaven, it is not worth it if it involves loss of freedom."

Among the later novelists, the names of K. K. Shetti and Basavaraj Kattimani must be mentioned. K. K. Shetti's novel *Deshabhakta* appeared in the 1930s. In this novel is depicted the story of a London educated man who turns out to be a freedom fighter by participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement. In 1938 an English novel, *Kanthapura*, appeared from the pen of Raja Rao of Mysore. This fascinating story describes vividly the impact of Gandhiji's movement on the villages. Here the characters are divided into two camps, the ruling authority on the one hand and the satyagrahis on the other. The epic Dandi March of Mahatma Gandhi form the background. Gandhi is painted as the invisible God and the story of the fight between the

followers of Gandhi and the servants of Government is told in an impressive manner. Here are extracts from the original English novel, which speak for themselves :

Gandhi's trip to England to attend the second Round Table Conference is invested with puranic significance (as in the story "Narsiga") :

They say the Mahatma will go to the Red-man's country, and he will get us Swaraj. And we shall all be happy. And Rama will come back from exile, and Sita will be with him, for Ravana will be slain and Sita freed, and he will come back with Sita on his right in a chariot of the air, and brother Bharata will go to meet them with the worshipped sandals of the Master on his head. And as they enter Ayodhya there will be a rain of flowers.

Like Bharata we worship the sandals of the Brother saint. . .

There is also a vivid description of the soldiers and coolies being asked to walk over the prostrate satyagrahis, and many of them joining the satyagrahis instead :

. and the Police, frightened, caned and caned the coolies till they pushed themselves over us ; and they put their feet here and they put their hands there, but Rangamma shouted "Vande Mataram ! Lie down, brothers and sisters !" And we all lay down so that not a palm-width of space lay bare, and the coolies would not move, and we held their hands and we held to their feet and we held to their saris and dhoties while the rain of blows went on and on. And the police got nervous and they began to kick us in our backs and stomachs, and the crowd shouted "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai", and someone took a kerosene tin and began to beat it, and someone took a cattle-bell and began to ring it, and they cried. "With them, brothers, with them !" and they leaped and they ducked and they came down to lie beside us, and we shouted "Mahatma Gandhiki Jai ! Mahatma Gandhiki Jai !"

On the 1942 revolution, a number of novels and other kinds of works appeared in Kannada. Vasudevacharya Burli's novel *Seremaneya Shura* was published on August 15th, 1947. This is a socio-political novel describing mainly the jail experiences of political prisoners of the Quit India movement. Basavaraj Kattimani published novels, short stories, etc., on the national struggle. *Towards Freedom* is a remarkable novel on the freedom struggle. His other novel *Madi Madidavaru* is also a brilliant piece of work. Kattimani, who is known for his trenchant style, gives in these novels the inspiring story of those who took part in the freedom movement and died or suffered for the sake of

national freedom. Another novel, *Rakta Tarpana*, by T. R. Subba Rao, brings out with imagination the new spirit of 1942. Many novels appeared after 1947 on various facets of the national struggle. Mirjee Anna Rao's *Rashtra Purusha* is one such dealing with the national upheaval.

One of the most popular media for the spread of national consciousness was folk literature. Intellectual giants alone did not come under the spell of the national struggle. The national movement had a tremendous impact on the common people. Karnataka, which is well-known for its ballad literature and the tradition of popular drama, harnessed this literary means in the national cause. Popular songs and popular dramas roused the Karnataka people to patriotic endeavour. It was the ballad singer who inspired the masses. It is worthwhile to remember the services rendered by Kirtankars such as Mudvidkar, Burli Bindu Madhava, Kalli Tippanna Sastri, Belur Keshava Dasa, and many other talented preachers. The national movement produced many ordinary people to compose historical and political lavanis, which when sung before the masses would inspire them. Since lavanis are composed in simple style and sung in popular tunes they can attract big crowds. It is not possible here to give a list of all the composers of ballads and ballad singers. But reference must be made to some of the most important ballad singers such as Lavani Vishakantha Rao of Mysore, Balappa Hukkeri of Belgaum, Damodar Baliga of Mangalore, Lavani Neelakantha Rao of Bangalore, Sahmad Saheb of Ranebennur, Lavanikar Basavaraj of Chitaldrug, and K. R. Lingappa of Tarikere.

Kannada dramatists had their share in the service of the motherland. Dramatists such as Nalavadi Shrikantha Sastri, Kandagal Hanumant Rao, Garduda Sadashiva Rao, Neelakantha Rao Shedbalkar, and many others composed dramas on national themes. They were enacted by several dramatic companies, and drama became a popular and potent means of political propaganda. Nationalist literature was proscribed by the then Governments, and some of the patriotic authors of national literature had to suffer on account of their fearless compositions. It is very difficult to get a full list of the books and ballads in Kannada proscribed by the different authorities in the Karnataka area. Like publishers and editors of newspapers, many had to pay a high price for their nationalist outlook. It would be a great source of valuable information if a complete bibliography of proscribed national literature in Kannada could be collected. We reproduce here the names and contents of some of the books and pamphlets

proscribed by the Governments of Madras and Bombay from the official records.

From the Secretary to the Home Department, Bombay, to the Chief Secretary, Government of Madras, 3rd October, 1921.

- Sub : (a) Deshonnatiya Lavani.
 (b) Asahakarada Lavani.
 (c) Punjabadallada Atyacharada Dundumi.

I am directed to forward herewith for the information of Government of Madras a copy of Notification No. 1268 dated 12th October, 1921, which the Government of Bombay has issued under Section 12 of Indian Press Act, 1921, declaring the above publications to be forfeited. A review of the booklet 'Deshonnatiya Lavani' is enclosed. (The above booklet of ballads was printed by Shri R. R. Diwakar in the Karmavira Press at Dharwar and published in the District Congress Committee Office, Dharwar, by its Secretary, Shri B. C. Kulkarni).

The above booklet consists of three parts. Part I of which the author is stated to be one Hallur describes India in pre-British days as a country famed throughout the world for its immense wealth as well as its arts and industries, its achievements in the field of education and the heroic spirit of its martial races. It deplores the present degeneration of India and the indolence of the people. It condemns the use of foreign articles and advises people to take the oath of Swadeshism, and otherwise follow the principles preached by Mahatma Gandhi. Part II, composed by Shri K. S. Bettigeri prescribes non-cooperation as an unfailing remedy for attaining freedom. It refers to the Punjab disturbances and puts down the number of the dead at 2300. . . .

Part III, the author of which is not mentioned, opens with an appeal to the people to raise the cry of injustice. It traces the history of events which led to Punjab disturbances and culminated in the firing of Jaliyanwalabagh. The story is recited in a forcible language and some misrepresentations are indulged in to heighten the effects.

Proscription of "Gajanana Meleya Padagalu"

Notification dated 16th October, 1922.

Whereas a Canarese pamphlet entitled Gajanana Meleya Padagalu, printed by Shri S. R. Mangalavedhe at the Vidyaranya Press at Bagalkot, and published by Pandurang Kulkarni at the

Lokamanya Stores at Bagalkot. In the opinion of the Governor-in-Council it contains seditious matter in as much as the said matter brings or attempts to bring into hatred and contempt or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards the government established by law in British India.

Translation of a Kannada song.

Burn the Cupid and abandon the anger. Adore with a feeling of affection, your motherland. Show your benevolent character by bidding good-bye to titles.

Do not approach the shadow of the British people who call themselves Indian servants, rule over Indians and cut their throats.

Break down the machines of bad administration and lit up that of Swaraj and struggle yourself to make the banner of Swaraj to wave beautifully in India.

Para Rajyavoo Swarajyavoo, composed by Padmanabha Adig, printed by Ganapath Ramarao Masur at Kumta. Proscribed by Bombay Government in notification dated 12th June 1923. The following sentiments are expressed in the above poem.

Under foreign rule there are laws and sections which beat the father for the mistakes of the mother. In Law Courts, there is one justice for the rich and another for the poor. Hindus are set against one another. Education in schools teaches us to wear the shackles of foreign slavery.

Rayara Bhagyodaya was proscribed in notification dated 27th June 1932, written and published by Balachandra Venkatesh Ghanekar, printed at Karmavir Press, Dharwar. Another Kannada book entitled *Maharani Kittur Channamma* was proscribed by the Government of Bombay in its notification of 29th August, 1932. The book was written by Shrikanth Sashtri, Amararya Nalavadi printed by Aram Satyappanavar at Satya Prakash Press, Gadag. On 21st March 1932, the pamphlet "Nadagudi" printed by Khando Ramachandra Bhise at the Karnatak Printing Press, Dharwar, was proscribed by another notification dated 24th June, 1932. The Bombay Government proscribed the play, *Swatantrya Sangram*. It is impossible to give an exhaustive list of proscribed books, pamphlets, dramas, since several political authorities exercised jurisdiction over the dismembered parts of Karnataka. It may be stated here that some popular dramas were staged after changing the titles in such a way as to mislead the authorities. For instance, the popular

drama, *The Revolt of Navalgund*, which was prohibited, was actually staged under the title *Victory of Malcolm*, suggesting that it celebrated the victory of the British.

In spite of the many handicaps, many patriots wrote and published ballads and they were popularly sung everywhere. We may mention here the titles of some of the songs which were commonly used during the freedom struggle in Karnataka :

1. Karnataka veerareli
Ranabheri kombu keli.
2. Gandhi sandeshada moolavu
Mantra Vande Mataram.
3. Gandhi sandesh chanda
Mandamaruta chanda
Kandana nudi chanda.
4. Rati noola tangi rati noola
5. Khadi kalpa kujavo khadi bhagyadadi
Nijavo adhara moolavo ?
6. Podeya Lalaji Deva
Podeya Panjaba Simha,
Saptarushigalu agamisalu nee
Satyagrachavanu hoodideya
7. Dharaniyolu Bharatakhanda siriya
Sariganadendu maramara maraguta
Paranadugalu vanachararante tiruguta guddagadinolu.
8. Dumadummi takkadi hidakondur
Besaya maduta.
9. Matrubhumi janani ninna charana seve maduva.
10. Kasturi bayiyavare Kamaladeviyavare
Navu chalavali maduvavare.
11. Kannambadi kattidavarar ? Navallave ?
12. Dhatu nama samvatsarada matu
Vandu helateni

13. Satyasamarada hatyava peluvenu
Chittadali lalisi satya.
14. Entha shanya Mahatma Gandhi
Hindusthanakavane tandi.
15. Deshabhaktiyadu rajadrohavendu sari

Mangalore and Dharwar were the main centres in which popular ballads on nationalist themes were composed. Before the chapter concludes, something must be said about the ballads composed by Pundur Lakshminarayan Panachittayar of South Kanara. Among the ballads he published was “Balagangadhar stava”, which by 1947 had seen four editions. When Gandhiji visited Mangalore it was recited in his presence, and it was widely acclaimed. Other important collections of ballads by him are *Rashtragita Ratnakara* and *Swarajya Geete*. His collections *Harijan Sandhan* and *Rashtragita Ratnakara* drew the warm appreciation of the great scholar R. Narasimhacharya. He said that the *Rashtragita Ratnakara* had been instrumental in inculcating in the people the love of freedom. Further, he praised *Harijan Sandhan* both for its theme and its simple style. The Kannada journals, *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrike* and *Jaya Karnataka*, gave an enthusiastic welcome to the volumes *Rashtragita Ratnakara* and *Swarajya Geete*.

BANDE MATARAM

1

MOTHER, I bow to thee !
Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Cool with the winds of delight,
Dark fields waving, Mother of might,
Mother free.

2

Glory of moonlight dreams,
Over thy branches and lordly streams,
Clad in thy blossoming trees,
Mother, giver of ease,
Laughing low and sweet,
Mother, I kiss thy feet,
Speaker sweet and low,
Mother, to thee I bow.

3

Who hath said thou art weak in thy lands,
When the swords flash out in seventy million hands,
And seventy million voices roar
Thy dreadful name from shore to shore ?
With many strengths who art mighty and strong,
To thee I call, Mother and Lord !
Thou who savest, arise and save !
To her I cry who ever her foemen drave
Back from plain and sea
And shook herself free.

4

Thou art wisdom, thou art law,
Thou art heart, our soul, our breath,
Thou the love divine, the awe
In our hearts that conquers death.
Thine the strength that nerves the arm,
Thine the beauty, thine the charm,
Every image divine,
In our temples is but thine.

Thou art Durga, Lady and Queen,
With her hands that strike and her swords of sheen.
Thou art Lakshmi lotus-throned
And the Muse, a hundred-toned.
Pure and perfect without peer
Mother, lend thine ear.

5

Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Dark of hue, O candid fair,
In thy soul, with jewelled hair
And thy glorious smile divine,
Loveliest of all Earthly lands,
Showering wealth from well-stored hands
Mother, Mother mine !
Mother sweet, I bow to thee
Mother great and free !

—*Bengali song by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee,
translated by Shri Aurobindo Ghose*

WHY DO YOU SIT, FRIEND,
YOUR DROWSINESS UNSHED?

(1)

Why do you sit, friend, your drowsiness unshed?
Enough, stand, open your eyes and look around
One only sound leaps from all over the world, splitting the ear,
'Salutation to the Mother'.

(2)

Caught in the toils of religion, shaken up with too many castes,
Losing your way, you lag hindmost.
While, lending a hand to the fallen and raising the National Flag,
Bengal forges ahead, leading the way.

(3)

The foreigners keep forcing their way in,
Do you now bow down your unbent head?
Bound without a rope and beaten without a stick
Do you find your lot agreeable, used to the sweet poison?

(4)

Banish all doubt, sacrifice your life and wealth,
Going round and worshipping at the Mother's feet,
Waste no time, fool, do not delude yourself,
Why do you suffer this death-in-life?

(5)

While the mother Earth, her heart deeply grieved,
Wearing no auspicious mark on her forehead, no titles and decorations,
Sobs in pain and seeks her deliverance
Calling on her sons to sever the chain round her neck.

(6)

Is enterprise dead, has courage run dry,
Since Karna fell?
Where passed the strength of Parasuram's arm?
Is there no drop of valour left in the blood?

(7)

What use crying after theft is committed ?

The pearl of your liberty is being stolen.

Why does the bugle call as the lowest fort is reached ?

Shake off, my brother, your metaphysical sleep.

(8)

Awake, arise, draw out your drowsy eyes,

Cast off, to a corner, your Vedic blanket.

The Sun is rising, Japan is already awake,

Why lie supine in the darkness now ?

(9)

Set out, O son of India, most valiant in war,

Draw your lightning sword, bound for battle,

As the blood of heroes falls like rain and the harvest rises

Hail ! India enters into her glory !

—Kannada poem by Panje Mangesh Rao,
translated by K. Narasimha Murthy

HUTTARI SONG

Where the Earth-maid steadily came longing for the celestial presence,
Where she stood firm in the marvellous form of Mohanagiri
Where in the sky the Cauvery flashes brightly like lightning,
And refreshes the land and weeds the sins of men !

There, in that place, look there !

There is the land of the Coorgis !

There is the camp of the Coorgis !

Who in the past tasted the milk of the tiger and fed upon it ?
Who used the python for sling and rope and bowstring ?
Who cut the elephant's trunk and make of it a roaring battle-trumpet ?

They know not defeat nor death.

They are eminent among great heroes.

They are the excellent Coorgis.

That our nation's neck may not bend under the yoke of servitude,
The ancestors, like hungry springing tigers, smote the proud enemies.
This country that spreads from Brahmagiri to Pushpagiri,
Is the treasury of piety, charity, tradition and discipline.

Our Coorg is our birthright.

By right of birth is Coorg ours.

Our bosom refuses to yield it.

This is Agastya's penance-seat, the home of mother Cauvery's birth ;
Chandravarma rocked here the goddess of battle on a swing.

Look here, at Sriranga where danced the pomp of sporting Kings !

Look here, here, at Balagiri peak, where fell the Haleris.

Coorg is the artifact of the Creator.

Ours from the first, this is beauty,

Ours to the end without break.

Tell me, where is oneness of mind, unity, solidarity ?

Did they give up waistband and jacket meekly ?

Listen to the Huttari song !

Let the song gush forth to the beat of the sticks at the dance.

Let the land, blessed by our mother, be with us, for us, ours.

May the land enjoy comfort ever.

May this our Coorg live strongly

In the right arm of our mother.

—Kannada poem by Panje Mangesh Rao,
translated by B. Chandrasekhar



He sang of Freedom.

TO-DAY'S GOD

Away drive those hundred gods, come, drive away ;
India is our true deity now, her worship and pray.

For ages have we knelt to the dull still stone,
Or fed with milk the venomous being :
Or prayed to the rain and air and fire and shine,
And become slaves, slave-worshipping.

Chase them all into the sea, by the neck drag,
To the cymbals and bells, the trumpet blowing,
All those that loll in the temple's lazy warmth,
On the worshipper's blood battenning.

In endless slumber are some of those gods,
Or turned into stone a few.
And cowards, all their virile virtue lost,
The other immortals are dead to view.

Their altars have crumbled, their word dead and gone ;
Disgrace has been our lot in their pay.
Her shall we worship now and power attain
And achieve a millennium in a day.

Enough our tears washing the dead stones' feet,
Our life-giver we will invoke now ;
Cover the shivering mother with the rich art-robe
Which once for lifeless statues we wove.

India is now our life's living goddess,
World-bodied, world-faced.
Our doings are her breath and being,
In our freedom is she graced.

Some day must the slave be master ;
Come, wake to-day for that day, brother.
Angels are we, this, our land, paradise ;
India is our true deity, mother.

—K. V. Puttappa's "*Indina Devaru*",
translated by T. R. Rajasekharaiah

PANCHAJANYA (THE CONCH-CALL)

Forward, forward,
Force your way forward
Do not give in, keep your spirits up,
March forward, rejoicing.

Shed fear, set faith
In the brave heart's shrine,
Break out of prison and strike at the enemy.

You and I, we will die,
But, be assured,
Over our bones there will arise
New India's glory.

Not in vain is a sigh heaved
Nor in vain is a tear shed
Nor in vain are riches renounced
Nor in vain is a man dead.

Could one belittle the foundation
Unseen underground
And extol the regal edifice above
Displayed ever so grandly?

All that pass survive
In eternity's womb
To reappear, at the festive hour,
When freedom is won.

Lose not faith, go forward,
Gallant soldier,
Would Kali accept your sacrifice,
If you took fright and faltered?

Believing India's good
To be your good,
And service to the Motherland
To be your religion

And India's sons
To be your brothers
And that in India's liberation
Lies your salvation,

On, O warrior,
To battle's killing
On, O heroic soul,
To death and heaven !

Look there, look
Where, under Imperialism's wheels,
Lies the Mother, weltering
In the blood-stained dust.

Draw your sword from the sheath,
Rush, advance, cut her bonds,
Kill those that come in your way,
Victory will be yours !

What if life in one birth be laid down ?
There are a hundred to be sacrificed !
What if one falls on the field of battle ?
To the valiant, death is glory.

What do you watch, lingering
Servilely here ?
Forward to the field of battle
Your heart a graveyard.

Do you watch the blood flow ?
Do you see the dead lie low ?
The heaped skeletons ?
The ghosts' haunts ?
Would Kali shrink
From the sacrifice of demons ?
Would a hero flinch
On the field of battle ?
' Ah pain ! ah pain ! '
Do the wounded cry ?
' Ah water ! ah water ! '
Do they die ?
Pity not those in pain

Let not your heart melt at their cry
And flow in tears.
Forget not the goal.
Draw not back, O warrior,
Do not ever desert the Mother.
With bones for beams
And flesh for earth
And blood for water
And in pain and with feverish sighs,
Build on the burial-ground
Liberty's splendid shrine!
Touch, O brave one,
The Mother's holy feet!

In the faith
That the soul is immortal,
In the faith
That there are births to come,
In the faith
That death is transitory,
And crying
'Victory to Mother India!'
Forward, forward,
Force your way forward,
Do not give in, keep your spirits up,
March forward, rejoicing.

—Kannada poem by K. V. Puttappa,
Translated by K. Narasimha Murthy

THIRTYTHREE CRORES *

(In the centre of a shoreless sea, seated on an immovable place, the Goddess of Earth meditates deeply. Resting her face on the left lap of the Goddess, Bharati, that is, Mother India, cries out her plight in song, as she makes gestures with her left hand. Around Mother India lie scattered crores of creatures in distorted shapes and positions).

Are these my children? My children?
All these thirtythree crores?

Thirtythree crores, thirtythree crores!
Are these my children? Are they?
 Thirtythree crores!
 The thirtythree crores
 I brought forth from my womb.

1

Thirtythree crores, thirtythree crores!
 Times of conception, the pangs of birth,
 Thirtythree crores in number!
 Spears into my flesh
 Thirtythree crores in number!

2

Some insects! Some eyeless puppies!
A few silly sheep! A few just-born kids!
 For true manliness none counts!
 But for calculation
 Thirtythree crores!

3

A ten crores that way! A ten crores this way!
Though brothers, they exchange no words of affection;
 Ten crores hither and thither!
 In name
 Thirtythree crores!

* This number which is the title of the poem refers to the population of India at the time (1932). This inspiring poem, the force of whose original Kannada, it is hoped, this version captures to some extent, was one of the most popular poems during the struggle for freedom. In the Bombay Karnatak, in particular, it was on the lips of everybody.

Living corpses ! Inflated ghosts !
 You shall choke with dust, hiccough on the cremation ground !
 Blow off, you chaff !
 I grant you breath,
 Thirtythree crores !

5

Do tears become milk, when mixed with chalk ?
 Creatures of different colours boil in frenzy,
 And the home turns into a wrestler's camp ;
 Can it be called life ?
 Thirtythree crores !

6

Suffering hell in your palace of slavery, have you no feelings ?
 Alas, you writhe in agony,
 In your fingers and feet !
 Alas !
 Thirtythree crores !

7

One miserable half branded outcaste,
 another helpless half, women,
 All fragmented into bits, all slaves though alive ;
 Rise, rise to rule !
 Live
 Thirtythree crores !

8

Has your mother gone barren ? Has evening arrived
 before your life's morn ?
 Mother India has her head weighed down with worries—
 Does life's fruit waste unripe ?
 All, all mere nothing,
 Thirtythree crores !

9

Having fed on my milk, shaped your life
 with the light within me,
 I hoped you would prove strong as diamond,
 a bunch of lightning flashes.
 I blessed you to be victorious,
 And sent you out,
 Thirtythree crores !

10

What did I conceive? And what did I deliver in the end?
Alas, all poor bodies, each a prison!
All deaf to my laments,
Alas, alas!
Thirtythree crores!

11

Pierce through outward shells! Smash the pillars!
Do not rest in your bodies! Do not hide in your minds!
Shouting, "Mother! Here we come to you!"
My lot
Thirtythree crores!

—Kannada poem by D. R. Bendre,
translated by K. Raghavendra Rao

MAHATMA GANDHI

Amidst the sacrificial smoke of this great battle for freedom
Burns a white blaze, steady and radiant,
Constant in peace like the steadfast Himalaya
Shining under the deep blue vault of the sky.
He is indeed magnanimous ; at his rising
The power of piety, that shakes the world,
Took shape deep in men's vision,
And by him has life on earth been purified.
Oh, Mahatma, man's cupidity, pride and malice
Have been laved in the holy waters of your presence
And cleansed with love. You in auspicious moment
Came from the rich womb of Bharat our mother
And to us, whose trust in piety was flattering,
You, Kalki in disguise, gave firm faith again.

—*Kannada poem by K. V. Puttappa,
translated by B. Chandrasekhar*

THE DEAD ARE CALLING

(*The Martyrs' call for the last sacrifice*)

O hear the call of the dead echoing
From the womb of the sepulchred past.
Can you keep quiet, having heard it,
Brave children of a darling mother ?

Wake up, brothers, remember us that died for you ;
Forget us not, your own brothers, young and old.
Like you we once lived, drawing breath, blithely smiling,
Loving and beloved, till yesterday or the day before
We fell, our hearts torn asunder, our blood washing
The God of Battles in worship for Freedom's boon.
So we fell, our bodies, flowery offerings, rolled on the earth,
But not before we flung our swords to your hands,
Our glorious banners to your watchful care entrusted,
Hoping, that with both aloft, you would go ahead.
Be not false to the trust of the dead,
Advance, lag not behind, but onward march,
Or else peace we shall not know even in the grave,
But, turned into restless ghosts we'll roam,
Not a night's rest or sleep to you allowing,
Thirsty for the sacred blood, ever screaming,
' With your pure red heart-blood quench
The parched throat of Goddess Freedom ;
Not that ye live in beast-like pleasure
The suffering mother hath borne ye all.'
Fling away the flowery garland and the silken robe,
Pick up the sword and let the necklace go :
The new bride shall wait with all the wedding bliss ;
Prison it shall be now, even death to meet.
With the blood-gift of bold sanguine hearts
Slake the thirst of the dead, paying the debt.
Or happy we are not, though happily dead,
And living as you do, life it will never be to you.

O hear, thus the call of the dead echoes
From the womb of the sepulchred past.
And how can you keep quiet, having heard it,
Brave children of a darling mother ?

—*Kannada poem by K. V. Puttappa,
translated by T. R. Rajasekharaiah*

THE AUSPICIOUS HOUR

Blood-gushing, bodies shall fall,
In quick-severing, heads shall roll,
For the country's glory fighting,
And to the Heaven of Freedom rising.

Brothers and sisters, all awaken,
Hear the call of the War-Siren.
And singing the patriotic lay
Come, the wicked foe to slay.

March ahead for sacrifice,
Leave behind the joys of vice.
Mother will die if you delay.
The auspicious hour is to-day.

—*Kannada poem by K. V. Puttappa,
translated by T. R. Rajesekharaiah*

TO FREEDOM

Oh, Freedom ! Goddess next only to Deity
Man's foster-mother, honoured as elder sister
Of prosperity and wisdom, come to Bharat,
For where you are is peace, your image.

Pleased with what merit of theirs do you stay in Europe
And bend the earth to submit to their trampling feet ?
Angered with what demerit of this holy land
Did you forsake us, millions of automatic puppets ?

Feed us with forest roots, make the den our home,
Make us live in nakedness with bow and arrow ;
But sport in our company for ever,
For without you life is not life but intense grief.

Come, mother, come to Bharat once, come
And bring to us, benighted, sunshine that never sets.

—*Kannada poem by M. Govinda Pai,
translated by B. Chandrasekhar*

THE EPIC SONG OF FREEDOM'S DAWN

The dream has come true
Of age's ageless night,
Of the countless martyrs
That died in freedom's fight.
O young and old, come all friends, sing :
To the new life new vows, new pledge bring.

The oath shall be of the holy crusade
The dragon of caste and class to slay,
Sword flourishing like the sloughed cobra's head,
Firm in the grip, firm in the new-found way.

At every cradle shall sing this lullaby,
'Be thou India's hero, for India to die.'
Every mother's dear faith shall be,
Her son's arms are the swords of the country.

Never, never shall aught again
Hurt the freedom we have won.
May His grace upon us remain,
That, for good of earth or heaven,
The source of the spirit's strength shall be
This freedom's immortal banner of glory.

How can we forget the sculptor of our freedom
In this blessed day's most glorious hour ?
Who can forget at this dawn of freedom's morn
The great soul that all the world does honour ?
Where is he, the father, who by guided steps led
This long enslaved land to liberty ?
O where is he, the Neelakantha that daily drank
The poison of our hearts ? Where is he ?

He made the milk of divine kindness flow
From the deadly spring of human hate.
The mercy of Christ he preached and Buddha's love ;
Among world-benefactors stands he great.
To the falsities of politics, machine-civilization,
He spiritual grace and culture brought.
Where, where away from this festive hour, from us
Art thou, father, who our freedom wrought ?

He is not here in this jubilee ; far, far away
Amid pain, groans and tears, weeping,
Arguing with hatred and sin and cruelty
Kindly, kindness and pity achieving,
With pride and injustice fighting, all that horrid evil,
Teaching love to men that kill,
And fasting, praying that the power of Truth
His soul with its grace may fill.

He is the monk that the mother-earth to implore
The Great God's love-strength has sent ;
The Heaven's eye that from the vigilant sky
Over this mortal earth in love is bent ;
Witness that the Maker is one with the made,
And in it ever doth He labour ;
Sing, O bird, the great name Gandhi be
Prologue to Freedom's festive hour.

—K. V. Puttappa's "*Swatantrodaya Mahapragatha*",
translated by T. R. Rajasekharaiah

RISE, LOVELY KANNADA LAND

Rise, our lovely Kannada land,
Treasure of life and strength, flowing with the love of land,
Land of Parasuram, the terror of warrior kings,
Land of the brave Hanuman who jumped the oceans,
Land of kings mighty and dazzling,
Land of heroes and rulers inspiring,
Land where geniuses like Lekkiga¹ and Vignaneshwara² shone,
Land full of the wonder of Jakkana's³ immortal sculpture,
Land that gave refuge to them that preached lofty faiths,
Abode of the Goddess of wealth,
The motherland of sacred rivers Krishna and Bhima,
Lovely land washed by the rivers Kaveri and Goda,
Land that ever gladdens the heart like a song,
Home of Lord Veeranarayana of Gadag, the protecting deity !

—*Kannada poem by Huilgol Narayana Rao,
translated by Siddayya Puranik*

-
1. Bhaskaracharya, the eminent mathematician.
 2. A follower of the Mitakshara School, he made profound contributions to jurisprudence.
 3. A great architect and sculptor of Karnataka, the evidence of whose artistic genius lies scattered all over the province.

VICTORY TO THEE, KARNATAKA MATA

Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata !
Daughter of Bharata Mata, victory to thee !
Land of lovely rivers and forests,
And of men gifted with vision, and saints,
The new crest-jewel of mother earth,
Sandal and gold sing thy worth—
O Daughter of Bharata Mata who gave birth
To the great souls Madhusudana and Raghava—
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata,
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata !
Vedic hymns, thy mother's lullaby,
Life to mother, thy devotion to her—
Rows of lush green hills,
A garland for thy neck—
Daughter of India, celebrated by Kapila,
Gautam, Jina and Patanjali—
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata,
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata !
Sanctuary of Sankara,
Ramanuja and Basaveshwara—
Ranna, Shadakshari, Ponna,
Pampa, Lakshmisha and Janna,
A cradle of poets,
Her nightingales !
Daughter of India, mother of Ramanand,
Of Nanak and Kabir,
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata,
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata !
Land of Tailap and the Hoysala,
Home of Jakkana and Dankana—
Krishna, Sharavati, Tunga,
And Kaveri run here, their playground—
Daughter of India, mother of Chaitanya,
Of Paramahansa and Vivekananda—
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata,
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata !
Bower of peace to all peoples,
To the cultivated eye, a tempting vista of loveliness—
Abode of Christians, Mussalmans,

Hindus, Parsees and Jains—
Land of ideal monarchs like Janaka,
Land of singers and players of veena,
The place where flourishes the Kannada tongue,
Embodiment of the Kannada race—
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata,
Victory to thee, Karnataka Mata !

—*Kannada poem by K. V. Puttappa,
translated by Siddayya Puranik*

THE TRIBUTARIES TO THE MAIN STREAM

A great historic movement such as the Indian struggle for freedom is necessarily a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon, and strength came to it from many sources. If one compares the movement to the career of a great river, one sees how its flow and fury owed not a little to the accession of strength supplied by apparently minor tributaries. Of these tributaries to the freedom movement, the most important were the Harijan movement, the khadi cult, the linguistic and literary revival, the uplift of women, and the attempts at educational reconstruction. It was the policy of the Congress to organise various elements of national life and harness them to achieve national liberation. Peasant organizations, trade unions, students' associations, etc., were fathered by it. It also fostered regional and other interests and succeeded in welding all these into a whole and thus crystallized national unity. All these, and many besides, contributed to the strength and success of our national movement for freedom. It is short-sighted to dismiss them as unimportant or harmful impediments to the progress of the movement. Some critics have chafed at Mahatma Gandhi's preoccupation with such small matters as the Harijan movement or khadi, little realising that he possessed a far more enduring and comprehensive vision of our freedom.

To understand fully the originality of Gandhiji's contribution to our freedom movement, it is necessary to go back to the early days of the Indian National Congress in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the great patriot and leader then held a view which can be seen to be diametrically opposed in some respects to that of the Mahatma. Tilak held that the freedom struggle should be severely limited to the political arena, and that, in particular, it should be isolated from the attempts then being made to reform the traditional structure of society. The issue then took the form of a controversy between the orthodox and the social reformers. While Tilak was politically an extremist, he was socially a conservative. As later events have proved, Tilak's approach, while capable of paying dividends from a short-term point of view, would have created serious complications later on. It is pertinent to refer to the first editorial article penned by that great leader of Karnataka, Hardekar

Manjappa, in the inaugural issue of his distinguished paper, *Sarana Sandesha*, on the 17th of August, 1931. The sage of Alamatti declared in that editorial, “. . . . The political revolution in India is based substantially on social and economic discontent. Mere political freedom is inadequate J. S. Mill was right in maintaining that social slavery is worse than political slavery, Mahatma Gandhi's revolutionary movement is more than political. The uplift of the depressed classes and the khadi movement, the former social and the latter economic, hve played a central role in that revolution.”

Gandhiji's and Manjappa's way of looking at a nation integrally as an interconnected structure of different aspects seems to be supported by modern sociological and anthropological theories of structure, function, pattern and culture configuration. It is to the credit of Gandhiji that he was able to look at the problems of India from such an integral point of view. While it is possible and legitimate to justify the Mahatma's auxiliary (that is, auxiliary to the main political battle) activities as good causes in themselves, it is much more important to justify them as main factors in the political battle itself. Consider, for instance, the Harijan movement. This was a perfectly just cause in itself. But was it not also necessary in the interest of Indian unity, without which the national movement would have foundered? Was it not instrumental in welding Hindu society into a closer and hence stronger group? Did it not aim a severe blow at the British policy of encouraging the fragmentation of Indian society? The Mahatma, it would appear, was subtler and politically more astute than his critics, since his efforts at Harijan uplift brought them under the banner of the national movement. The same may be said about the khadi movement. Khadi has been dismissed by some as a mere economic fad. Perhaps there is some truth in it, but this is not the whole truth. Apart from the fact that the ideal of khadi strengthened our economic nationalism and perhaps affected the Lancashire mills adversely to some extent, there is no doubt that it was an effective symbol of our nationalism. It contributed physically to the growth of our nationalism. Political battles, whether violent or non-violent, are fought with the help of symbols. It would seem that all human struggles require symbols as weapons. The Mahatma, with his genius for political leadership, created a whole complex of fascinating symbols to inspire and rally the Indian people in their epic struggle for freedom. It is from this point of view, and to

the extent to which they contributed to the main struggle, that the tributary movements will be examined here.

Karnataka Unification Movement and the Freedom Struggle

Language has, historically, been a most potent ally of nationalism. The nationalism of a people politically enslaved has generally taken the form of a passionate concern for the native tongue. Indian nationalism is no exception to this observation. The promoters of our national movement used effectively the instrument of language to further their great cause. It is no mere accident that our nationalism often took the form of linguistic and cultural revival. In this context we may quote what Gandhiji, the Father of our nation, wrote as far back as 1921, in the journal, *Young India*. He declared, "The highest development of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. . . . To get rid of the infatuation for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj. . . ." The several movements for the revival of Indian languages, which characterised our national movement, tried to remind their speakers of the glorious traditions of their tongues. After the partition of Bengal in 1905, the love of native languages by their speakers eloquently manifested itself. It was the Mahatma who realised its significance for the growth of nationalism itself, and accordingly he gave this cause his support.

Under his influence, at its Nagpur Session in 1920, the Indian National Congress gave formal recognition to the important status of the several languages in the country. As a consequence the Congress reorganised itself into Provincial Committees on linguistic lines, disregarding the existing British-manufactured provincial system. Gandhiji upheld the claims of Indian languages against English, and he charged the British with having woefully neglected the development of these languages. From 1906 Indian politics took a new turn. The British government adopted a policy of encouraging Muslim nationalism, in particular, by favouring the creation of Muslim-majority provinces. Congress advocated the formation of provinces based on cultural traditions. The All-Party Conference (1928) as well as the famous Nehru Report favoured the creation of provinces such as Andhra and Karnataka. No doubt the primary objective of the national leaders was that the local enthusiasm thus released should help the national movement. This policy led to the growth of popular movements throughout the country for linguistic pro-

vinces, and these movements helped the nationalist leadership to rally the masses round itself. In particular, the use of the regional language in public proceedings and conferences drew into the national movement the illiterate and uneducated masses. The Congress made the creation of linguistic provinces one of the main planks of its platform in its election manifesto during the 1936 elections under the 1935 Act. Thus the cause of Indian freedom and the demand for linguistic provinces became closely associated. The two became complementary, and not contradictory. Indeed, in retrospect, it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. The movement for linguistic autonomy widened the base of Indian politics, and made a considerable contribution to political education through participation by the masses.

In Karnataka, the movement for the unification of the Kannada-speaking people into a province of their own gave substantial stimulus to the national movement for freedom. In Karnataka there were some special reasons for the growth of the movement for unification. Firstly, the area speaking the Kannada language was hopelessly mutilated. It was dismembered into ineffective minorities in different provinces. Some idea of the measure of injustice meted out to the people of Karnataka may be had from the fact that North Karnataka was known as the Southern Mahratta country. Under the British, the Kannada people were scattered over the southern and western parts of the Indian peninsula, and this lack of cohesion prevented the healthy development of their language and life. The awareness of this situation made the Kannada people particularly eager to unite and demand a separate province of their own. It is no chance occurrence that they were among the earliest to start a movement for a separate province. As already indicated, the movement became a corollary of the larger movement for freedom, and contributed considerably to the strength of the latter movement.

It is worth examining briefly the antecedents of the linguistic movement in Karnataka. The great improvement in communications and the spread of English education, both under the Western impact, created circumstances conducive to a sense of oneness among the Kannada people. The pioneering work of foreign scholars like Fleet, Rice and Kittel, among others, rediscovered, so to say, the great and glorious heritage of Karnataka. These European pathfinders were followed by indigenous scholars like *Rao Bahadur* Narasimhacharya and others. The total consequence of their scholarly and historical findings was to fire the

imagination of the Kannada people and to awaken them to their present misfortunes. In the meanwhile a new life was breathed into Kannada literature by its contact with English. New forms of literary creation emerged such as nationalistic literature, discursive writing and prose literature. Panje Mangesh Rao, presiding over the 20th session of the Karnataka Sahitya Sammelan at Raichur in 1934, acknowledged the helpful impact of English education on the development of the Kannada language and literature, and one ought not to forget the fruitful patronage extended to Kannada by the rulers of Mysore from 1891 onwards. They sponsored the translation of major Sanskrit works such as those by Kalidasa, and also original writing in Kannada.

In the great revival of interest in the Kannada language, cultural institutions played a significant role. Among these, two merit special mention. They are the Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha, founded in Dharwar in 1890, and the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, founded in Bangalore in 1915. Nor should one forget the contribution of the innumerable Karnataka Sanghas dotted over the Kannada-speaking areas, and, in particular, the Nadahabbas which they celebrated with tremendous enthusiasm. The starting of the University of Mysore in 1916 was another source of strength to the movement. The Karnataka Sahitya Parishat popularised the cause of Kannada through its media like *Kannada Nudi*, and virtually at every annual conference it passed a resolution demanding the formation of a Karnataka province. The 9th session of the Kannada Sahitya Sammelan, held in 1923, in its Resolution III, moved by Mudvid Krishna Rao and supported by Srinivasa Rao Koppa, declared, "Since the Karnataka land has been split up into a number of portions, coming under different administrative authorities, it has found it difficult to develop its language and culture. Hence the legislators hailing from the Kannada areas of Bombay, Madras and the newly formed council of Coorg, should agitate for the formation of a separate Karnataka province, unifying the Kannada areas of these provinces." It is relevant here to quote from some of the presidential addresses to these Kannada Sahitya Sammelans, held under the auspices of the Parishat. The first is from that of B. M. Shrikantiah, delivered in 1928 at the 14th session held at Gulbarga : " Gentle- men, our Kannada land may be small in size ; our numbers may be small ; we may be scattered. But if you remember the past history of Karnataka, and her present courageous ventures, you will set at rest all doubts regarding our future progress " While this statement emphasises the pride of the Kannada people

in their language and history, the following extract from Alur Venkata Rao's address to the 16th session at Mysore in 1930 underlines the basic unity of India and Karnataka. Alur declared, " The literature of Karnataka is simply the life of the Indian people cast in one of its specific moulds. Hence the literature of Karnataka reflects two traditions, that of India as a whole and that of Karnataka itself. . . . "

It is not our purpose here to give a complete history of the movement ; we are concerned only with its broad contours and leading landmarks. Among the earliest (1880's) to take up the cause of Kannada in the Bombay Karnataka was "Deputy" Chennabasappa, who fought for the introduction of Kannada in the schools in that area. The Dharwar Training College played a considerable role in the struggle for Kannada in this area. During the Home Rule movement, thanks to the efforts of Alur Venkata Rao, Karnataka set up a separate organisational branch of its own for carrying on the movement. It was in 1920 that the first All-Karnataka Provincial Conference was held in Dharwar under the presidentship of V. P. Madhava Rao. During the Belgaum session of the Indian National Congress in 1924, the Karnataka Unification Sangha was started by Kadapa Raghavendra Rao, S. B. Joshi and Mangalvede Srinivasa Rao. Later on R. R. Diwakar, with the help of this body, made the issue part of the programme of the Provincial Congress Committee. Then followed the Questionnaire issued on the subject, the statement issued by thirty-four leaders of Karnataka supporting unification, an English volume advocating the cause, and the evidence tendered before the All-Parties Conference supporting unification. In 1927 the Silver Jubilee of the Maharaja of Mysore was celebrated throughout Karnataka as part of the unification movement. During 1931-1932 there were Conferences at Hukkeri, Karwar and Dharwar to support this movement. The Karnataka Merchants' Association also gave support to it. In the 1930s Mangalvede and Kamalapur sought to petition the Viceroy on the issue. Jangina Murugeyya served the cause through the Karnataka Chamber of Commerce. S. K. Hosamani raised the issue on the floor of the Central Assembly at Delhi. Thus from 1921 to 1935, sustained attempts were made to have the issue raised in the various legislatures, both at the Centre and in the Provinces of Bombay, Madras and Coorg. U. Rama Rau, Bellappa, V. N. Jog, S. T. Kambli, Jinaraja Hegde, A. J. Doddameti were prominent in these attempts. In 1936 the Karnataka Unification Conference was held at Belgaum. Throughout Karnataka, the 10th

of October 1937 was celebrated as Karnataka Unification Day. During the later period yeoman service was rendered to the cause of unification by leaders like S. Nijalingappa, G. V. Hallikeri, Jinaraja Hegde, K. R. Karanth, supported by a host of other political and social workers. The Youth Conference held in 1948 at Davangere, which was ably organised by youth leaders like K. Veerabhadrappe, was inaugurated by Sarat Chandra Bose, and the activities not only of the Congress organisation but also of opposition parties such as the Akhanda Karnataka Rajya Nirmana Parishat gave impetus to the Unification Movement. The Karnataka Unification Sangha (established in 1924) played a prominent part in unifying Kannadigas.

Great encouragement was given to the unification movement by the sexcentenary celebration of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1936 at Hampi. As part of the celebrations, a *Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume* was published, which contributed to the spread of Karnataka-consciousness. This scholarly and inspiring collection of papers relating to that glorious period in the history of Karnataka was also important in drawing all-India attention to a great achievement of the Kannadigas. Prominent among those associated with this publication were D. P. Karmarkar, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, J. F. Blackinton (Director-General of Archaeology), K. N. Dikshit (Deputy Director-General of Archaeology), Dr. M. H. Krishna, N. S. Kamalapur, and V. B. Halabhavi. It is appropriate to remember here the services of the great men who made contributions to this movement. Among men of letters were P. G. Halkatti, Alur Venkata Rao, Prof. S. S. Basavanal, B. M. Shrikantiah, B. Shivamurthy Sastry, R. R. Diwakar, K. V. Puttappa, Burli Bindu Madhava, T. T. Sarma, A. N. Krishna Rao, Manvi Narasing Rao, and Siddayya Puranik. Among public men were Jangina Murugayya, D. K. Bharadwaj, Jinaraja Hedge, Sir Siddappa Kambli, Hosamania Siddappa, Mangalvede Srinivasa Rao, Kadapa Raghavendra Rao, Mudvid Krishna Rao, S. N. Angadi, T. H. M. Sadasiviah, K. R. Karanth, A. J. Doddameti, Gadi Lingana Gowda of Bellary, and Sivamurthy Swami of Koppal.

All over India there are instances of flourishing lawyers giving up their lucrative practice at the call of Gandhiji for non-cooperation and devoting their talents to the service of the country. In Karnataka lawyers did not fall behind their compatriots elsewhere in following Gandhiji. Of a large number of lawyers who gave up practice and faced the trials and tribulations of the grim fight, we can mention only a few names like Ganga-

dhar Rao Deshpande, Hanumantrao Kaujalgi, Mudvidkar, B. N. Datar, S. K. Hosamani, B. N. Munavalli, T. Siddalingaiah, K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar, H. C. Dasappa, K. Sampangiramaiah, T. Ramachar, S. Rangaramiah, H. Siddiah, S. Nijalingappa, T. Subramanya and Pattabhiraman. All these leaders had to suffer poverty and face Government repression and imprisonment. But they proved object lessons of sacrifice and service to the whole country. Perhaps outstanding among them was S. Nijalingappa, who worked under Gandhiji with single-minded devotion and also contributed largely to the formation of a united Karnataka. His sanad was taken away from him by the Chief Court of Mysore, and the hardship which his patriotic service entailed was considerable. A man of austere habits and undeviating devotion to the cause he espoused and a true disciple of Gandhi in the sense that his heart never entertained malice towards his opponents, he became the undisputed leader of the Congress in Karnataka. Never showy or obtrusive, he occupied his true position when he became the President of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. Indeed he came to be called Vinoba Bhave of Karnataka.

With others in the fight he saw prison for defying Government's lawless orders and impositions. But his contribution to Karnataka is more especially his unwavering stand on the demand for a united Karnataka. He became not merely a leader but the mouthpiece of the feelings and demands of the people. He had attained already an all-India stature in political life. But his insistent demand for Karnataka unification annoyed the Congress High Command and brought him a mild rebuke as an agitator. The High Command could not really understand the feeling behind the demand of the people of Karnataka for a linguistic province of their own. This feeling was expressed in the Hubli incident of 1953, when a mob of twenty thousand people demonstrated their demand for a province for the Kannadigas. Adaragunchi Shankaragouda had undertaken a fast unto death in this demand for united Karnataka. Leaders like Nijalingappa were heckled by the assembled people for not showing a firmer attitude towards the national leaders in demanding the unification of Karnataka. The police followed their usual policy of suppression by lathi charges and firing. This incident assumed national importance and was even reported in the *New York Times* with maps and portraits. Members who had been elected to the Bombay Provincial Assembly from north Karnataka offered to resign in protest, and still the High Command failed

to appreciate the feelings of Kannadigas and was not willing to satisfy their demand.

The demand of a whole people determined to assert their legitimate claims cannot be resisted for long. Nijalingappa led the agitation for the union of the Kannada-speaking regions with determination, patience and tact. His pertinacity won the day at last when in 1956 a united Karnataka was formed, after a century and a half of political eclipse.

Special mention must be made of Huilgol Narayan Rao and K. V. Puttappa. The former provided the nationalist song of the Kannada people, "Udayavagali namma cheluva Kannada Nadu!" (Rise, our beautiful Kannada land!). This song proved to be a veritable clarion-call to the people of Karnataka in their struggle for freedom, and may be compared in its inspiring role with the "Vande Mataram" of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. K. V. Puttappa, the popular Karnatak poet, inspired Kannadigas through many of his poems like "Nee mettuva nela Karnataka", "Jaya he Karnataka Mate", "Karnataka matru deekshe", etc. The last two were composed in protest against restrictive policies of the then Government in Mysore. Among the prominent journals which served the cause were *Vagbhushana*, *Navakarnataka* and *Karnataka Vaibhava* of Bijapur, *Taruna Karnataka* of Bailhongal, *Jayakarnataka* of Dharwar, *Swatantra Karnataka* of Bangalore, *Nava Sandesha* of Bellary, *Vishwa Karnataka* of Bangalore, *Samyukta Karnataka* of Belgaum, *Karma Veera* of Dharwar, *Prabuddha Karnataka* of Mysore, *Sahitya Parishat Patrike*, *Kannada Nudi* and *Kantheerava* of Mangalore, *Vishala Karnataka*, *Nava-yuga* and *Prapancha* of Hubli. There were also important books which gave significant support to the movement. Of them we must mention *Karnataka Gata Vaibhava* by Alur Venkata Rao, *Handbook of Karnataka*, edited by D. K. Bharadwaj, *Karnataka Veera Kshatriyaru* and other works by S. B. Joshi, and *Nagarika* by M. R. Srinivasamurthy.

In conclusion we may briefly touch on the role of the Unification Movement in the freedom movement. Firstly, this movement produced enormous local zeal, which was easily canalised in the cause of the freedom struggle. Secondly, it brought about a radical change in the thinking of the masses by providing them a unique process of political education. Thirdly, it created in the people of Karnataka a pride in their past, but this did not affect adversely their loyalty to the nation as a whole. In a vast country like India, a nationalist strategy inevitably involves the mobilisation of local enthusiasms. The Karnataka Unification

Movement provided one of the most effective sources of strength to our freedom struggle.*

The Khadi Movement in Karnataka

Gandhiji set his face against the Westernisation of India, and it would be no exaggeration to suggest that he set himself seriously to the task of averting such a disaster. His approach, however, was constructive, and he sought to avert the Westernisation of India by discovering and patiently developing ideals and techniques specially suited to the Indian genius. Gandhiji's vision was a total one, and he was alive to all the aspects of the national movement. In consequence he did not merely organise a political movement; he also initiated complementary social and economic activities, as ancillaries to the political struggle. The Mahatma essayed to reconstruct the Indian social order by organising the Harijan movement. At the same time he sought to rebuild the Indian economy on sound indigenous lines.

The economic aspect of his nationalistic vision included the khadi movement, which was part and parcel of the Indian struggle for freedom. Khadi became a symbol of Gandhism, and it also became a symbol of a whole nation's aspiration for its freedom. Through the khadi movement, Gandhiji converted millions of Indians to his way of thinking. The khadi campaign should be assessed as one of the most potent weapons in the Indian struggle against Western imperialism. It was a highly original and revolutionary technique of nationalistic struggle, and nothing less than true genius could have forged such an effective tool. The great English historian, Arnold J. Toynbee, in his book, *The World and the West*, has rightly said, " . . . Gandhi saw that a myriad threads of cotton—grown in India, perhaps, but spun in Lancashire and woven there into clothes for India's people—were threatening to entangle India with the Western world in gossamer meshes that might soon be as hard to break as if they had been steel fetters. Gandhi saw that, if Hindus went on wearing

* The desire of the Kannada people to live in a province of their own bore fruit at long last in 1956 when the new Mysore State, comprising the Kannada areas from the erstwhile Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and Coorg, was formed. Also considerable sacrifice went into this achievement, and one may recall here that Ramzan, a Muslim youth of Bellary, gave his life in the cause in 1953.—Ed.

clothes made by Western machinery in the West, they would soon take to using the same Western machinery in India for the same purpose. . . . ” (pp. 79). In short, foreign cloth would lead to a de-nationalisation of Indians. Toynbee adds, “ . . . he (Gandhiji) saw that this severance of the germinal economic ties between India and the West (that is, the abjuring of foreign cloth) was the only sure means of saving the Hindu society from going Western, body and soul. . . . There was no flaw in the Mahatma Gandhi’s insight. . . . ” He pay the Mahatma a further high tribute by asserting, “ . . . Gandhi had made an immense and perhaps permanent mark on the history of India and of the world. . . . ” The Gandhian economics was a comprehensive system of rural revival centred round village crafts and industries.

Just as satyagraha proved to be a potent political technique for the attainment of freedom, so also khadi proved, in the economic domain, to be a powerful challenge to British authority. The ideal of non-violence, being a little too much for ordinary men, may or may not have transformed many of his followers. But there is little doubt that the cult of khadi was well within the reach of the humblest of his followers. Khadi became virtually the watchword of Indian patriotism. The wearers of khadi came to be looked upon as fighters for freedom. Over and above all this, sanctity came to be attached to khadi. It was the miracle means by which the Mahatma converted the simple village folk to his movement. Indeed, in sheer popular appeal and impact, khadi had no rival in the entire repertoire of our nationalistic ideology. Khadi became the very salvation of the poor and the downtrodden. Gandhiji’s campaign for it was so successful that the habit of spinning at home caught on, and soon the entire country was humming with the pleasant noise of spinning wheels in hundreds of Khadi Bhandars as well as thousands of homes.

The impact of the khadi movement on Karnataka was profound. Right from the start the spirit of swadeshi, whose most eloquent symbol was khaddar, was imbibed deeply in Karnataka. From 1920, khadi activities started in earnest in Karnataka. The khadi movement had two aspects. Negatively, it meant the giving up of foreign cloth and goods. Positively, it meant the using of home-spun, khaddar cloth. On the 1st of August, 1920, foreign textiles were burnt in public all over Karnataka. In the early period, the Veerashaiva Samaj opposed the khadi cult, but, thanks to the intervention of Hardekar Manjappa, it soon came to view it more sympathetically. The genius of Manjappa lay in interpreting the khadi ideal in accordance with the tenets of

Veerashaivism. He argued convincingly that spinning with one's own hand was an activity that was sanctioned by the Veerashaiva faith. Through his writings, speeches and practice, Manjappa, who was known as "the Karnataka Gandhi", gave the khadi movement a great stimulus, and he was well supported by many other leaders. Throughout Karnataka, khadi centres were set up, and in most homes khadi became an important preoccupation.

A popular song of the period begins, "Charkha chala chalake, lenge Swaraj" (We shall spin the wheel, and spin ourselves to freedom.) The first Karnatak Khadi Conference was held on the 26th May, 1928, at Dharwar, under the presidentship of Hardekar Manjappa. This conference resolved to start a special journal for the propagation of the khadi ideal. Assisted by Gangadhara Rao Deshpande, Manjappa and R. R. Diwakar launched the monthly *Khadi Vijaya*, on the 13th August, 1928, to popularise the khadi cult. After running for a year, the journal changed its name to *Udyoga*, and came under the sole stewardship of Manjappa. The early 1930s were years of tremendous activity on the khadi front. It was in this period that the Akhila Karnataka Swadeshi Sabha was initiated by the joint efforts of Rama Rao Hukkerikar, H. R. Venkataramiah and Jalihal Anant Rao. Strenuous efforts were made to start khadi co-operatives at Bagalkot, Gadag, Hubli and other places. Khadi centres and/or ashrams were organised in Badanwal (Mysore district), Harihar, Koradur (Haveri taluk), and Hosaritti (Dharwar district). Meanwhile, the boycott of foreign goods, especially foreign clothes, tea, soap, glass, etc., was promoted all over Karnataka. Jaggery, being swadeshi, came to displace foreign-made sugar. Merchant organisations everywhere took effective steps to boycott and picket the sale of foreign goods. Especially in the district of Karwar the organised strength of the local merchants was exerted against foreign material. Kottur, in the district of Bellary, also figured in this agitation. There, a volunteer who had distributed leaflets against the selling of foreign goods was beaten by the police. There is no doubt, however, that the district of Mangalore was in the forefront of the khadi and swadeshi movement. The movement to boycott foreign cloth started there first in Coondapur. Shops selling foreign cloth were picketed by volunteers in an exemplary and disciplined manner, and soon they succeeded in persuading the shopkeepers to stop selling foreign material. The authorities let loose the police on peaceful, unarmed volunteers. Later the scene of activity shifted to Mangalore. At the marketplace in Mangalore, on the 26th January,

1932, a policeman mockingly asked a volunteer whether they had got their freedom. The volunteer told him that they would certainly get it one day. At this the policeman was enraged and started to kick the volunteer with his booted foot. On the 10th February, 1932 the town of Mangalore witnessed one of the most vivid scenes of Government repression. The police beat the volunteers with lathis and batons. According to a contemporary account, the faces, cheeks, noses and necks of the picketing volunteers began to bleed, yet they did not give in. Moved by their self-sacrifice, the shopkeepers stopped selling foreign goods.

Though the heroes who contributed to the khadi movement were many, special mention should be made of Hardekar Manjappa. He served the movement by making public speeches, writing books, editing journals, and starting a craft-oriented training institution. He was the most important spokesman for the Gandhian ideals, because he sincerely practised what he preached. Through his speeches and his journals, *Khadi Vijaya* and *Udyoga*, he propagated among the people the ideal of work and service. In particular he emphasised the significance of manual labour. In his Veerashaiva Vidyalaya at Alamatti, Bijapur district, he provided an education based on the principle that body and mind must be developed equally. He gave crafts and self-service an important place in his curriculum. Besides this, he popularised khadi through his books. His work, *Khadi Shastra* (The Science of Khadi) was important. It was published in 1933 under the imprint of the *Navajeevana Grantha Bhandara*, by Alur Venkata Rao. In his preface to that work, Alur Venkata Rao rightly says that Manjappa was a pioneer in the khadi movement in Karnataka. This well-thought out study seeks to establish the thesis that, if it is to be really independent, a nation must be economically self-sufficient. It should, as far as possible, produce the goods it consumes within its own economic system. In other words, Manjappa argued that political nationalism is inadequate unless backed up by economic nationalism. Studded with statistical data, this scholarly work should be regarded as a noteworthy contribution to the economics of our nationalism. It is divided into eight chapters, (1) The Industrial Age, (2) The Antiquity of Khadi in India, (3) The Indian Textile Skill, (4) The Destruction of Indian Handicrafts by the Company Government, (5) The Significance of the Spinning-Wheel and the Handloom, (6) Khadi versus Mill Cloth, (7) The Boycott of Foreign Cloth, and (8) The Sanctity of Khadi. As these chapter-headings indicate, the volume is a comprehensive study of khadi.

Reference must be made here to the encouragement given to khadi and other handicrafts by the old Mysore Government, especially during Sir Mirza Ismail's Dewanship. Under the impact of Gandhism, many khadi centres were started with the help of the Government. The khadi cult was propagated through a wide variety of means. Besides speeches and writings, there were khadi bhajans sung in the villages. Also to popularise the cause, Charkha Jayanti was celebrated.

It is fitting here to recall some at least of the important workers who participated in the khadi movement in Karnataka. They are Tagadur Ramachandra Rao (Mysore), S. Vasudeva Rao (Chitaldrug), "Khadi" Siddalingappa (Davangere), Sivaraj Kamat (Belgaum), Dabde (Dharwar), Marularadhya Shastri (Bijapur), K. Hanumantha Rao, Siddhu Rao Pujur, Siddappa Malnad and R. S. Hukkerikar (Dharwar). There were a host of humbler workers all over Karnataka who, though unnamed here, should not remain unremembered.

Gandhiji's constructive work consisted in the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, the Harijan movement, khadi work, and so on. Of these the two most successful, in terms of organisational effort, were Hindu-Muslim unity and Khadi. So far as Karnataka is concerned, the first problem was not serious. Historically and traditionally Karnataka has always been a land of tolerance where diverse groups were allowed to live harmoniously, to each other's advantage. Hence the problem of Muslims here was comparatively less acute. It was khaddar that assumed real importance in Karnataka. In fact, in the popular imagination Gandhiji and khadi became virtually identical. The success of the national movement in Karnataka, as indeed in the country as a whole, was due to a considerable extent to the subsidiary strength supplied by movements like khadi propagation. Khadi sought to undermine the prestige of the ruling regime by undermining its economic foundations. It gave millions of simple folk scattered in the villages a new hope and a new occupation. It restored the prestige of our indigenous way of living, and thus strengthened the feeling of nationalism. It was Gandhiji's genius to create symbols like khadi to rally popular support round the growing feeling of nationalism. Constructively, khadi gave the national movement a solid economic content. In the total assessment of the factors that eventually shook beyond repair the foundations of British imperialism in India, the khadi cult must be accorded an honourable place. There is much truth in the popular, nationalist song on khadi that "Turning the spinning-wheel, we shall wrest our freedom!"

The Harijan Movement in Karnataka

Untouchability has constituted one of the major instances of social injustice in India. At the outskirts of any village or town, at a respectable distance, there lie sprinkled the small huts of these unfortunate folk. They are isolated not only topographically but also socially from the rest of the population. They are systematically excluded from all religious and social activities of the rest of the people. They are forbidden to use the common tanks, wells, schools, hospitals, choultries and temples. In the village their main job is to clean the area, to utilise the skin of dead cattle for making useful goods like footwear, and to assist the peasants in simple manual work. In bigger towns they act as scavengers and clean the gutters, streets and lavatories. In short their main function is to see that the rest of the population may breathe a fresher and cleaner air. Their reward for this service is social isolation and degradation. Their chief sin is the sin of being born to parents belonging to a certain group.

In Karnataka, as in other parts of India, reformers have not been lacking who have tried to alleviate the suffering of these people. Earlier reformers like Buddha, Basava, Ramanuja, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Swami Ramadas, Sant Tukaram, and later reformers like Swami Vivekananda and Swami Shraddhananda, attacked the evil of untouchability. The Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj can be seen as revolts against such evils in Hindu society. In the recent period, Mahatma Gandhi has been the outstanding champion of the untouchables. It was he who succeeded in giving the Harijan movement cohesion on an all-India basis. It was he who persuaded the Indian National Congress to accept Harijan uplift as an integral part of the freedom movement. No doubt the Mahatma was aware, and he said so, that it was primarily a socio-religious issue. But he also knew that it had political implications. He knew that the British were attempting to wean the Harijans away from the national cause. Moreover, he felt that India's case for freedom would be morally vulnerable so long as India tolerated such an evil as untouchability.

It was during the 1917 session of the Congress at Calcutta that the Harijan movement came to be recognised formally as part of the Congress programme. Gandhiji waged a ceaseless war on the evil of untouchability through speech and writing. It is interesting here to recall that once during a political conference at Bijapur Gandhiji was called upon to address an audience on

a resolution for the removal of untouchability. Before starting his speech he wanted to know if there was a single Harijan among the audience. On hearing that there was none he sank back despondent and silent. Such was the significance he attached to this problem. In 1919 Gandhiji took over the editorship of the paper, *Young India*, and wasted no time in turning it into an effective champion of the Harijan cause. In the issue dated 8 August, 1920, he declared that untouchability was a blot on humanity itself. Thus with his blessings the movement began to gather momentum. The Malabar Vaikom temple entry satyagraha and the Kerala Guruvayur temple entry satyagraha were organised under his general guidance. On 2 August 1931, thanks to his efforts, a private temple and well were thrown open to the Harijans in Ahmedabad. As usual, Gandhiji was reasonable and fair-minded with his opponents. He conceded that private temples ought not to be made targets of any satyagraha unless they were traditionally open to the public. As for himself, the Mahatma made it a point not to enter any temple which Harijans were not allowed to enter. In 1931 the Karachi Congress passed a resolution on fundamental rights, including equality, and thus placed the Harijans on a footing of equality with the rest.

The Round Table Conference of 1931 which Gandhiji attended revealed how the British statesmen tried to exploit the Harijans to their advantage. Both Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Jinnah seem to have played into the hands of these statesmen. Dr. Ambedkar pleaded for a separate electorate for the Harijans. Gandhiji opposed it as undermining the unity of India. On 12 August, 1932, the Government announced its Communal Award, accepting the principle of a separate electorate. Gandhiji decided to undertake a fast unto death on the issue from 20 September, 1932. This decision, while plunging the country into gloom, gave a tremendous fillip to the Harijan movement. Countrywide support to the Harijan cause was eloquently demonstrated. The fast had its effect, and a compromise was announced on September 26, 1932, upon which the Mahatma broke his fast. This compromise did away with the separate electorate, and by a somewhat complicated scheme assured the untouchables their proper share in political representation.

On September 30, 1932, an association for the eradication of untouchability was started, with Ghanshyamdas Birla as its president and Amritlal Thakkar as its secretary. Later it was named the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It opened branches all over the

country. After his release from prison in 1933, Gandhiji decided, in the teeth of considerable opposition within the freedom movement, to set apart one whole year for the Harijan cause. From November 1933 onwards he undertook a strenuous all-India tour and campaign in the interest of the Harijan movement. In 1936 the Travancore Government threw open all temples officially to the Harijans; in all in that State some 1526 temples became accessible to the Harijans. In 1937 the Congress took part in the elections and won them in seven provinces. The Congress in office encouraged the Harijans by opening tanks, wells, choultries and schools to them and by giving them Government land for cultivation.

In South India the problem has been least acute in Karnataka. This is not to say that it did not exist. It did exist, but Karnataka has produced a long line of great reformers who have sought to destroy the evil of untouchability. The religious reformers here tackled the problem with rare courage and understanding. The major figure in this connection is, beyond doubt, Basavanna, who brought about a great social and religious revolution in Karnataka in the 12th century. Basavanna himself seems to have been preceded by reformers like Devara Dasimayya. But Basavanna possessed a uniquely comprehensive socio-religious vision of an egalitarian society. While the general tendency was to overemphasise the religious aspect, Basavanna gave his movement a clear social content. He generated a popular movement which shook the very foundations of the existing social order; its consequences can be felt even to this day. Once he declared in his forcible but simple manner, “. . . . Brahmin or outcaste, all devotees of Shiva are one. . . .” Indeed the Vachanakaras, who popularised the tenets of the Veerashaiva revolution, became the best exponents of the cause of social justice. The egalitarian ideal was also advanced, though perhaps less explicitly socially, by other religious sects. The Dasas must be mentioned in this context. Purandara Dasa and Kanaka Dasa protested against the practice of untouchability in some of their devotional songs. The great poet Sarvagna with his scorching satire did not spare this social evil. Thus Karnataka can boast of a distinguished record of protest against untouchability. With this background Karnataka was very hospitable to the Harijan movement.

When the Harijan Sevak Sangh was started in 1933, Karnataka was in the forefront of the Harijan movement. Branches of this Sangh were soon started in Bijapur, Belgaum, Karwar, Mangalore, Coorg and Bellary, with Hubli as the headquarters,

When Gandhiji toured Karnataka in connection with the movement he met with great enthusiasm everywhere. Among the leaders in the movement in North Karnataka, mention must be made of Veerana Gauda Patil and his wife, Shrimati Patil. Shri Patil was the President of the Karnataka Board of the Harijana Sevak Sangh. It was due to the efforts of the Patils that the Harijan Balikashram for the education of Harijan girls was started in Hubli in 1934. It is a proud fact for Karnataka that this was the only institution of its kind in the whole of the old Bombay Province. It was actually started in direct response to Gandhiji's appeal for Harijan uplift during his tour of Karnataka. Another active participant in the movement was Shrimati Siddhamathi Mylar, wife of the great hero of the freedom movement, Mylar Mahadevappa. In the old Mysore region, the leaders in the movement were Gopalaswamy Iyengar, H. C. Dasappa, and Shrimati Yashodharamma Dasappa. The Government of old Mysore did much to help the Harijans. Hostels were started for their benefit. Scholarships, freeships and loans were liberally granted to Harijan students. It is no exaggeration to claim that old Mysore was one of the leaders in advancing the cause of the Harijans educationally as well as in the matter of employment. In Karnataka as a whole there does not seem to have been much done for the cause of Harijan temple entry. However, these efforts for the Harijans did succeed in drawing the Harijan youth into the freedom struggle. Karnataka also gave liberally to the Harijan fund and thus advanced the cause.

One of the abiding results of the movement was the production of writings pertaining to it. In this connection mention must be made of Pundur Lakshminarayana Puninchathaya. His poem, *Harijana Sandhana*, published in 1934, helped Gandhiji in making the Harijan cause popular in Karnataka during his tour. Pandit Taranath in his speeches advocated the Harijan cause. Hardekar Manjappa wrote a book on the theme, entitled *Adijanara Sudharane*, and also he wrote a number of brilliant editorials on this subject in his paper *Sarana Sandesha*, during 1932–1934. K. F. Patil's *Removal of Untouchability* is the most systematic account of the movement, both in India as a whole and in Karnataka, that we have in Kannada.

It is difficult to assess with any degree of exactitude the impact of this movement on the freedom struggle in Karnataka. Nonetheless, a few general remarks may be made. Firstly it helped to integrate society and thus strengthen its unity against alien rule. It did succeed in breaking down the centuries-old barriers and

bring the Harijans under the common banner of nationalism. Secondly, a movement as vigorous and enthusiastic as the Harijan movement could not but generate energies and emotions which could be canalised for the purpose of the freedom struggle. Taking it all in all, one may conclude that the Harijan movement did affect the freedom movement, and that for the good.

Women in the Freedom Struggle

The part played by women in the fight for freedom is so remarkable and so glorious that one begins to wonder how these women of India, represented as slaves of their menfolk and steeped in ignorance and superstition by Western observers like the Abbe Dubois and Miss Mayo, could have so suddenly acquired the courage, endurance, determination and spirit of sacrifice which they showed in such abundant measure during the freedom fight. They shared with their menfolk the trials and tribulations associated with satyagraha. In this fight, even the most unlettered and uneducated women, of whom there were thousands, showed such an understanding of the situation and such awareness of the sacrifice and suffering involved in the fight, that those who formerly scoffed at them were forced to admire and to know that lack of education or literacy does not mean lack of culture.

The impact of the British and the West in general had a profound influence on the status of women in India. The numerous wars and political upheavals of the 18th century had greatly weakened social stability in India, though less so in the remote rural parts. As the British power began to spread towards the last quarter of the 18th century, new forces of disruption made themselves felt. The British remained foreigners and looked down upon the Indians, inheritors of an ancient culture, as ignorant and superstitious. In the wake of the British soldier and administrator came the Christian missionary fulminating against the religion, manners and customs of the Indians and promising to reveal an open door to heaven through his Christian religion. Often he adopted means in no wise upright or honest to convert the people to Christianity. The English officer in India, with very few exceptions, was an insufferable snob, and often a tyrant. He sought not only to upset the political fabric of India, but also to undermine her economic and social stability.

This inevitably produced a reaction. In the political field there were risings, culminating in the struggle for freedom of 1857-58. In the social and religious fields mighty reforming

movements were set on foot by about the middle of the 19th century. Raja Ram Mohan Roy worked with single-minded devotion for the furtherance of social justice irrespective of caste, creed and sex. Mohipatram Rupram started the Prarthana Samaj in Gujarat ; Dayanand Saraswati established the dynamic social reform organisation of the Arya Samaj in Lahore in 1877, which was frankly and avowedly antagonistic to Christianity. (L.S.S.O' Malley, *Modern India and the West*, p. 680) and sought to revive all that was free and liberal in the ancient Vedic culture ; Mahadev Govind Ranade in the Deccan made an all-out effort at social reform by establishing, in 1887, the National Social Conference, as he firmly believed that " you cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights, nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on reason and justice ". Indeed the second half of the 19th century in India may well be called the period of social reform ; for, in addition to the leaders of reform mentioned above, there were many others who infused new faith and vigour into the battered and effete social system and led people towards a new hope and aspiration. All these reformers and revivalists attached great importance to the question of removing the disabilities imposed on women and raising them to a position of equality with men.

From the time of the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, women, especially of the higher and educated classes, were becoming more and more vociferous with regard to improvement in their condition. At first, some of the leaders of the Congress did not think it right to introduce the problems of women into the proceedings of the Congress. Surendranath Banerjea said in 1895, " However much we may love and respect our ladies, we do not think they are yet qualified for representative government." Dadabhai Naoroji remarked : " A national Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses." The result of this was the rise of the National Social Conference in 1887. But A. O. Hume warned his colleagues that " political reformers of all shades of opinion should never forget that unless the elevation of the female element of the nation proceeds *pari passu* with other work, all their labour for political enfranchisement will prove vain." (John Murdoch : *Twelve Years of Indian Progress*, p. 36).

Neera Desai, writing about the entry of women into the

political arena, says : “ In the political field the nature of the programme of the boycott of foreign goods and the use of swadeshi was such that it drew women also within the sphere of the political movement. The Indian woman had only to abstain from the use of luxurious foreign cloth and wear swadeshi. It was also during this period that 500 women of Calcutta congratulated the mother of Khudiram Bose, the revolutionary youth who was hanged for killing a British official, when she bravely appreciated and extolled the patriotic act of her son. Thus increasing sections of Indian women began to interest themselves and participate in the political movement during the first decade of the 20th century. Before Mahatma Gandhi came to the forefront of the national movement and became its undisputed leader, two women with outstanding talent and personality, one a foreigner, the other an Indian, were having a deep impression on the mind of the Indian women and gave impetus to them to participate in the freedom struggle. They were Annie Besant and Sarojini Naidu. Annie Besant with her militant demand of Home Rule for the Indian people remarked in 1917 that the strength of the Home Rule Movement was rendered tenfold greater “ by the adhesion to it of a large number of women, who brought to it the uncalculating heroism, the endurance, the self-sacrifice of the feminine nature. Our league’s best recruits and recruiters are amongst the women of India, and the women of Madras boast that they marched in procession when the men were stopped and that their prayers in the temples set the interned captives free.” The conviction gained ground among the people that Indian women, even when they are illiterate, have an innate capacity for high endeavour and sacrifice in the national cause.

The First World War and the political and social consequences that followed caused disillusionment among the people of the world, especially among subject people like those of India. The impressive announcements during the war that victory would make the world safe for democracy were soon forgotten by the allies in their scramble for power and possessions. In India the situation was ripe for the emergence of a leader who could infuse courage and hope among the people and lead them along the path of freedom and progress. As if in answer to the prayer of the millions, such a leader came in the person of Gandhiji. Never before in the recorded history of India, except perhaps when Buddha preached his message of love, kindness and charity, had there arisen a Messiah who could capture the hearts of the people and lead them to deeds of heroism and sacrifice so easily and

naturally as Gandhiji. He swayed the hearts of men, women and children, high and low, rich and poor, as no popular leader had done. He was responsible for the remarkable awakening among women in the twenties and thirties of this century. In his scheme of fighting imperialistic reaction and his march towards freedom and progress, there was as important a role for women as for men. The Congress had been almost the exclusive preserve of monied and educated men ; it now included men and women of all classes. He made the Congress a truly national organization.

Along with the national consciousness which was evoked by Gandhiji, there arose class-consciousness. People began to agitate not only for freedom from British rule but also for emancipation from tyrannical landlords and capitalists who thrived at the expense of the poor hardworking peasants and labourers. The kisan movement and the trade union movement took a definite shape in this period, and socialist and communist ideas began to inspire large numbers. "In twenty years (roughly from 1921 to 1941) women in India passed from apathetic indifference to eager activity and an acute awareness of their responsibility as citizens. . . . In Bombay, for instance, women who did not know their way along the main streets . . . formed themselves into a band of desh-sevikas who walked in processions, picketed liquor and European shops, lay on the tramlines and obstructed the traffic for thirty hours at a stretch. . . . This was self-sacrificing service on a grand scale involving notoriety, hardship, the abandoning of home claims and young children and all that the Indian women hold most dear." (Mrs. Gray, quoted in *Modern India and the West*, by O'Malley, p. 476). Under Gandhiji the nationalist movement became a mass movement, and in his comprehensive scheme for winning freedom through sacrifice there was a prominent place for women also. When the call came for non-cooperation in 1921-22, large numbers of women responded and courted arrest. "Young and old, men and women, braved police lathis, they squatted on the road in passive resistance for hours on end when processions were blocked." Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay's account of the part played by women at this stage of the struggle is worth quoting :

"Gandhiji's first instinct was to reserve women for some special work and not allow them to participate in the general struggle. But the movement proved too big for that. Even though only a few women were chosen officially in the salt satyagraha with which the Indian revolution opened on the morning

of April 6, 1930, by sunset of that first day it had turned into a mass movement and swept the country.

“ On that memorable day thousands of women strode down to the sea like proud warriors. But instead of weapons they bore pitchers of clay, brass and copper, and instead of uniforms, the simple saris of village India. One watched them fascinated and awe-struck. How had they broken their age-old shell of social seclusion and burst into this fierce light of open warfare? Undoubtedly the women turned this struggle into a beautiful epic. As Mahatma Gandhi said, ‘ The part the women of India played will be written in letters of gold ’.

“ Unlettered, untrained, unprepared, they assumed new duties with unexpected courage. It was the women who made law-breaking universal. Following the violation of the Salt Act came effective attacks on the Forest Laws and other obnoxious taxes and regulations.”

Women, more particularly Indian women, are the embodiment of sacrifice. When Indian women plunged into the national struggle in their hundreds and thousands, and unflinchingly braved all the horrors of Government repression, it roused the men to greater deeds of heroism and gave the struggle a touch of dignity and grace. Differences of breeding, social status and attainments no longer counted in answering the call of the motherland. The unlettered and ignorant rustic woman mixed freely with the cultured and aristocratic lady on a level of equality. They spread the message of khaddar, and spun on the charkha or takli with a song on their lips ; they prepared the salt of freedom and auctioned it ; they went to the forest and cut down the trees ; they stood before toddy shops day-long in the scorching sun and exhorted the frequenters to give up the pernicious habit ; with folded hands they begged the dealers in foreign cloth to stop selling it ; early at dawn they left their homes to take part in Prabhat Pheris and flag salute. The police—to our shame it must be said that most of them were Indians—beat them, kicked them, and showered foul abuse upon them. Undeterred by these, with no trace of fear, they carried on their duties, many of them having poison ready to save themselves if there should be any attempt at physical molestation by the police or their goonda minions. Gandhiji's sorcery had transformed overnight the docile, quiet-going and secluded Indian woman into an intrepid, resolute patriot. This was a phenomenon unsurpassed in history, and the world gaped in wonder to see women exhibit a courage and endurance which even men should envy. It was as if Indian

women were out to prove to the world the appropriateness of the Vedic representation of Shakti as a woman.

What has been said above applied to Karnataka also, where there was a tremendous awakening among women, especially in the northern districts which had come under the influence of Tilak's dynamism. Outstanding among scores of Karnataka women who took part in the struggle for freedom is Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, who took a leading part in the fight ; she was also one of the pioneers of the socialist movement. Umabai Kundapur was greatly responsible for nationalist awakening among the women of North Karnataka, and her activities extended to the general uplift of women. Equally energetic and unremitting in the work of preparing the women of North Karnataka for national service was Krishnabai Panjekar. With their persuasive eloquence these two leaders inspired the women of North Karnataka for the satyagraha of the early thirties. Ballari Siddamma's name stands out prominently as one who not only participated in the fight for freedom, but also played a prominent part in the formation of an integrated Karnataka. Equally important and noteworthy is the part played by Yashodharamma Dasappa, wife of one of the staunchest of Congressmen, who worked unceasingly in the political and social fields. Nagamma Patil, wife of Sardar Veerana Gowda, also laboured hard in bringing about an awakening among women and in carrying on the constructive programme of the Congress, especially the Harijan cause. Scores of other women leaders devoted all their talent and energies to the national cause.

As important, and as impressive, as the contribution of the women leaders in the national struggle was the sacrifice made by the hundreds and thousands of Karnataka women who formed the rank and file of the fighters. It was these women, uneducated and without even a clear conception of the importance and significance of the fight, who responded to the call of Gandhiji and patiently bore all kinds of suffering, pain and anguish ; their fortitude, their endurance and their stoicism in the midst of agonizing experiences elevated the story of the fight for freedom in Karnataka to an epic. When their menfolk were arrested they performed arati and gave them a smiling farewell ; uncomplainingly they endured privations in the absence of their breadwinners ; they gave food and shelter to the Congress workers who were carrying on their various duties incognito ; often they acted as messengers carrying secret information and instruction from one Congress camp to another ;

when the call for active satyagraha came, they proved ideal satyagrahis.

Gowramma with her co-workers Kaveramma, Bhagirthamma and Duggamma offered satyagraha in front of the house of the Patel of Akkunji, North Kanara. The police dragged them about, beat them with canes and even kicked them, all the while uttering the foulest abuse. At Tigani in Sirsi taluk, North Kanara, two women satyagrahis sat in front of Gadigeppa Gowda's house fasting. When night came they went to a temple near by for rest. Some rowdies sent by Gadigeppa went to the temple. Taking hold of the legs of Venkamma they lifted her up, swung her round and threw her on the ground. Parameswaramma who was near her shouted for help. One of them closed her mouth with his hand. Fearing the worst from that ruffian, she took out the knife which she always carried, with the intention of killing herself. Seeing this he held her hands tightly behind her back while his companion slapped her fiercely on the face. When they were bedridden with wounds all over their bodies, these women said that they would carry on satyagraha as soon as they were cured. Instances of this type were innumerable.

Stories of such inhumanity reached London, and the India League sent a delegation to India in 1932 to study the situation and report. This delegation visited Siddapur on the 1st of September. A few extracts from their Report are given here :
“ The officials and the policemen we met assured us that all that appeared in Congress bulletins were untrue. The policemen never seized stocks of foodstuffs and grain or funds as alleged by Congress and in no case were women beaten.

“ While we were with the Mamlatdar and Circle Inspector of Police shouts and cries were heard in the street below. An old woman approached us and spoke in Kanarese. This was interpreted to us. She said that many were beaten by the police. The Inspector and the Mamlatdar were unable to give any explanation. The latter asked us to go with him to the police compound and see the prisoners. Squatting on the veranda were fifteen women and two girls, the latter aged seven and nine. The Sub-Inspector who had been with us at the beginning was now here and was walking up and down before the women and looking at them fiercely.

“ The women's story : They had come into the town half an hour after the arrival of the delegation. They were determined to make a demonstration. A crowd had followed them.

The shouting we heard in the bungalow was the shouting of the people. The Sub-Inspector and his men dispersed the men and arrested the seventeen women who had come from the outlying villages and had caned them on the way to the police station. They made no resistance and were non-violent, and yet they were struck by the police behind as they were marched off. Injuries on the right shoulder of one was plainly visible, a recently caused stripe. Another had a contusion on the head, a third showed a mark on the arm and the widow who seemed to be in charge of the demonstration displayed a badly bruised arm which she said had been caused by the police.

“ While the discussion was going on, the women protested against the Sub-Inspector (who had done the beating) and he shot out, ‘ You will get worse than this.’ The women defied him to do his worst. We took up the case with the Circle Inspector at the bungalow later, and he denied knowledge of the facts of the case, but warned us that he knew of a case in which complaints had been made to Mr. Clee, Home Secretary to the Bombay Government, and in this case it was found that one woman had beaten all her arrested companions in order to make out that the police beat women. We subsequently learned that the women were released at dark that night when it was raining very heavily. No food was given them and they were sent out of town to walk many miles back to their villages.”

A single paragraph from the delegation’s report on what they saw and heard at Ankola is given below :

“ Our enquiries showed that the Mamlatdar, who was not on the spot, had only such information as the police gave him. The police used their lathies and canes, men, women and children were beaten. The President of the District Board of Ankola told us that the lathi charge was in fact decided on, directed and carried out by the police official and the fifteen constables and neither the Mamlatdar nor the Police Inspector had given any orders. The crowd was mercilessly beaten. One man’s arm was broken, five or six others were seriously hurt and at least a hundred were severely beaten. Where the police only used canes, the canes were broken to pieces on the bodies of the people. We saw some of the casualties, one had a wound on his hand and was in great pain, while another had his right arm covered with stripes from shoulder to elbow.”

It was women who enlisted the abundant enthusiasm of the children in the service of the nation by forming “ Vanara Senas ”. There was a Youth League in Bombay, and from among the

members of this League a batch of youngsters was selected to form a Vanara Sena by Shri Johri. The All India Youth League took this up and formed this boys' army all over the country. Even at the age of 12, Indira Gandhi organized a youngsters' army of 6000 at Allahabad. Kamaladevi and Vidya Killewala in Bombay, Rameswaramma at Madras, organized similar Vanara Senas. These youngsters were only a nuisance to the Government in the early stages, but as the tempo of the freedom struggle quickened, they served the national cause with an intrepidity and determination second to none—bearing lathi blows, enduring tortures from the police in lock-ups, facing bullets and even death.

Before Jatin Das went on hunger-strike and sacrificed his life in the cause of prisoners in 1930, Indian prisons, except in the largest cities, were squalid hovels unfit for human habitation. It was in that year that the unfair and unwarranted division of political prisoners into A, B and C classes based on the social standing of the prisoner was introduced. Life in C class prisons was very hard, the rooms being dark and dirty, the cloth coarse and unfit for human wear, and the food unfit for human consumption. As the number of prisoners increased, large numbers of women also were placed in C class. But men and women marched into them cheerfully. In these gloomy cells, babies first saw the light of day. Women fell back on their ancient native wits to meet these delicate situations, their eyes often twinkling at the humour of the situation and their laughter allaying pain and sorrow. Newcomers caught and responded to this irrepressible spirit of cheerfulness. Mothers were proud of these "war-babies", and commemorated the event by giving them appropriate names: "Princess of the Prison", "Lord of the Struggle", "Victory" were some of the names. The babies belonged to the entire community and were mothered by all.

"A woman who had lost her baby in prison took to nursing a new comer, whose mother was ill with typhoid, and before long she adopted this new child. Such adoptions were by no means isolated cases or confined to babies. Even older girls, if they happened to be orphans, found new parents. Prison-life in its weird way had a humanizing influence, breaking down old walls of caste or religious prejudice. Few factors contributed so effectively to social merging as the sharing of this intimate life together, first on the battlefield, then in confinement. The Brahman forgot to maintain her high-class exclusiveness or seclusion. There were no untouchables or outcasts in this community. Everyone was a member of one big family."

More than any other leader, it was Gandhiji who fully understood the place of women in society and treated them as equal to men. The technique of non-violence and satyagraha demands the spirit of service and sacrifice and the capacity to suffer without inflicting any suffering on the enemy ; in these qualities women excel men. Horace Alexander thus writes about what he saw in Bombay in 1930 : “ It was startling, when one landed in Bombay in 1930, during the then Civil Disobedience, to go round the city watching women, some of whom had till that day never ventured outside their households even veiled, now sitting openly on stools outside liquor shops, quietly, composedly plying their little hand-spinning wheels, as if they had been in public life all their lives. Yet some of them knew the city so little that they had no idea how to find their way home at the end of the day. Either they must wait for some man member of the family to fetch them, or—does it sound incredible?—they would rely on the goodwill of the shopkeeper whose trade they were silently picketting. Such was the policy of Gandhi’s appeal to the hearts of Indian women that scores responded to his call. When the women led processions through the streets, as they were eager to do, the unfortunate police angrily protested that the men ought not to allow such things to happen, as it made the task of the police intolerable.”

When Congress Governments were formed in 1936, quite a large number of women were able to work as members of Municipalities and local boards, and a few worked efficiently even as Ministers, Under-secretaries and Deputy Speakers in Provincial Governments. Even among the women of the poorer classes, political consciousness had developed as the result of their participation in the political struggle. By the end of the third decade of this century quite a large number of such women had become members of national political organisations, and their aim was a socialist pattern of Indian public life.

When the great struggle of 1942 came following upon the Quit India resolution of the Congress, women were able to play as effective a part as men. It was a struggle whose slogan was Do or Die, a struggle in which no quarter was given or sought. In Karnataka thousands of women and girl students took part in the struggle and went through the horrors of police repression. A lead had already been given them when the 15th All India Women’s Conference in Bangalore in December 1940 declared in one of its resolutions that “ It once more affirms its faith in non-violence as the best solution of the world’s ills and appeals

to the Governments of all nations to put aside their weapons of destruction and seek peace in ways other than war. It appeals to the women of the world in particular to throw in the full weight of their moral force on the side of permanent world peace. Such peace is impossible without a new order based on social justice and equality of all nations. It, therefore, recognizes that there can be no world peace till India and all other subject nations attain their liberty as the first and logical step towards the attainment of the ideals for which Britain has declared she is at war. This Committee cannot but deplore the suffering of all peoples whose freedom has been taken away from them, and it reiterates that war can never solve any problem." Gandhiji had transformed the quiet, docile and shy Indian women into a force that counted in the struggle for freedom.

Before closing the chapter, mention should be made of the sufferings imposed upon three women of Isoor—Halamma, Parvathamma and Siddamma. An account of this tragic episode is given in the chapter on the Quit India struggle. Here it may be stated that provoked by the Sub-Inspector's attitude towards the enraged crowd and his attempt to shoot an innocent girl, these three women rushed forward heedless of danger, and were sentenced to life-imprisonment as the result. Parvathamma, a woman of respectable family, was accused, among other things, that "she beat the dead and the injured after they had been tied up" (Proceedings of the High Court of Mysore—Criminal referred case No. 1—1942-43). About Halamma, it was stated in the same judgement that "she was thoroughly concerned in the killing of the Amildar". Halamma's husband, Basavanneppa, who was in hiding, later died of a broken heart. The accusation against Siddamma was similar. In the tragedy of Isoor, which was so memorable an incident in the Quit India struggle, the women played a role in no way inferior to that of the men.

Youth to the Fore

The part played by the youth of our land during the fight for independence is memorable; in some respects they formed the backbone of the national resistance. Boys and girls studying in secondary schools and young men and women in colleges came out in their thousands in answer to the call of the Congress. Youth is the age of abounding enthusiasm; and there was a danger of some of the youth indulging in acts of violence contrary to the principle of non-violence. In the initial stage of the fight,

Gandhiji thought that students should pay attention more to the constructive aspects of the Congress programme, the dissemination of Congress ideals among the people, the spread of khaddar, prohibition, etc., than to actual participation in the fight. In his message sent to the All-India Students' Convention at Lahore on the 30th December 1929, Gandhiji said : " The first duty of the students is self-control, discipline and promotion of khadi work." At the same Convention, Jawaharlal Nehru said that the spirit of youth was only criticism and restlessness rather than the spirit of shouldering responsibility, and he urged the students to develop themselves and their organisation so that the people might realise that the youth movement was not only a movement of words but also of deeds. From the same platform Vallabhbhai Patel exhorted the students to speak little and work more.

That students, if they are properly guided or organised, are equal to any kind of disciplined work, had been demonstrated by an unostentatious Congress worker, N. S. Hardikar. When during the Flag Satyagraha at Nagpur in 1923 a number of Congress volunteers were imprisoned, some young satyagrahis conceived the idea of building up a disciplined body of workers for the national cause. Hardikar formed the Hindustani Seva Dal, and the First Seva Dal Conference was held in December, 1923, during the session of the National Congress at Kakinada. The chief centre for training volunteers was at Hubli in Karnataka, and a Physical Culture Institute was established later at Bagalkot. The result of training volunteers for national work was seen at the Belgaum Congress Session in 1924, where hundreds of trained volunteer youths, students and others, men and women, rendered service in the most orderly and efficient manner, demonstrating that the youth of India was alive and awake, and if properly trained and guided was equal to any kind of national service. Training centres were established in many parts of the country, and the enthusiasm of the youth for training was such that for some time there was a shortage of instructors. At the Calcutta Congress of 1928 it was decided to observe National Flag Day all over the country on the last Sunday of every month, and the duty of conducting it fell to the volunteer youth, who proved themselves able and efficient in all items of national service. The Seva Dal was soon recognized as a vital arm of the Congress, and was placed under the direct charge of the Working Committee. Every member of a recognized volunteer corps was to be a member of the Congress and was to conform to its code and discipline. Quite a large part of the volunteer army was

composed of students. The apprehensions aroused at first in the minds of national leaders about the youth of the country rising equal to the stress and strain of national service were belied by the glorious contribution of the youth in the fight for freedom in the coming years. Looking back, it can be seen that there was nothing extraordinary in this success of the volunteer organisation. It was said that, during the Seven Years' War in Europe, Lord Chatham, Prime Minister of England, was able to transform even cowards into heroes by the magic of his personality. In India Gandhiji was able to do something more : almost overnight he was able to infuse courage and the spirit of sacrifice into the hearts of thousands of Indian women who had not till then come out of their domestic seclusion, and who during the satyagraha campaign wrote a golden chapter in the history of the struggle for freedom. It is no wonder that, while mothers possessed such a potentiality of courage and sacrifice, their children did not lag behind. There were some elders, however, who thought that students would only ruin their careers by participating in national activities and advised them solemnly to confine themselves to study. But this was like King Canute ordering the waves of the sea to recede from his august presence ; the tide of nationalism swept the youth off their feet and no force could arrest its advance. Carrying in his frail body India's pain and misery of centuries and the vision of the ancient seers, Gandhiji worked an amazing transformation among our youth.

When Sir Mirza Ismail, addressing the students of Tiptur in 1930, delivered a hortatory discourse about the evils and dangers of students taking part in politics, Hosakoppa Krishna Rao, presiding over the Mysore State Youth Conference on the 2nd September, 1930, gave this rejoinder : " When we are today face to face with a great national struggle, advice is being given by high-placed men that students should not take part in political movements. Our Diwan thought it fit to administer a dose of his advice to the students of Tiptur recently. . . . I do not want the Diwan or any other university man to tell us what the Austrian Emperor stated to the Professors of a University in the eighteenth century : ' Gentlemen, I want you to give useful servants and docile citizens ' I stand before you, young men, to confess my faith in India, the ancient and the immortal. The great ages and epochs in world history have been the history of hope and faith. I ask you that are young, to pledge yourselves to do your duty to your country. Bharata Mata is our leader. Who can conquer the Mother Immortal ?" Delegates had come from

many parts of India for this Conference ; V. A. Sundaram of the Banares Hindu University, A. B. Salem of Cochin, Achuta Menon of Trivandrum. N. Subramanya Iyer, Dewan Peshkar of Trivandrum, spoke on the occasion exhorting the students to come out of the rut of classrooms and text-books into the open field of national service.

During the intensified struggle of 1930-32, the youth of Karnataka rendered yeoman service. To harness the exuberant enthusiasm and energy of youth, Vanara Senas had been organized in various parts of the country by women leaders. At the tender age of twelve, Nehru's daughter Indira built up an army of 6000 children at Allahabad, and similar armies were organized in Bombay, Madras and many other places. During the struggle of 1931-32 young volunteers in Karnataka carried on flag-hoisting and salute and in many cases braved the lathi charges and bullets of the police. One instance of such courage, among many, may be given here. In the year 1930 Burli Seshanna gathered a large body of students to perform salt satyagraha in Mangalore. He collected contraband salt and started in the morning carrying the national flag at the head of a large body of students. The police who were aware of this stopped them on the way and ordered them to disperse. The procession did not move. Seshanna advanced a step. The police who were waiting for this began to shower blows with their lathis on the boys. Seshanna was the first to receive the blows. His arm was fractured and soon his whole body was covered with blood from the wounds caused by the blows. When he swooned at last the police carried him to a school building near by and left him unconscious. It was only in the evening that he could be taken to the hospital. The first thing that he asked as soon as he regained consciousness was "Where is my flag? What happened to the procession?"

National education institutions were established for those who had left those run by the Government, but these were not many and the Government treated them with disfavour. But the institutions that managed to exist gave a distinctly national bias to the instruction, and this contributed to the training of youth in Congress work. Many students engaged in the constructive activities of the Congress and kept before them the ideal of independence. The growth of socialistic ideas created a scare in Government circles. In British India the Government apprehended that these ideas would undermine their authority and destroy the hold of vested interests ; in the States the fear of socialism was greater, since it might even destroy the bases of

princely autocracy. While therefore the spread of socialistic ideas among the youth in British Karnataka was only frowned upon by the Government, the administration in Mysore was scared out of its wits when it saw how the youth were being affected by these ideas. Warnings were given to the newspapers against giving prominence to socialism. The following, taken from the Mysore Special Branch Abstracts for 1936, is interesting:

“The Government have invited the attention of the District Magistrate, Bangalore, to the articles on the subject of Socialism appearing in the issues of the 10th and 16th August 1936 of *Tainadu* and directed him to warn the Editor against giving much prominence to the expositions of socialistic doctrines, and to avoid objectionable language.

“They have also directed the District Magistrate of Bangalore to warn the editor of *Viswakarnataka*, who has published in the issue of the 29th July last an account of a lecture on Socialism delivered by K. T. Bhashyam which contains some strong expressions particularly under the heading ‘loot of capitalists’ to avoid giving much prominence to the expositions of Socialistic doctrines and to see that care is taken that the language and expressions used are unobjectionable.”

The tour of N. S. Hardikar in October 1936 in many parts of Mysore enlisting members for the Congress and exhorting the youths to “shake the foundation of the British rule in India” caused no small concern among the rulers of the State. Dr. Hardikar was quite outspoken in his condemnation of princely rule in Mysore, and said that Mysoreans “had a Prince who is only a servant of the Europeans”.

The Karnataka Yuvaka Parishat was inaugurated in 1937 at Dharwar, K. T. Bhashyam of Bangalore inaugurating, and Sardar Veeranagouda Patil presiding. The second conference was held at Ranebennur, Yusuf Meharally of Bombay inaugurating. These two Conferences were due to the efforts of young workers like M. B. Boodihalmath. The third Conference of the Karnataka Youth League was held at Davangere in 1949. While at the previous conferences attention was focussed on national problems, at the Davangere conference the main issue was Karnatak unification. The Conference was inaugurated by Sarat Chandra Bose, who flew from Switzerland for the purpose. K. M. Rudrappa of Hassan presided. It was largely attended by delegates from all parts of Karnataka. The association of Sarat Chandra Bose with the function was not viewed with favour by the Congress Party. The fear of incurring the displeasure of the Congress leadership

was responsible for S. V. Krishnamurthy Rao of Shimoga, who had been designated president, withdrawing. But top ranking Congress leaders like S. Nijalingappa, K. R. Karanth and others attended the conference. A cultural conference was held simultaneously and was addressed by A. N. Krishna Rao, and was inaugurated by the Jagadguru of Uravakonda. An important outcome of the conference was that Sarat Chandra Bose, after acquainting himself with the feelings of the people in the South, was able to convert Jayaprakash Narayan to an opinion in favour of linguistic provinces.

The National Youth League, Bangalore, organised a Mysore State Youth Conference to be held on the 25th of July 1937 and invited M. R. Masani to address it. Masani arrived in Bangalore on the 24th. Immediately after his arrival, an order under Section 144 was served on him, prohibiting him from taking any part in the activities of the Youth Conference. The Conference was held on the next day and the speech of Masani was read by the President, N. D. Srirangachar. In that speech Masani said : " I do not deny that Mysore may shine by comparison with such States as Patiala, but that is not much of a compliment. It is in this progressive State that workers on the plantations still live in conditions bordering on serfdom and in the most degrading poverty. It is in this State that the national flag is illegal and to fly it is a crime. It is in this State that meetings cannot be held in your own city without a license from the police. It is in this state that national leaders like Smt. Kamaladevi, Dr. Hardikar and Shri Hukkerikar have been served with orders restricting their freedom of speech or movement."

The youth of the States became aggressively articulate, and fear gripped the feudal order as it did the vested financial interests. This explains why, in spite of there being a party in England pledged to the socialistic ideology, the Government of India did not like the spread of socialism in India ; the Princes were particularly afraid that it would undermine their irresponsible autocracy. If the youth should be influenced by these ideas, it was certain that the Princes would have no place in the new socialistic dispensation. The Governments, both in British India and the States, thought that the awakened people, especially the youth, could be coerced into submission, when they had grown quite inured to lathi blows, shootings by the police, and jail-going.

It was particularly the youth of the country, including small boys in primary and secondary schools, who took up the Quit

India slogan and elevated it to the level of an inspiring war-song. The A.I.C.C. endorsed on the 8th August, 1942, the Quit India resolution which had been passed by the Working Committee on the 14th July. Everyone in the country expected momentous things to happen, but few people knew how or when ; for Gandhiji, the generalissimo in the new struggle, had not yet announced his plans. But before he could do or say anything, Government arrested him, with all the important leaders, hoping to stifle the movement by taking the offensive first. They did not see that the movement was already more than twenty years old, that the people knew what their leaders wanted them to do and were prepared to pass through fire to attain their national objective. They were sure that the fight should be non-violent, that no physical harm should be done to the enemy ; they only did not know on what lines Gandhiji would have conducted the struggle. So they thought that anything that they did to compel the British to quit India was right and proper, so long as they did not cause any physical harm to them. The British would undoubtedly quit India if Indians made it impossible for them to rule India any longer. These were the lines along which Indians thought ; hence came the looting of Government money, burning of offices, holding up the running of trains by removing rails, etc. The youth played a major role in all this. Many of those who committed acts of sabotage and incendiarism were assailed by doubts about the propriety of indulging in such acts and wondered whether they were consistent with the non-violence of Gandhiji's conception. But there were few among the leaders remaining outside jail who took the lead. It was indeed unfortunate that here and there reprehensible acts were committed, but one has to judge these acts as mere exceptions and not the rule. Churchill and the other Conservative leaders magnified these rare instances of violence manifold and justified the Government policy of brutal repression, which constitutes one of the darkest pages in the history of British colonialism.

Gandhiji had full faith in the response of Karnataka to the call of sacrifice and suffering for the nation's freedom. Gopala Rao Belavadi had gone to attend the A.I.C.C. meeting on the 8th August. When he approached Gandhiji on the dais for a message to Karnataka, Gandhiji said to him, "I hope that in this *yagna* all Karnatakis will play their full part." And Karnataka did play a glorious part in the *yagna*—especially the youth. The following extracts from a printed bulletin in file No. 5|INC|42--II, C.I.D., give an overall picture of the part played by students:

“The student population burst into unusual activity from August 9th in the whole of Karnataka. Practically in all the places they organized themselves without waiting for any lead, and engaged themselves in activities such as continuous hartals, defiance of laws and restrictions, and propaganda marches in villages. At places they even went to the extent of taking part in the burning of stations and bogies as in Davangere and Banavar. Dharwar, Belgaum and Mangalore are college centres with about 2500 students. Many district and taluka places have high schools, the total student population of which would be anywhere between 8 to 10 thousand. All this mass was moved, and the hartals then initiated still continue in most places. Everywhere at the risk of lathi charges and arrests, students have taken out marches and processions, and held meetings and flag salutations. Not a few were busy in bringing out bulletins of their own and distributing them (organisation of students especially in Mysore State was remarkable). In all the college centres students went in groups to villages, and it may be estimated that about 200 of them actively took up the village programme. Many of them have now been arrested. In Dharwar, Hubli, Gadag and Belgaum, students made it a point to burn foreign caps and clothes, and distribute khadi caps to officers and to their teachers and Professors. In many villages of all districts even primary schools were closed, and students engaged themselves in fearless demonstrations for a number of days.

“It is noteworthy that girls took a leading part in most of the places, picketed schools and colleges, and offered bangles and kumkum to those who attended the classes. In one case a lady student slapped a police officer, when he tried to wrest the flag from her hand. Thirty-two girls were severely beaten with lathis at Kumta, while taking out a procession.

“It may be said without exaggeration that students in most of the cities and big taluka towns, in addition to conducting their own movement, played a vigorous part in many places in picketing of courts, cutting of wires and organising village propaganda. In doing so, they have risked their careers, many of them have faced lathis and bullets, and up till now about 300 of them have been sentenced to various periods, the longest sentence awarded being two years’ R.I.

“At Dharwar, on October 23, two lady students Miss Hemalata Shenolikar and Miss Gulavadi, entered the District Court, and hoisted the national flag on the judge’s seat. Miss Gulavadi addressed the members of the Bar present in the Court and then

summoned the judge from his chamber. The judge came near his seat and kept standing, when Miss Gulavadi who was occupying his seat, asked him to resign his post and dissolve his court within eight days ; in default of which he would, she declared, be punished as a traitor. The judge replied that the sentence was rather annoying, whereon Miss Gulavadi said, ' Never mind '. After distributing leaflets and shouting slogans, both the girls nonchalantly left the Court. The Police came on the scene an hour later, but could not trace and arrest them. Only Miss Shenolikar was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 50 or in default to suffer one month's R.I. She refused to pay the fine and gladly went to jail.

" Schools in Dharwar opened after the vacation on the 2nd of October ; but the attendance was very thin." The students of the Karnatak College in a meeting on October 27, resolved to continue the strike till the release of the leaders. So did the students residing in Haveri.

" On the occasion of the visit of the Assistant Educational Inspector for the Southern Division, on the 13th of October, the girls of the Balikadarsh Vidyalaya in Thalakwadi at Belgaum went out in a body shouting slogans, and so did the students of the Central English School at Hosur, when the same officer had gone there to inspect it. The school in Sankeshwar was successfully picketed at the time of its inspection, and four students were put under arrest. The management of the Thalakwadi High School postponed the six-monthly examination sine die.

" October 9th was celebrated in North Kanara as ' Leaders' arrest day '. Kumta observed a complete hartal. At Karwar, there was a flag salutation by the students, of whom two were arrested and sentenced to 6 months. At Honavar, two workers leading the Prabhat Pheri were arrested and sentenced to 1 year R.I. and a fine of Rs. 25 or 3 months' R.I. in default. There was a severe lathi charge on the processionists."

The following extract from *Tainadu* gives an account of what happened in Mysore, where the movement was well organized :

11-12-1940. " The Students' Union of Intermediate College, Bangalore, had invited Shri S. Satyamurthy, Congress leader from Madras, to speak on " India and the War " under the auspices of their Union. But at the time of the meeting the University authorities persuaded Shri Satyamurthy not to make the speech. The disappointed students resigned from the Union and boycotted all its activities as a protest. It was only after the

assurance of the Vice-Chancellor that the students decided to cooperate with the authorities.

3-1-1942. "The students of Chitaldrug took prominent part in the Hartal. A number of students were arrested and many more forfeited scholarships.

11-8-1942. "The students have struck work in Mysore. The students' strike in Bangalore is continuing.

12-8-1942. "All the schools and colleges in Bangalore and Mysore have been closed till 17th instant. News of students' strike from Tumkur, Channapatna, Bhadravati, etc. Students of Indian Institute of Science have struck work.

13-8-1942. "Strike and Hartal all over the State. The students of Bangalore took out a procession. A number of student leaders were arrested.

15-8-1942. "The students of Tumkur resorted to ticketless travel and picketing of courts. Students all over the State have struck work. Schools and colleges closed indefinitely.

17-8-1942. Civil disobedience movement gained momentum. In capital and district headquarters, the Police resorted to lathi charges and firing to disperse crowds consisting mostly of students. At Davangere, the students struck work, resorted to ticketless travel, cut telegraph wires and caused dislocation of traffic.

27-8-1942. "Student leader Shri H. Y. Sarada Prasad and others were arrested.

31-8-1942. "The efforts of non-Congress leaders to persuade students to give up strike ended in failure.

1-9-1942. "The Police resorted to lathi-charge on students picketing at Malleswaram Girls' High School. All colleges in Bangalore have been put under police guard.

2-9-1942. "The Editors of the leading newspapers have condemned the Police atrocities committed on innocent students.

3-9-1942. "Students have been arrested all over the State. The student movement in Bangalore has become strong. The students volunteered to be arrested by the Police.

5-9-1942. "The Police arrested Shri Devpal, the student leader. His house was searched and a few papers seized.

7-9-1942. "The students of Bangalore took out a procession. The Police stopped it and arrested a number of leaders. The students squatted on the roads and it was only on the persuasion of leaders that they agreed to disperse.

10-9-1942. "Students were beaten near Medical School, Bangalore.

21-9-1942. "The Vice-Chancellor of the University issued a notice to the students that their names would be struck off if they did not return by September 18th. The lady students tried to prevent boys from getting into schools and colleges.

28-9-1942. "The Police resorted to lathi-charge on students gathered near Intermediate College.

30-9-1942. "Only 50% of the students attended the September Examinations of the University. The students' strike is continuing without any break.

2-10-1942. "The students of all colleges and schools of Bangalore met at the Town Hall. They decided to continue the strike. One of the arrested student leaders Shri Shamanna died in Central Jail.

7-10-1942. "The Police dispersed the procession of girl students of Bangalore. 9 girl leaders were arrested. The annual Convocation was postponed. 18 girls have been arrested so far in Bangalore.

17-10-1942. "The girls defied the District Magistrate's ban.

23-10-1942. "5 girl students were arrested on the charge of picketing.

28-10-1942. "The students in Mysore Jail were beaten by the Police.

30-10-1942. "Death of a student, Shri Shankarappa, in Mysore jail.

2-11-1942. "The visitors to Mysore Jail were not allowed to see the arrested students. The student leader, Shri Sarada Prasad, was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.

10-11-1942. "Calling off of strike of students on the assurance that arrested students would be released.

15-11-1942. "The students of Mysore City decided to call off the strike.

9-8-1943. "The students observed Hartal and urged the release of all leaders.

22-7-1945. "The first session of Student Congress was held at Bangalore. Shri N. G. Ranga presided. The students urged the immediate establishment of responsible government.

2-11-1945. "The students have decided to convene the All Mysore Students Conference on December 7th and 8th. They have invited Shriyuts Pattabhi, Asoka Mehta, etc. Since there was a ban on public meetings, the students sought the permission of the District Magistrate. The Deputy Commissioner has agreed to permit on certain conditions. The conditions are : (i) Out-

siders should not participate in the Conference ; (ii) Political issues should not be discussed ; (iii) Processions should not be taken out ; (iv) The Police should be given facilities to take down reports. The students refused to abide by the conditions and decided to hold the Conference at Nanjangud.

8-12-1945. "The State Students' Conference was held at Nanjangud. Shri Asoka Mehta presided. Shriyuts Nehru, Masani, Smt. Sarojini had sent messages. Shriyuts Patwardhan and S. Channiah spoke on the occasion. Later Shri Patwardhan was arrested on making a seditious speech and the students observed Hartal.

26-7-1946. "The students protested against the appointment of Sir A. R. Mudaliar as Dewan. The students took out a procession raising slogans like "Boycott Arcot", "Send representatives to Constituent Assembly." They struck work and assembled at Central College. In a resolution they condemned the appointment of Sir A. R. Mudaliar. In another resolution, they requested the State Congress to take the lead in the agitation for the establishment of responsible government and pledged full support.

4-10-1947. "The girl students have begun hunger-strike before the Bar Association."

The sorry tale of police atrocities on unarmed youths, many of them boys and girls of tender age, needs no emphasis ; time will eradicate such sordid memories. But what will remain for ever in the recollection of grateful Indians is the courage, endurance and spirit of sacrifice which they showed in the face of danger and even death. The deeds of a few of these heroic youths have been recorded elsewhere. They have left their footprints on the sands of time and shown how to fight or die nobly for one's motherland. It was their effort and their sacrifice that helped the attainment of freedom. As a Kannada poet has said, the lotus of freedom blossomed in all its glory in the blood of these martyrs ; and what remains now is only the installation of the Goddess of Prosperity on it.

THE STRUGGLE IN THE PRINCELY STATES

Under the British rule India was divided into (i) British India, comprising Provinces and areas directly administered by the British, (ii) the Princely or Native States, which were supposed to be autonomous as regards their domestic affairs but were subject to the close control of the British Crown in regard to external relations.

Learning a lesson from the 1857 national revolt, the British abandoned the dangerous policy of annexing States. They changed their policy from annexation to a new strategy of continuing them and using them to serve and safeguard their interests. In British India under the pressure of national agitation political and constitutional reforms, however nebulous and slow they may have been, were introduced from the last decades of the 19th century, and the Provinces marched from stage to stage towards democracy. The government of the Indian States as far as 1935 maintained, broadly speaking, the tradition of undiluted autocracy. While the people of the Provinces marched from dyarchy to autonomy and succeeded in establishing their democratic rights, the people in the Native States could not make political advance and the political climate in Princely India did not favour the growth of democratic institutions as in British India.

The Native States of India could be classified into three categories : (i) those few under Rulers who took a personal interest in the welfare of their subjects ; (ii) those which introduced elementary reforms, including the appointment of judges, etc. ; (iii) those under Rulers who still imagined that they were the State, that its resources were their private property and its inhabitants their slaves.

The Native States formed nearly one half the territory of India and accounted for nearly one-fourth of the population. Although some States made educational and industrial progress, politically almost all remained relics of feudalism. They were not only loyal to the British but at the latter's instigation opposed progressive reforms. Although there were a few good Rulers who identified themselves with their people, they were exceptions. Under the bad influence of the protective system imposed by the British, most of the Rulers had lost their virtues and had become blind to their duties and responsibilities, their chief occupation being pleasure. Instead of emulating what was good and worthy

among Westerners, they had taken to a life of easy-going material pleasure. Instead of attending to the grievances of their people they antagonised them by indulging in such costly activities as races, foreign tours, etc. Some of the Residents, instead of helping them to improve their administration, encouraged them to go abroad and have a good time !

There is a saying in India that palace and intrigue go together. Many a Ruler was surrounded by his flatterers, his wives, his concubines and his astrologers, leaving the administration to favourites, who often tended to be corrupt and tyrannical. Though it is not fair to denounce the Rulers as a whole, it is true that a large number of them, under the demoralising influence of the British Residents, wasted public funds and forgot their duty towards their subjects. While nationalist opinion was vehemently opposed to the autocracy of the Rulers, even British historians and critics did not appreciate the state of affairs prevailing in the States. Gandhiji commented in 1939 as follows : “ But every Indian Prince is a Hitler in his own State. He can shoot his people without coming under any law.” In 1938 *The Statesman* of Calcutta, a paper which represented British interests, published the following : “ It is no reflection upon individuals but only upon human nature to say that bad landlords as well as good ones are subject to no laws, they have the power of life and death, there are no obstacles to their greed or lust or cruelty, if they are greedy, vicious or cruel. If the treaties which protect petty tyrants are never to be revised, if the paramount power is for ever to have an obligation of honour to defend the indefensible, then some day an irresistible force will encounter an immovable object, and something will go to smithereens.”

There were many causes of the political stagnation and slowness of evolution in the States. From the beginning the States were intended to be reactionary and anti-national forces. The British drove a wedge between the people of the Indian States and those of the British Indian Provinces. The Princes gained a false impression about their sovereignty, and this drove them to please their masters at the cost of national honour and dignity of the people of their country. They did not hesitate to adopt measures calculated to put down the genuine efforts of their people to assert their legitimate rights. They believed that instead of deriving their strength directly from the hearty cooperation of their own subjects, they could perpetuate their States and privileges by dancing to the tune of their British masters. They did not realise the simple truth that when the

end of the British Empire came their continuation would not depend upon their loyalty to the British but on the good-will and contentment of their own subjects. They trusted the British and obstructed the political development of the country as a whole. They were used as puppets. The Rulers' plight could be compared to that of a frog trying to catch a fly when the frog itself is helpless in the mouth of a snake.

The national movement did not grow in Indian States as fast as in the Provinces from other causes also, which may be stated thus : (i) There was a sentimental attachment of the people to the Rulers. The people had been brought up under the tradition of despotism which they had not challenged but had tolerated. (ii) Anti-British feeling could not grow fast in the Native States because the people did not come into direct touch with the British authority. In contrast, the national resentment in British India was keen and widespread because their immediate rulers were foreigners. (iii) The Indian National Congress, burdened as it was with complicated problems of its own, for some time refrained from giving direct help to the popular struggle in the States.

But the impact of the freedom movement in British India in the 1930s and the remarkable growth of a sense of national unity did have their effects on the people of the Native States. The people woke up and organised themselves into political parties and launched struggles to assert their rights. With the establishment of popular ministries in the British Indian Provinces the popular struggle gained fresh impetus. Hereafter their struggle became widespread, and under the influence of the growing national consciousness the current of the people's struggle in the Native States mingled with the main stream of the national struggle.

The British Attitude towards the States

Evaluating the record of British rule in India, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in his *Autobiography*, published as far back as 1936, "I doubt if it is possible for any Indian or Englishman to take an objective and dispassionate view of this long record," though his own estimate of the effects of British rule is more objective and scientific than that of many writers and critics. The British records give an exaggerated version of the British achievements and legacies. British sources did not give importance to the nationalist movement and often gave distorted and coloured versions of India's freedom struggle. The Montagu-Chelmsford

Report (1918), the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1934), Coupland's volumes on the Constitutional Problem in India (1943), and almost all surveys and historical writings on this topic, though they contain some truth, are partisan in their outlook and often echo the language of diehard imperialists. On the other hand we have the nationalist viewpoint, which is very different from the British version, expounded in the writings of veteran and distinguished patriots such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Lokamanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Ananda Coomaraswamy, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and a host of others who condemned the British policies and politics in India. The British machinations, bribery, sycophancy, hypocrisy, discriminatory treatment of Indians, the racial arrogance and aloofness of the British rulers, have been exposed by Indian patriots. Their rule from 1900 to 1943, in short, was a story of broken pledges and unfulfilled promises.

The policies adopted by the British in India afford valuable material for study to students of colonial history and political science. One of the most important policies on which British rule thrived was the age-long policy of imperialism, namely "divide and rule". The policy of divide and rule though it paid some temporary dividends, was by no means an unmixed blessing for the British as well as Indians. This policy no doubt brought some benefit to some parties, but ultimately it ruined the country, as can be seen from the partition of India. Three parties were mainly responsible for the political development of India from the beginning of the 20th century: (i) the British who followed the policy of divide and rule, (ii) the Indian National Congress, which led the nation's epic battle for freedom through non-cooperation, (iii) non-Congress parties, interests and groups which cooperated with the British to get some advantages. Nationalist India regarded these groups either as communalists or as political reactionaries.

It is a fact of history that the British created problems and embarrassments for India by sowing the seeds of disunity. By cunning ways they played one against another. They set up Princely India against the rest of India, introduced Muslim communalism, and bestowed favours upon the Depressed classes, Non-Brahmins, etc. They encouraged every group which would help them to continue their regime. They used the Muslims of India as a counterblast to the Congress. The way they created Princes and encouraged them to oppose national interests forms an inte-

resting chapter of the history of the rise and fall of the British Empire. As the Congress became stronger, the British sought strange allies. The statement that "politics makes strange bed-fellows" is true of British politics in India.

Future historians may explore the depths of Machiavellian intrigue practised so successfully by the British on the Indian sub-continent. The policies they adopted, the tricks they played, the strategy they contrived to maintain their empire, frustrating nationalist attempts at unity and growth, are sure to receive prominent notice in the future history of colonialism. The difference between the colonial policy adopted by England and other European powers is only a difference between refinement and crudity. In subtlety of approach towards the subject people the British were far in advance of other powers. How they dealt with different groups and interests in India under a garb of altruism in order to perpetuate their rule almost suggests Machiavelli in action.

The British used the Rulers as pawns in the game of power-politics. While the Indian patriots inside and outside princely India were engaged in a national struggle for their country's freedom, these Indian Rulers were acting as the supporters of alien rule. The patriotism and political wisdom of the Indian Princes would have been appreciated by posterity had they understood the writing on the wall and refused to be used as pawns by their foreign masters. The un-Indian role of the Indian Princes is well described by no less a person than Sardar K. M. Panikkar, who writes from close personal knowledge of the politics of the Indian States :

"Many things had widened the cleavage between the Princes and the people. The contradiction of the Ruler's position had made him the supporter of British rule, and its agent in fighting the forces of nationalism. This became very marked during the period of Gandhiji's Non-Cooperation movement. That the popular awakening and the movement of Non-Cooperation should provoke the hostility of the Princes was understandable, but their open attempt, in alliance with reactionary forces in England, to break away from India by a dubious interpretation of their treaties, and their repeated offers in times of conflict between the National Congress and the Government 'to place their entire resources at the disposal of the Crown' to put down the popular movement placed them openly in the enemy's camp. Gandhiji's satyagraha at Rajkot—the capital of the Princely State of that name and the headquarters of the British Representative

to the Kathiawar group of Rulers—made this contradiction a national issue. No compromise with the Princely system of government was possible after that incident. Even the meanest intelligence in India understood that the alliance between the Princes and the foreign Government was anti-national.”

That the Princes were completely under the thumb of the British bureaucrats can further be seen from the writings of such a cautious and level-headed statesman as Sir Mirza Ismail, who gives vent to his long-suppressed feelings in his autobiography entitled *My Public Life* (1954) :

“Where the Political Department went wrong was in upholding, even encouraging, autocratic rule. It was inclined to be too conservative and discouraged any attempt to associate the people in the administration and to make it responsive, if not responsible, to their wishes. This was my experience in Mysore, and even more so in Jaipur, where I came into direct conflict with the Political Department on this issue. Had it not been for the strong support of the Maharaja, I should have left Jaipur. If only the Political Department had encouraged the development of constitutional government in the States and the curtailment of the rulers’ autocratic powers, the princes might probably not have suffered the deprivations which came when British protection was withdrawn and they were faced with an avalanche of popular agitation.”

It will not be out of place here, as illustrative of the deplorable situation in the States, to quote further from the writing of the same statesman :

“I was sent for the next day. The Viceroy, in characteristically genial manner, said to me : ‘Look here, Mirza, what have you been doing?’ Every Governor, he said, had written to him objecting to the views expressed by me in a recent address to the Mysore Representative Assembly. I was surprised, and replied that my motive was so obviously good that I could not understand anybody objecting to what I had said. I mentioned that, on a previous occasion, a similar statement had earned for me the cordial approbation of his predecessor, Lord Irwin, and that I had meant to be helpful. He listened to me patiently and merely said, ‘Don’t do it again, my dear fellow.’ I said I would not, since I had no desire to offend him in any way.

“I give below the relevant passages in the address to the Assembly in 1926 and 1933—the former of which pleased Lord Irwin, and the latter did not please Lord Willingdon and the Governors.

From the address in 1926

“ We are living in stirring times. India is in the throes of a supreme crisis. What the upshot of it all will be, no man can tell. We can only hope for the best. We of the Indian States may not be directly involved in the conflict that is going on around us, but the consequences flowing from it are not going to leave us untouched ; they will affect us as much as the rest of India.

“ To my mind the tragedy of the whole situation lies in this. Both sides mean well, both are anxious to advance India's interests. The goal is there ; it stands in shining splendour on the horizon. There is on one side a great and patriotic soul who may be said to represent the spirit of India and to voice her sentiments as probably no one else can do, giving passionate expression, as he does, to the growing feeling of national self-consciousness which has lately swept over the country like a flood tide. And on the other side, representing a great nation, there is a sagacious and highly esteemed statesman, whose greatness of heart and whose love of our country is recognised by all. Surely it should not be impossible to bridge the gulf that divides the two sides.”

From the address of 1933 :

“ I am confident that the solution of the more serious of our political and economic problems is only a question of time and adaptation of our systems to our circumstances. Meanwhile, it is undesirable that our temporary difficulties should be unduly magnified and the many gratifying signs of progress overlooked.

“ And here I am tempted to say that there is one man above all others who can help us towards a reconciliation of our difficulties, and towards that new phase of character that is the groundwork of self-government. I am not one of those who wish Mahatma Gandhi to retire from politics. There never was a time when India so badly needed the guidance of a genuine leader, and in him we have one who holds a unique position in the country and is not only a convinced lover of peace and an ardent patriot, but also a far-seeing, sagacious statesman. I feel that he is qualified far better than anyone else to reconcile the conflicting elements in the country and to induce them all to march together a further stage along the road that leads to self-government. He also has it in his power, as no one else has, to establish the happiest relations between India and Great Britain. I feel sure that the Government have in him a powerful ally and Great Britain a true friend. If he should retire from politics at

this juncture, there are indications that the arena would, in all probability, be occupied by demagogues and vain visionaries out to mislead themselves and the country by meaningless shibboleths.

“ I might add that I personally found in the Mahatma a powerful ally at the Second Round Table Conference when voicing my criticisms of the feature of the White Paper Constitution which seems to be most open to criticism, that is, the composition of the Upper Chamber.”

If men like Sir Mirza Ismail, who was credited with broad vision and abundant political experience, should be constrained to comment in this manner it is not difficult to see the machinations at work in the case of lesser men in charge of Native States.

While in British India the Governor General, aided by a gigantic administrative machinery, could not cope with the popular upheaval effectively, the Political Department easily managed to suppress the popular struggle in princely India just by a circular or by an oral directive. To quote K. M. Panikkar again : “ In the Princely States the British Government, unhampered by limitations of its own law, and interpreting its obligations in terms of the loyalty of the Rulers to the Crown and its corollary, the duty of the Crown to uphold the authority of the Rulers, intervened openly against the popular movement and assisted the Rulers in their repressive policy.”

Congress Attitude towards the Popular Struggle in the States

It has been already stated that the part played by Princely India was not helpful in winning freedom for India. Being in league with the Paramount Power, most of the Rulers became a major obstacle to Swaraj. The sympathy of the Indian National Congress was naturally with the people of the States. The struggle of the people in the States was gradual and slow. While in the case of British India the goal was to replace foreign rule, in the States the question was not to attack foreign domination but to wrest power from the hands of a single Ruler in whom all powers were concentrated. This problem would have been solved smoothly had the Rulers read the signs of the times and acted wisely. Unfortunately under the bad influence of the Paramount Power they did not behave well towards their subjects. The Congress, realising the subtlety of the British conspiracy with the Rulers, began openly to support the popular struggle in the States, as attacking the authority of the Rulers was in fact an attack on British rule.

Although the Congress stood for freedom for all Indians and was sympathetic towards the popular struggle in the States, its policy towards the States' people's struggle was one of caution. Despite the call of individuals like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose to pursue a more active policy towards the States' people, the attitude of the Congress as a whole was one of non-interference in the internal affairs of the States. The Congress, burdened with many problems in British India, had no desire to open a second front against the British in Indian India. This policy appeared to be retrograde and reactionary to some of the freedom fighters, and was misunderstood by the people of the States. While the Congress advised the Rulers to liberalise their administration by transferring power to elected representatives in their respective States, it did not give the people's movement active assistance or encouragement. Although from 1928 to 1937 the Congress stood for democratisation of the States to fit them into the scheme of federation envisaged by the British, its sympathy did not go any further. The attitude of the Congress was well defined in a resolution passed by the Working Committee in 1935.

“Although the policy of the Congress regarding the States in India has been defined in its resolution, a persistent effort is being made by or on behalf of the people of the States to get a fuller declaration of the Congress policy. The Working Committee therefore issues the following statement concerning the policy of the Congress with regard to the Princes and the people of the States.

“The Indian National Congress recognises that the people in Indian States have an inherent right to Swaraj no less than the people of British India. It has accordingly declared itself in favour of establishment of representative responsible government in the States and has in that behalf not only appealed to the Princes to establish such responsible government in their States and to guarantee fundamental rights of citizenship, like freedom of person, speech, association and the Press to their people, but has also pledged to the States people its sympathy and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible government. By that declaration and by that pledge the Congress stands. The Congress feels that even in their own interests the Princes will be well advised to establish at the earliest possible moment full responsible government within their States carrying a guarantee of full rights of citizenship to their people.

“ It should be understood however that the responsibility and the burden of carrying on that struggle within the States must necessarily fall on the States people themselves. The Congress can exercise moral and friendly influence upon the States and this it is bound to do wherever possible. The Congress has no other power under existing circumstances, although the people of India, whether under the British, the Princes or any other power, are geographically and historically one and indivisible. In the heat of controversy the limitation of the Congress is often forgotten. Indeed any other policy will defeat the common purpose.

“ With regard to the impending constitutional change it has been suggested that the Congress should insist upon certain amendments of that portion of the Government of India Bill which deals with the relation of the Indian States to the Indian Federation. The Congress has more than once categorically rejected the entire scheme of constitutional reforms on the broad grounds of its not being an expression of the will of the people of India and has insisted on a constitution to be framed by a Constituent Assembly. It may not now ask for an amendment of the scheme in any particular part. To do so would amount to a reversal of the Congress policy.

“ At the same time it is hardly necessary to assure the people of the States that the Congress will never be guilty of sacrificing their interests in order to buy the support of the Princes. From its inception the Congress has stood unequivocally for the rights of the masses of India as against any vested rights in conflict with their true interests.”

With the ushering in of Congress Ministries in the Provinces the political climate in the States was bound to change. The people fighting their battles in the States felt that they could count on active aid from the Congress in British India. Circumstances also combined to bring about a change in the attitude of the Congress towards the popular struggle. The thumping victories gained by the Congress in the Provincial elections had their effect on the people of the States. Some of the leftist Congress leaders in British India thought that Congress must give active help to the people of the States in realising their political aspirations. Pressure was brought to bear on the Congress to adopt an active policy towards the States. Happenings in the States would no longer be viewed in silence by the Congress. The repressive policy adopted by the Government of Mysore towards the Congress in the State was denounced by the Indian National

Congress. The following resolution was carried at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in October, 1937.

“ This meeting of the A.I.C.C. expresses its emphatic protest against the ruthless policy of repression as indicated by the inauguration of various restrictive and prohibitory orders and political prosecutions launched in the Mysore State and also against the suppression of civil rights and liberties by denying the elementary rights of speech, assemblage and association.

“ This meeting sends its fraternal greetings to the people of Mysore and wishes them all success in their legitimate non-violent struggle. It appeals to the people of Indian States and British India to give all support and encouragement to the people of Mysore in their struggle against the State for the right of self-determination.”

Gandhiji did not, however, want the Congress to take an active part in the affairs of the States. He seems to have disapproved this resolution. Under his guidance the Congress passed a long resolution at the Haripura Session in 1938.

“ In view of the fact that owing to the growth of public life and the demand for freedom in the Indian States, new problems are arising and new conflicts are taking place, the Congress lays down afresh its policy in regard to the States.

“ The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated. The Purna Swaraj or complete independence, which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection. The only kind of federation that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India. The Congress, therefore, stands for full responsible government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the States, and deplores the present backward conditions and utter lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of these States.

“ The Congress considers it its right and privilege to work for the attainment of this objective in the States. But, under existing circumstances, the Congress is not in a position to work effectively to this end within the States, and numerous limitations and restrictions, imposed by the rulers, or by British authority working through them, hamper its activities. The hope and assurance which its name and great prestige raise in the minds

of the people of the States find no immediate fulfilment, and disillusion results. It is not in consonance with the dignity of the Congress to have local committees which cannot function effectively, or to tolerate indignity to the National Flag. The inability of the Congress to give protection or effective help, when hopes have been raised, produces helplessness in the people of the States and hinders the development of their movement for freedom.

“In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often unsuited to the States and may result in preventing or hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement in a State. Such movements are likely to develop more rapidly and to have a broader basis, if they draw their strength from the people of the State, produce self-reliance in them, and are in tune with the conditions prevailing there, and do not rely on extraneous help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress name. The Congress welcomes such movements but, in the nature of things and under present conditions, the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom must fall on the people of the States. The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles, carried on in a peaceful and legitimate manner, but that help will inevitably be, under existing conditions, limited to moral support and sympathy. Individual Congressmen, however, will be free to render further assistance in their personal capacities. In this way the struggle can develop without committing the Congress organisation, and thus unhindered by external considerations.

“The Congress therefore directs that, for the present, Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction and control of the Congress Working Committee and shall not engage in parliamentary activity nor launch on direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress. Internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. For this purpose independent organisations should be started and continued where they exist already within the States.

“The Congress desires to assure the people of the States of its solidarity with them and of its active and vigilant interest in and sympathy with their movement for freedom. It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not far distant.”

The above resolution was the considered declaration of the Congress towards the States as a whole. It was clear from the

resolution that the Congress would still follow a policy of non-interference in the affairs of the States and the people of the concerned State should bear the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom without relying on outside help. The Congress as an organisation could only offer moral support and sympathy.

The above resolution looked like a restatement of the same old policy of non-interference. It put a ban on certain types of activities in the States being conducted in the name of the Congress. The policy seemed to be paradoxical to many. But Gandhiji justified this policy. Explaining the implications of the resolution, he observed : " The policy of non-intervention by the Congress was, in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship, when the people of the States were not awakened. Whenever the Congress thinks it can usefully intervene, it must intervene." Gandhiji thought that the settlement of a local problem in a State was not to be considered as important and urgent as the larger question of securing freedom for India. He advised the representatives of the States' people to organise their struggle with a sense of self-reliance and responsibility without solely depending on external help. He also advised the rulers to adjust to the new trends. " If the machine topples over, they may disappear unless they become part of it, and depend upon the nation."

Though at first glance the resolution appeared to be against giving active encouragement to popular struggle in the States, it gave clear support to popular struggle in the States. It gave permission for individual Congressmen to intervene directly in their personal capacity. Thus one can see the anxiety of the Congress to maintain close control over the popular struggle in States as in the British Indian Provinces. The Congress thus aimed at ultimately integrating various struggles in the States with the major struggle against British rule. It no longer tolerated the suppression of the popular movement in the States. It allowed members of the Working Committee, in the cases of Jaipur and Rajkot, to achieve political settlements. Gandhiji himself had to undertake a fast in order to bring about an amicable settlement between the Ruler and the people of Rajkot.

While agitation in some States did not come to a head, in some it took a grave and violent turn. In some cases it assumed a communal colour. It was impossible for top leaders such as Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai Patel to pay personal visits to all the

States where people were engaged in a fight against their rulers. In such States innocent people had to suffer and even to die on account of mischief-makers and self-seeking persons. The Congress stood for reform in the States, campaigned for it, and was responsible for bringing about political settlements resulting in political gains to the people in States such as Mysore and Rajkot. It could effectively tackle the States problem in a systematic and comprehensive manner only after Independence.

A: The Ramdurg Tragedy

The tiny state of Ramdurg, with an area of about 169 square miles and a population of 35,500, belonged to the erstwhile Bombay Karnataka area. The state had an income of Rs. 2,69,000 per annum. Its Ruler belonged to the Bhawe family. Two rivers, the Malaprabha and the Benni Nala, cut through the territory, which combines both red and black soils. Agriculture is the main occupation of its inhabitants. There are also weavers at Ramdurg and Sureban. As is the case with most of these feudal relics, the land assessment was very high and the methods of extortion extremely severe. The Kulkarnis and Mamlatdars lorded it over the people. Ramdurg, like the district of Bijapur, lies in the rain-shadow area to the east of the Western Ghats, and the rainfall is normally scanty and uncertain. Preceding the year 1939, the year in which the tragedy was enacted for forty-eight hours at Ramdurg, there had been inadequate rainfall for ten or twelve years. There were very bad harvests, and the peasants appealed for relief to the Rajasaheb and his officers. The government granted neither remission nor suspension of the land revenue. The Rajasaheb showed hardly any interest in what went on, and his officers saw to it that he got no chance to see it. In 1938 there was no rain and famine afflicted the State. The officers did not relax their merciless methods of collection. A reign of terror was imposed on the unfortunate people. When some members of the public fell at the feet of the Rajasaheb, begging for mercy, they were dispersed with a generous administration of lathi blows, and it is said that some were trampled by horses when a cavalry charge was ordered. Such callous indifference to the interests of the people on the part of the Rajasaheb was due to the machinations of the self-seeking and venal officials, who studiously kept him in the dark about the real state of affairs. The revenues of the State being inadequate to meet the demands of the royal lavishness of the Rajasaheb, it was easy for

his corrupt officials to misrepresent the aims and objects of the popular agitation.

The incident described above drove the people to a frenzy of desperation. Public resentment was given further point by what happened a little later at Manasigi. The Mamlatdar, the Income-tax Officer, and the other officers went there to collect taxes, with the help of a force of police. *Rao Bahadur K. V. Kaundinya*, in his statement, wrote thus about it: "Some of the party under the Mamlatdar Mr. Apte went to Manasigi in advance and there the personal safety of the Mamlatdar was endangered and he had to be rescued from the village by sending the Police Sub-Inspector with armed policemen in a motor-bus It was this step taken by the Durbar that marked an era for the movement being intensified. It was after this incident that much of the hooliganism manifested itself. It gave a handle even to political agitators from outside to meddle in the affairs of Ramdurg people, and the movement which was originally an agitation—such as is not uncommon even in British area—for getting redress in the matter of concessions in the payment of land revenue developed into a political agitation, and demand for political reforms got itself mixed in the demand for fiscal concessions." This enraged the people, who got together and wired the Raja-saheb to save them from the officers. There was no response and no relief from the ruler. The only result was that the officers became more severe in their oppression.

Just as the important elements in the administrative set-up of the British bureaucracy again and again tried to prevent the Congress and the Viceroy coming to an agreement, the petty officers and officials of Ramdurg, by widening the gulf between the Rajasaheb and the people by their manoeuvres, reaped a rich harvest of repression and personal aggrandisement. Cases were not wanting of officers acting as they chose even in the absence of specific instructions from the Dewan. *Rao Bahadur K. V. Kaundinya* gives an instance: "At one time the Mamlatdar without my knowledge or orders went to Sureban to recover the cess with the aid of the Police Sub-Inspector and his men and the result was that the popular resentment expressed itself by hostile demonstrations, and Prabhat Pheris, which had been held in abeyance except on Pournimas, were led to the very premises of the Palace at daybreak."

Such a vast reservoir of public discontent needed focussing and organising, and Marularadhya Sastri, then the President of the Bijapur District Congress Committee, toured the State, saw

things for himself, sympathised with the people, and initiated an agitation on the principles of truth and non-violence. Meanwhile, B. N. Munavalli, a native of the State practising as a lawyer at Hubli, came to the State to frame the constitution for a Sangha which was to be formed. This body was to take up the cause of the people and ventilate their grievances. On the 13th May, 1938, during a meeting at Sureban, under the Presidentship of an ex-Mamlatdar of the State named Shurpal, the Ramdurg Praja Sangh was formed. A representative assembly of the Praja Sangh met and gave its unanimous approval to a list of public demands. Its resolution was sent to the Rajasaheb, the Viceroy of India, Mahatma Gandhi, and the President and prominent members of the Indian National Congress. The Rajasaheb refused to give an interview to the President of the Praja Sangh, B. N. Munavalli.

At about this time the Deccan States People Conference was to be held at Sangli. Its Secretary, Govindrao Kanabur, invited Munavalli and the other leaders of the Ramdurg Praja Sangh. Munavalli, accompanied by forty of his colleagues, attended this Conference, presided over by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Munavalli and Marularadhya Shastri discussed the Ramdurg issue with Sardar Patel on the 22nd May for some thirty minutes. At this discussion were present the Hon'ble A. B. Lathe and Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande. The issue was also raised formally at the Sangli Conference. It was decided there to refer it to an enquiry committee of six members, who were to be Shankarrao Deo, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, K. S. Patil, N. N. Ari, Andanappa Doddameti and Govindrao Kanabur. This committee reached Ramdurg on the 5th June, met people at Ramdurg and Sureban, sized up things, and addressed public meetings at both these places. Later on the Rajasaheb met Shankarrao Deo, Deshpande and Yalgi, who had accompanied the committee. The following day it was decided that the issue could be settled between the Rajasaheb and the Praja Sangh, through the intervention of the enquiry committee. But Marularadhya Sastri rightly pointed out that the business of the committee was to enquire and report. However, Shankarrao Deo and Deshpande informed Ari and Doddameti that the demands of the Praja Sangh would be met satisfactorily by the Rajasaheb. The leaders of the Praja Sangh were told of this, whereupon they met the members of the enquiry committee to discuss matters. Both Shankarrao Deo and Deshpande agreed that the demands of the Praja Sangh were reasonable, and assured them that they would be met to a large extent. Further they seem to have assured the leaders that if the Rajasaheb

did not concede their demands, they themselves would start an agitation in the State. This was a situation which gave rise to confusion and doubts in the minds of the people. Ramdurg was a small State, with a revenue of just over two lakhs, and the differences between the Ruler and his people might have been settled to the satisfaction of both had they been left to themselves. The Ramdurg Praja Sangh had been started with the objects of securing revenue concessions from the Government and introducing responsible government, and the two intrepid and devoted leaders of the Sangh, B. N. Munavalli and Marularadhya Sastri, might well have secured an amicable settlement of the dispute. The intervention of leaders from outside the State, however well-meaning and honest their intentions may have been, only served to complicate matters, especially when the enquiry committee, instead of confining its activities to the terms of reference, transgressed its bounds and began to play the role of arbitrator. This placed the leaders of the Praja Sangh in an anomalous position and confused the issue.

B. N. Munavalli, after consulting with Marularadhya Sastri and other leaders, authorised the enquiry committee to carry on negotiations on behalf of the Praja Sangh with the Ruler. A draft of minimum demands was presented, and after its meeting with the Ruler, the committee reported that all but one of the demands had been accepted. The demand not accepted was that the minimum income taxable should be Rs. 1,000. The Durbar suggested that this be Rs. 700. Deo and Deshpande advised the Sangh to make this concession. The Ruler announced that he needed eight days to get the approval of the Resident. On the 26 June, there was a meeting attended by the members of the enquiry committee, the leaders of the Praja Sangh and the Diwan of Sangli, Mr. De. A copy of the draft demands acceptable to the Durbar was shown to the leaders of the Sangh. This was a big and unpleasant shock to these leaders, for the Durbar had not conceded some of their most vital demands. It refused responsible government as the ultimate goal of the State, and rejected the original demand for reduction of the assessment. A heated discussion followed, and when things were in a pretty confused state, Deshpande produced as his trump card a letter from Sardar Patel. The Sardar had advised acceptance of all the terms. This was a bolt from the blue to the Praja Sangh, for they had been kept in total ignorance of the correspondence which had evoked this categorical directive from Sardar Patel.

The leaders of the Praja Sangh had been rendered helpless

by a subtle manoeuvre, and they had to accept the revised draft. The same evening a special Durbar was held to proclaim officially the agreement between the Ruler and the Praja Sangh. The Ruler made a speech, the Diwan read out the terms of the agreement, and the President of the Praja Sangh thanked the Ruler and the enquiry committee. Soon after, a public meeting was held at the Gandhi Chowk, at which the public were informed of the agreement. When Gangadhar Rao Deshpande was addressing the people, cries of discontent interrupted him. Doddameti intervened and pacified the crowd. One of the facts which was later to complicate matters was the absence of Maruladhyaya Sastri from the discussion of the 21st June. Those not satisfied with the 21st June agreement approached him for advice. He went to Sureban and there held a public meeting at which he declared that the settlement arrived at had been a betrayal of the original demands. He referred particularly to the rejection by the Ruler of the ultimate goal of responsible government. This upset the President of the Praja Sangh, B. N. Munavalli, who met Sastri at Konnur. Sastri agreed not to carry on propaganda against the official policy of the Sangh, but personally he stuck to his views. At its General Body meeting on the 28th July at Ramdurg, the Sangh accepted the agreement unanimously, and Sastri resigned his membership.

The Durbar, however, began to violate the terms of the 21st June agreement, by making the taxable minimum income Rs. 500. As per the agreement, the Ruler set up the Land Revenue Assessment Committee with Gangadhar Rao Deshpande (Chairman), Andanappa Doddameti, R. R. Diwakar, B. N. Munavalli, and the Diwans of Sangli and Jamkhandi. The Diwan of Ramdurg was to function as member-secretary of the LRA Committee. Later on at B. N. Munavalli's instance, Sardar Veeranagouda Patil and Dr. N. S. Hardikar were coopted as members. At its first sitting on the 22nd August, the Committee agreed that the assessment should be reduced. At its second sitting on the 29th and 30th September, it came to no conclusion regarding the percentage of reduction. Sardar Veeranagouda Patil and A. J. Doddameti were for 33%, Munavalli for 40%, and Deshpande and Diwakar for a reversion to the original settlement, which would work out to 26% plus a payment of Rs. 10,000 annually to the Praja Sangh for village uplift. The Durbar was agreeable to the last of these suggestions and it was willing in addition to make a contribution of Rs. 10,000 towards remissions and suspensions in the form of a famine fund. On 31st September, 1938, the first session of the

Advisory Council was held, and it elected H. Kaujalgi as its Chairman. During a session of his Durbar on the 3rd November, the Ruler suggested that the Advisory Council should elect a committee of four or five members from among its membership to look into the assessment problem, and that his officers help it with relevant information. On the following day Kaujalgi addressed a letter to the President of the Praja Sangh, B. N. Munavalli, to the effect that he should get busy with the formation of a committee as suggested by the Ruler. He advised him that the Sangh should make some concessions, for the important thing was to play an effective role in the settlement decision. The Sangh appointed a committee of five on the same day, its members being L. A. Patil, Hanumanthagauda Patil, Basappa Meti, Bharamagouda Patil and Basappa Pattan. The committee was given the power to negotiate with the Durbar. The Diwan wrote to the President of the Sangh that the committee might meet at 8 a.m. on the 5th November at the committee rooms. On the 4th and 5th November the Durbar attempted to win over two members of the Committee, Bharamagouda Patil and Basappa Meti, to its side, but failed. Meanwhile the committee had no material to work on. The Diwan went away on leave, and whenever information was requested the other officials became evasive. The Praja Sangh interpreted this as a breach of promise on the part of the Durbar. Munavalli wrote about it to Dr. Hardikar, Veeranagauda Patil and Doddameti, all members of the earlier LRA committee. In his letter he declared that the existence of the Praja Sangh Committee of five challenged the legality of the LRA committee. A meeting took place at Dr. Kabbur's residence at Dharwar, at which Munavalli explained the confused situation to Dr. Hardikar, Diwakar and Kaujalgi. Later on further discussion took place between the Diwan and Dr. Hardikar at Belgaum. On 29 November, the Diwan, in his capacity as Secretary to the LRA committee, wrote to B. N. Munavalli for his views on the reduction of assessment. In his reply of the 30th November, Munavalli said that the Durbar itself had set up a committee of five members and that, in view of the power of this new committee to look into the reduction issue, he was unable to tender any opinion. He also complained that Deshpande had not paid adequate attention to his views. He argued that the prestige of the Praja Sangh was now at stake. On the 23rd December every village in Ramdurg passed a resolution repudiating the Durbar proclamation regarding the agreement between it and the Praja Sangh. A copy of the resolution

reached the Diwan on the 2nd January, 1939. In a letter to the president of the Sangh on the 11th January, the Diwan contended that the committee of five members was not meant to replace the original LRA committee, since the latter was a representative committee set up under the 21st June agreement. He claimed further that all that the committee of five was expected to do was to acquaint itself with the budgetary position and to pass on suggestions to the LRA committee. The Diwan concluded that the decision of the LRA committee to revert to the 1890 settlement was neither illegal nor improper. However, the Diwan's contention does not seem to be borne out by known facts. Both the speech of the Rajasaheb regarding the availability of a committee of five and Kaujalgi's letter to the Praja Sangh suggesting the formation of such a committee, support B. N. Munavalli's contention that the committee of five made, at the least, the position of the LRA committee embarrassing.

In his capacity as the Secretary of the States Committee, a sub-committee of the KPCC, Dr. N. S. Hardikar convened the States Committee at Gangadhar Rao Deshpande's request at Ramdurg on 21st January, 1939, to discuss the issue. A rather heated discussion took place. B. N. Munavalli pointed out how the Praja Sangh had been insulted, and how the Durbar had gone back on its promise. Deshpande conceded the right of the Sangh to defend its prestige as well as to fight for the principle of responsible government. It was decided to entrust further negotiations with the Durbar to A. J. Doddameti and H. Kaujalgi, and they were instructed to settle for a 33% reduction. Doddameti and Kaujalgi, accompanied by Swamirao Joshi, N. S. Gadag and Munavalli, met the Diwan on the 23rd January. The Diwan agreed to place the matter before the Rajasaheb.

Meanwhile the Resident was expected at Ramdurg. Some five or six days before his arrival, a rival body to the Praja Sangh, called the Suprajasangh, was rigged up by the officers. This body held meetings at which it publicly pilloried the leaders of the Praja Sangh in indecent language. This ruse to provoke the public did not work; the people saw through it and remained non-violent. On the 1st February the Diwan addressed a letter to the President of the Praja Sangh suggesting that a deputation of members of its Working Committee could see the Resident on the 10th. The Durbar gave the deputation conveyance to reach the State Guest House. The Rajasaheb, his secretary, the Diwan, and the Huzur Secretary were present. B. N. Munavalli brought to the notice of the Resident the maladministration in the State,

the excessive taxation and the inhuman methods of collection. The Resident took the side of the Durbar, and pointed out that concessions had been given. Munavalli replied that they were few and unimportant. The interview ended with a warning by the Resident that the Paramount Power would intervene if a constitutional deadlock came about, leading to civil disobedience in the State. On the 14th February P. R. Chikodi saw Bem-baji Chennabasappa, Panchappa Pattan, N. S. Gadag and Munavalli, and told them that the Rajasaheb was ready for a settlement. On the 20th the Diwan invited Munavalli and the members of the Working Committee of the Sangh for talks on the question of reduction and a discussion took place on the 21st at Wada. Munavalli maintained that 33% was not high, and that even after such a reduction the assessment would be higher than in British India. The Rajasaheb suggested that a local cess on the original settlement at the rate of one anna and six pice per rupee should be paid. Munavalli agreed to this. The discussions did not yet settle one issue, that of the 12 annas suspension. This was settled on the 23rd February, when the Rajasaheb announced that he would accept the Praja Sangh proposal regarding the 12 annas suspension. On the 25th the General Body of the Sangh met to discuss these agreements. It thanked the Rajasaheb, who, on his part, spoke in his Durbar expressing his joy at the happy settlement of the dispute, and even promised to do more for the people.

The Diwanship of Kaundinya terminated on the 24th of February. A man of liberal political views and possessing patience and a spirit of accommodation, he was held in respect and his sudden removal was construed as a stiffening of the Government's attitude. Kaundinya himself says in his statement: "I can unhesitatingly say that I was hopeful of restoring conditions to normality by a judicious and patient act of implementing the terms of the compromise. I was in Ramdurg for three or four days after I handed over charge and during this period, I found that people were viewing with suspicion the Durbar's act in having changed the Diwan immediately after the compromise, and in having augmented their police force. Soon afterwards, the post of D.S.P. was newly created, and an outsider was appointed to that post. In this connection it would not be out of place to quote here a passage from my letter written to the Resident after I left Ramdurg. It runs as follows: 'Be that as it may, compromise was effected in accordance with my suggestions and if the state executive conducts itself with tact and

patience and without even any show of reprisal, everything will go on smoothly. No doubt the population of the state consists of a certain proportion of hooligan elements. But they were no worse hooligans than the uneducated masses in the adjoining British tract. Hooliganism of Ramdurg rural population was aroused by the circumstances described in the statement. It is a population exasperated by overtaxation unassuaged by concessions in unfavourable seasons and times and extreme delay in meeting their demands, coupled with the enforcement of drastic steps to recover revenue when such a step was not warranted, made them more desperate. The proper course was to win them over by showing sympathy towards them and by using pacific measures as far as possible."

The Tragedy

The 4th April 1939, Poornima day, was a day of flag salutation. It went off peacefully. But on the 5th the workers of the Praja Sangh were asked to remove the flagstaff, which had been set up at the side of a main road. It had been there for a month. The officers wanted the staff to be a temporary thing removable every year, while the people demanded that it be permanent. The people told the officers that they could wait till B. N. Munavalli, then out of station, returned. The officers would not hear of any delay. The police removed the flagstaff and put it in the chavadi. Understandably, public feeling ran high over the issue. Soon some of the boys got together and set up a staff, which the police promptly removed, throwing in some abusive language. The citizens set up another staff and collected round it to defend it. The police came on the scene, but finding themselves outnumbered, retreated, and then came back considerably reinforced to face the situation. The tragedy was initiated by the police, who started using their lathis ; some people were injured. Thus provoked, the public threw stones at the police. A lathi-charge injured a Pattewala so severely that the following day he died. Meanwhile the police fired and this dispersed the crowd. Then the police took control of the place and heavily guarded it. The authorities banned all traffic along the main road.

On the 6th April the Praja Sangh was declared unlawful. The same day at 9 a.m. B. N. Munavalli and three other important workers of the Sangh were arrested. The whole day the police are believed to have used lathis freely against the people. The whole State was in the grip of suspense and suspicion.

Rumours about police atrocities, probably and naturally exaggerated, spread all over the countryside. Then came the terrible climax to the tragedy—the memorable march of a mob of villagers on Ramdurg and its prison-house. No important member of the Praja Sangh was available in Ramdurg that day, the crucial 7th of April, 1939. Four of them were in Ramdurg prison, while the other four were away either at Hubli or at Dharwar. At about 11-30 a.m., their vague fury fed by wild rumours, some 2000 peasants, moved by simple and spontaneous emotion, marched towards the gates of Ramdurg prison. The police had been instructed to open fire if the prison was threatened: obviously the authorities anticipated trouble. The official version alleges that as the stone-throwing increased they had to open fire. Quite a number must have been injured since sixty-five cartridges were used. The later claim that none was injured may safely be discounted. When the ammunition was exhausted, the mob got scent of it. They advanced on the building and raided the jail office. They heaped up the files and records and made a bonfire of them. Then they also set fire to the jail gates. After a nervous breakdown the officers threw open the gates, and advised the convicts to flee and save themselves. In all there were twenty-three of them. There were four political prisoners under trial, of whom B. N. Munavalli was one. Munavalli refused the offer, and said that he would not flee since he was still under trial. However, he was agreeable, if the Superintendent went with him. Munavalli and the officer came out to address the mob. Munavalli besought them to disperse, but they paid little heed to him. The mob rushed in and began in blind fury to batter the inmates. Eventually Munavalli's persuasion succeeded, but little is known. The town of Ramdurg became a desert. The police now had their turn. The public was not allowed to pass through the streets. The lathis of the police rained on all impartially, including women. The Rajasaheb fled with his family to Belgaum. Military help was requisitioned. Meanwhile nobody had any idea as to the whereabouts of the mob or of Munavalli. The smell of death hung over the town. There were the dead bodies of eight policemen as well as of members of the public. With singular lack of grace the local authorities persuaded the military force to parade through the streets. Later it came to be known that Munavalli had controlled, diverted and dispersed the mob, before he himself reached Hubli. Thus ended one of the most deplorable episodes in the freedom movement in Karnataka.

The Aftermath

It is a necessary part of the technique of bureaucratic authorities to provoke their opponents to violent action and thus secure an ostensible justification for reprisals. As happened in Chimur, Isoor and many other places, the officials of Ramdurg managed to provoke the people into defiance. The insignificant incident of the flagpost was the spark that ignited the discontent of the people into fury, which in turn brought about the reprehensible happenings at the jail. Unscrupulous petty officials contributed their quota of mischief, while the Rajasaheb ignominiously fled as soon as he sensed the feeling of the people. If he had been really solicitous of the welfare of his subjects, he would have taken them into confidence and remained where his duty lay, instead of relying on self-seeking negotiators who worked at cross-purposes and introduced an element of uncertainty and baffling complexity into what was a simple matter for negotiation between the people and their Ruler.

Ramdurg, a small feudal relic, was not very different from most other States. Gorwala's report of 1948 gives us a deplorable picture of the administration of the large State of Hyderabad. Even in Mysore, a State ruled by an enlightened and benevolent Prince, the administration had been trying to stifle the popular demand for full responsible government. In the midst of the disconcerting medley of events caused by the intervention of forces from outside as well as inside the State, leaders like Munavalli, who tried to settle the dispute peacefully and amicably, were misrepresented as lacking in trustworthiness in negotiations. The attempts of eminent leaders like Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and A. J. Doddameti, who formed a committee of the Karnataka Provincial Congress charged with the duty of preventing a clash between the Rajasaheb and his people, could not succeed for the same reason.

It was a pity that Marularadhya Sastri, the intrepid pioneer of the popular struggle in Ramdurg, and B. N. Munavalli, who with other leaders like Lingangowda Patil and Pattan, made the Praja Sangh an organized body truly representative of the people, were treated as if they were not of any importance in the settlement of the dispute between the Rajasaheb and his subjects. Their sacrifice in the popular cause was great, and the historian of the future will give them their due. But the names of Nagappa Sullada Manihal, Mallasetti Akki Kittoor, Patreppa Hangola Ramdurg, Basappa Yeligar Avaradi, Gireppa Jogi Ramdurga,

Mahalingayya Hiremath Avaradi, who were hanged, and Nagana-gowda Mahinal, Phakkira Agasara, and Iranagowda Patil who were sentenced to life imprisonment, though the guilt of some of them was not conclusively established, will be recorded in letters of gold as examples of the supreme sacrifice which can be offered for a motherland or for a cause.

Perhaps the most deplorable aspect of this sordid affair was the clever way in which even Gandhiji was misled to think that the tragedy of Ramdurg was manoeuvred by the local popular leaders, and that the Rajasaheb was more sinned against than sinning. In the report sent to Gandhiji by people who visited Ramdurg after the event, there was a graphic description of the havoc caused by the mob violence at the jail and the killing of eight policemen. There was no mention of the events that led to the popular uprising, or of the rowdy elements of Ramdurg who, reinforced by those who came from outside, were solely responsible for the arson and murder. The part played by Munavalli in dispersing the mob as soon as he came out of prison found no mention, and it was reported that the leaders of the Praja Sangh were conspicuous by their absence at the time of crisis. In this way Gandhiji was led to think that Congressmen were the authors of the tragic event. In the report sent to Gandhiji, the statement, "The events only show that the Praja Sangh had no control over the forces which were hiding in the people", and the self-righteous homily implied in "... before one feels sure that the people are rightly trained and disciplined in non-violence it is unwise to begin any great mass movement", led Gandhiji to think that the Praja Sangh had been guilty of an outrage on the creed of non-violence, and to come out with an outright condemnation of the people and leaders of Ramdurg in *Harijan* of April 29th 1939. In his preoccupation with the momentous happenings all over the country and in his depression caused by the events in Rajkot, Gandhiji failed to notice that truth, the other facet of non-violence, had been muffled by interested parties. This act of suppressio veri and suggestio falsi was exposed by Manjappa Hardekar, a person whose journalistic probity was unquestionable and unquestioned, in his *Sarana Sandesha* with a vehemence unusual with him; and he deplored the communal colour of the interpretation of the events.

B: Hyderabad Karnataka

Hyderabad, the largest of the States, came into being as the

result of the disintegration of the Mogul power after the death of Aurangzeb. By about the middle of the 18th century the State was independent under a Muslim ruler, though more than 80 percent of the population were Hindus. The Maratha power under the Peshwas, however, with its expansionist aims and the predatory habits of its generals, gave to the Nizam no rest or peace. The disaster of the Battle of Panipat in 1761 and the steady advance of the foreigners into political prominence, and the rise of Hyder Ali in Mysore, complicated matters still further for the Nizam, who, gifted neither with the political acumen of a Hyder Ali or a Nana Fadnavis, nor with the military competence to protect his freedom against powerful neighbours, had to seek the protection of the rising British power. In return for this protection and his own security, he had to mortgage his freedom by accepting the subsidiary "alliance" with the British.

With the final overthrow of the Maratha power, the British acquired paramountcy over the whole of India. This paramountcy applied to the Princely States also; in the case of the larger States there were subsidiary treaties, differing from each other with regard to minor terms, but uniform in application with regard to the question of paramountcy. The Nizam had been given the districts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur after the defeat of Tippoo. The treaty that the British had concluded with him was so worded with diplomatic niceties of language that he was led to think that his position was that of equality with the British power; and secure against enemies from outside and insurrections inside the State, he ruled as a despot. The British Government, to whom solemn treaties were mere scraps of paper when political exigencies or self-interest demanded their abrogation, permitted the continuance of unmitigated absolutism in Hyderabad on the plea of non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

When the progressive administration of Mysore gave place to the feudal methods of rule under the Nizam in the districts handed over to him, this is the picture we get of the condition of the peasantry there: "The scene that presented itself to the British officer was beyond all description shocking. The different quotas to be paid by each inhabitant had been fixed; and every species of torture was then being inflicted to enforce it. Men and women, poor and rich, were suffering promiscuously. Some had heavy muskets fastened to their ears; some large stones upon their breasts; whilst others had their fingers pinched with hot pincers. Their cries of agony and declarations of inability

to pay appeared only to whet the appetite of their tormentors. Most of those not under their hands seemed in a state of starvation. Indeed, they were so far distracted with hunger, that many of them, without distinction of sect, devoured what was left by the European Officer and Sepoys from their dinner." (Michael Edwardes : *A History of India*, p. 234).

In the second half of the 19th century the great awakening which stirred Indian life to its depths and introduced a new era of hope spread to Hyderabad also, and the contrast between the administration in that State and in British India came to be keenly felt by the awakened section of the people of Hyderabad. Mediæval methods of oppression and misrule continued unchecked. As illustration a few extracts from contemporary newspapers may be given ; the *Deccan Times* of 7th February, 1880, wrote under the heading, " Mogalai Atrocities " :

" We lately drew attention to the disgraceful manner in which thirty-five persons were, seven months ago, incarcerated by His Highness the Nizam's Officials in the Goolburga jail, and were still awaiting trial, on mere suspicion of having been associated with the doings of the infamous Vasudev Balwant. From facts which are constantly being brought to light it is indubitable that this case may be taken as a sample of the lax and discreditable manner in which justice is administered in the dominions of H.H. the Nizam and of the unscrupulous abuse of authority by Mogalai Officials.

" Examples are more forcible than generalizations, and it is with the object of drawing attention to the necessity for a speedy and radical reformation in the judicial and police administration of His Highness's country that we feel it incumbent on us to give publicity to some particulars elicited in a dacoity case which have been brought to our notice. . . . Among this mass of recorded evidence witnesses have on oath deposed to the following : to the infliction of cruel beatings by the police, and tortures, some of them too indecent to particularize ; to a prisoner having been beaten to death to extort confession ; to the drawing up of false Punchnamas ; to prisoners being starved for three days ; to women being hanged up naked by their hands for two days continuously to force them to incriminate their relatives ; to bribes ad libitum ; to the rape, by police officials, of two Bheel women while in custody, one of whom was pregnant and miscarried in consequence. Such was the dreadful array of atrocities brought to light. The services of an English Doctor were next applied for from Aurangabad to obtain a medical opinion as to

the tortures and rape, as the local Hakims were also mixed up in the case. So long a period, however, had elapsed that it was impossible for the English Doctor to give any definite opinion.

“Several months have now gone by since the investigation, and with the exception of the dismissal of the Sudder Mohtamim or Police Superintendent, we learn of no further action being taken in the matter. Probably action will be indefinitely postponed, and the case eventually consigned to the limbo of forgetfulness.

“Now here we have a sample of doings by Mogalai Officials which may rival the Bulgarian atrocities. That such things are done is not only a crying shame to the administration of the Hyderabad State, but in some measure to the British Government as well, under whose philanthropical and civilizing influence and supervision the “Independent States” in India are supposed to be yearly improving, and advancing to such a high degree of civilization as to compare favourably with British rule!!

“We are constantly hearing of improvements in Native States, and of the interchange of compliments and congratulations between representatives of the British Government and Native Princes on progress made. All these are very refreshing to read; but if statesmen would in truth seek to know what real advance has been made, we would advise them to look beneath the surface, and they will too often find that, like the veiled prophet of Khorassan, a fair exterior hides a fearful reality.”

How the maladministration prevalent in Hyderabad led to communalist fanatics exploiting the situation for their own nefarious ends, and how the people were slowly driven to desperation and were led to think that freedom from political bondage was the only solvent for the ills from which they suffered, can be seen in this despatch to the *Times of India* of August 28, 1880 :

“Gulbarga is a large city with a population of nearly forty thousand souls, nearly two-thirds of whom are Hindus, the remainder being Mahomedans. It is the head station of the taluka, where the treasury of the district is located. Looking to the importance of the place, with the mixed character of its population in point of both race and religion, where there is not the least restriction as to carrying arms, one would have thought that the Hyderabad authorities would always be prepared and on the alert to promptly suppress any disturbance of the public peace, a contingency by no means improbable or rare. The recent outrageous events have tried the Nizam’s officials and found them wanting. It was after the late riots that the aggrieved

portion of the populace telegraphed to the Resident and Sir Salar Jung, and two companies of infantry and a party of cavalry were ordered to Gulbarga, and I am informed that they intend to derive instruction from the lesson taught and locate the troops there for good. The stable door is to be shut after the horse has bolted. The mischief is already done and is simply irreparable.

“ Let me now proceed to give you, in brief, an account of the origin of these riots. It would appear that in one of the quarters of the city there is, or at least there was up to a few days ago, a Hindu temple of some two or three hundred years' standing. Adjoining this temple but on the same premises, was built another temple about twenty years ago. This temple was built by a Sanyasee or ascetic, with funds provided for the purpose by charitable persons, and in this temple the Sanyasee also lived. The holy man died about two months ago. According to a well-known Hindu custom the bodies of such Sanyasees are not cremated but buried, or what is called given a 'Samadhi', and a tomb or shrine is erected on the spot, where devoutly disposed Hindus do 'poojā' and celebrate the anniversary of the day on which the holy man died. These burials generally take place in or near a temple, and in the case of this Sanyasee what more natural than that he should be buried in the temple he himself had built.

“ According to this custom the Hindus were making preparations to bury the holy man (his name was Balaji), but the Mahomedans of the place on hearing of this strenuously objected to the burial, and laid a complaint before the Kotwal or city magistrate, himself a Mahomedan. The Kotwal prohibited the burial, but, the Seyam Talukdar or Deputy Collector being appealed to, the prohibition was withdrawn. Accordingly the body was buried, without much disturbance at the time, but the same night some wickedly disposed Mahomedans entered the temple, destroyed some of the idols, and half attempted to disinter the body. Next morning, the mischief having come to light, the Hindus brought the matter to the notice of the Sadar Talukdar or Collector, and said they apprehended further and much more serious mischief, and requested him to take effective measures for their protection. The Sadar Talukdar (a Mahomedan) only pooh-poohed the matter, but kept on guard four or five police sepoy at the temple. On the seventh day of the burial certain funeral ceremonies were to be performed and again the Mohamedans rose in opposition, but Sir Salar Jung, having been telegraphed, gave instructions to the Sadar Talukdar to see

that the Hindus were not molested, and the ceremonies were gone through without trouble. So far so good. The Hindus were about to build a rest house or dharmashala near the temple for the use of travellers and pilgrims, but again the Mahomedans said they wanted to build a musafarkhana for fakeers. A musafarkhana for fakeers on or near a spot where a Hindu Sanyasee was buried was a very strange and spiteful proposal, and it is said, with what truth I cannot say, that the malcontents were encouraged by the Mahomedan officials. Again Sir Salar Jung was appealed to, and he replied that the proposal of building either a musafarkhana or dharmashala should stand over till the matter was reported upon by an independent commission which he was going to appoint. The promised Commission was soon appointed, and consisted of Parsees and Christians. The Commissioners, before entering upon their deliberations, suggested that five Hindus and an equal number of Mahomedans would attend the inquiry as representatives of the contending parties. But when the Commission assembled at the Cutcherry of the Sadar Talukdar there were five Hindus, but instead of five there were over two hundred Mahomedans. The Commissioners, on seeing the state of affairs, took alarm and precipitately cut short their deliberations. They were right; for off rushed the two hundred Mahomedans shouting out at the top of their voices those terribly eloquent words 'deen, deen', the significance of which we all know. The two hundred soon swelled into two thousand, all armed and ready for the fray. The work of desecration, demolition and iconoclasm now began in right earnest. The mad mob rushed to the temple where the unlucky Sanyasee had been buried, razed the temple to the ground, pounded the idols into fragments, exhumed the body, and, not content with wreaking their vengeance in this savage manner, they then proceeded to the ghastly work of dismembering the body and threw the fragments to the four winds. Having done this they hit upon a most effectual method of goading the Hindus. They brought a cow, killed it, sprinkled the temple with the blood, threw its head into the grave, and the horrible tragedy was completed.

"Where were the police all this time? They were there, but impotent to cope with the infuriated rabble. They tried to disperse the mob and restore peace and order, but without avail, and the enemy remained masters of the situation. During the fray small-arms, sticks, stones, and other missiles were freely used, but fortunately did not cause injury beyond a few cuts and bruises. Where were the Hindus? They were there also. But

the Hindu is proverbially a mild creature. Though they outnumbered the Mahomedans they took no measures to protect themselves, but remained passive spectators of the terrible scene. They acted wisely in not retaliating, for if they had the consequences would have been very serious. They contented themselves with sending expensive telegrams to the Resident and Sir Salar Jung, imploring their protection. Great excitement prevailed in the city, and the Hindus were stricken with panic. They were not sure that they had seen the last of this sad affair, for the Mahomedans openly threatened to pull down all remaining Hindu temples. The Hindus, who are generally merchants and petty shopkeepers, closed their shops and suspended all business, and threatened to leave the city *en masse* if their wrongs were not redressed. None of the rioters were arrested till after some days had elapsed; this disheartened the Hindus the more, and various wild rumours were afloat as to the conduct of the officials. People talked sotto voce about the officials actively sympathizing with their co-religionists. A few days ago some persons were arrested, three or four of whom were supposed to have been the leading spirits in the riots. I am informed they have all been set at liberty; but the most extraordinary aspect of their release is that the accused were bailed out on the personal security of one another. This, if true, is a very strange procedure. These proceedings are not conducted as publicly as is to be desired, and it is difficult to obtain exact information.

“I will now give the grounds of resistance on the part of the Mahomedans. The Mahomedans have a mosque a few hundred yards from the temple, and they say they objected to any Hindu being buried in its vicinity lest they might be disturbed during their prayers. But the Hindus reply that the temple has stood there for some two hundred years, while the mosque was built only twelve or fifteen years ago. But when about three years back two Hindus were buried in the same piece of land no objection was then raised.

“I hear a deputation of leading Hindu merchants has already gone to Hyderabad to lay their case before the Resident and Sir Salar Jung.”

It is rightly said that it may be possible to deceive one man for all time or all men for a time. The Government of Hyderabad tried to deceive the public for all time and ultimately exposed itself to ridicule and contempt. The *Bombay Gazette* of September 15, 1881, wrote thus about the Hyderabad Government :

“ Superficially the Hyderabad State is represented and there are many whose interest it is so to represent it as carrying out astonishing reforms and making wonderful progress towards metamorphosing this at present ill-governed principality into a model State for other Native States to imitate and copy: British officers are continually being saddled upon the Hyderabad Government on heavy salaries (on the recommendation of each successive Resident), whose interest it is to represent everything relating to Hyderabad in *couleur de rose* form; public gardens, Mudrassa-i-Aliyas, club rooms, etc., etc., are erected, regardless of expense, at the capital of the State, balls, dinners, nautches, and varied entertainments are profusely given to British officers of “light and leading”, with the one sole object that Hyderabad affairs may be represented in rich and glowing colours to the Government of India, and thence, in due course, to the Home Government.

“ But alas ! lift the tapestried curtain, and there comes from the interior of His Highness the Nizam’s dominions a wail of woe, of oppression, of tyranny, of corruption, of torture, of injustice, of murder. Ryots are fleeced by every pressure that authority can use; tyranny and torture such as the mind revolts to hear, and in short, every barbarous means that unprincipled men in power can invent, are exercised for the purpose either of extorting money or of gratifying their unprincipled desires. ”

The birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 created apprehension and annoyance in the official dovecotes, while all the educated and enlightened public hailed it as the inauguration of a new era for the country. In Hyderabad the Government looked upon the formation of the Congress with considerable apprehension, because the spread of liberal and nationalistic ideas throughout the country would surely expose the feudal and mediaeval nature of the Hyderabad administration. However, leaders of Hyderabad such as Dr. Aghorenath Chattopadhyaya, Ramchandra Pille, Mulla Abdul Qayum, Mohib Hussain, the editor of *Mulallim-e-Shafiq*, and Syed Akhil, the editor of *Hazar Dastan*, hailed the Congress with joy. While Sir Syed Ahmed and other criticised the Congress, these people unhesitatingly welcomed it as introducing a new era of progress for the country. The Hyderabad Government in their letter of 29th September, 1888, to Mulla Abdul Qayum wrote as follows: “ I am directed by the ministers to state with reference to the articles which you have been writing in the “ *Safir-e-Deccan* ” in support of the National Congress, that the policy of the Government is against the

National Congress and in support of the Patriotic Association. It is hoped that you and your colleagues among the officials referred to in the newspaper "*Safir-e-Deccan*" will desist from their aims and objects. The pamphlets in support of the National Congress which you, it is heard, have obtained from Allahabad should be deposited by you with the Government forthwith.

"Copy to Moulavi Sharf-ul-Haq, Officiating Superintendent, Excise Department, Secunderabad, with a similar direction that he should desist from the propagation of the pamphlets and deposit the undistributed ones with the Government.

"It need not be stated that the activities of Government officers in opposition to Government policies is against general propriety."

Many of the newspapers in Hyderabad voiced the feelings of the people when they wholeheartedly supported the Congress and condemned the unsympathetic attitude of the Government officers. Even the remark of Lord Dufferin in his speech on St. Andrews Day when he called the Congress a body of undesirable seditious persons was denounced by the *Hyderabad Record* as most indiscreet: the Viceroy was "just disturbing a hornet's nest". The same paper declared in no uncertain terms, "We are entering upon an era of struggle for the power which has hitherto been their preserve. And the struggle that has in a manner already commenced between the ruling classes on the one hand and the ever growing class of the educated natives on the other, will be hardly less keen, or less sustained, than was the struggle of the Plebeians against the Patricians in Roman history, or of the English people against the strong opposition of the King and the aristocracy in turn."

The unrestricted autocracy of a small minority over a large majority continued in this manner in Hyderabad. The people were terrorised into acquiescence in their rule and the people of North Karnataka, with all their glorious historical past, began to lose their distinctive character. It was only when the National Congress was formed in 1885 that there was a political awakening among the people, and the educated classes in particular began to realise their own deplorable condition. The Government of Hyderabad, however, regarded the rise of the National Congress with apprehension, because it might sound the death-knell of their undiluted autocracy. Cleverly enough, the Hyderabad Government put forward the singular theory that Hyderabad had developed a unique culture and traditions and was essentially different from the rest of India; with the result that the new ideas

of the Congress would be inapplicable to Hyderabad. The doctrine that the Congress was a Hindu body and was inimical to the Muslims was put forward, and thus the communal question was conveniently mixed up with the political. The Government also declared that the people of Hyderabad had made a great educational and cultural advance during the previous twenty years. This was refuted by the nationalist leaders by giving figures to show that, among Hindus only one in thirty-two was literate, while among Muslims the ratio was one in ten, and among Christians one in seven. Thus not only the bulk of the population was illiterate (ratio of average literacy being one in twenty-four) but the most illiterate class in the dominions was that of the Hindus. (Statement by the Provisional Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress in its Manifesto).

There was a ban on political conferences imposed by the Government of Hyderabad, and therefore such conferences had to be held outside Hyderabad. There was nothing disquieting in the resolutions passed or demands made in these conferences; they only wanted the establishment of responsible government in Hyderabad under the aegis of the Nizam. Still the Government was set against allowing any kind of political agitation or constitutional demand by the people. The stir created by the liberal democratic forces of the second half of the 19th century and the national awakening which was the result mainly of the impact of the West could not be kept away from the people of Hyderabad.

The political struggle which shook the whole of India during 1931 and 1932 had its effect on the State. Hundreds of volunteers from Hyderabad went out and participated in the struggle. In Hyderabad itself boycott of foreign goods, prohibition of drink and khaddar propaganda went on. Fazlul Rehaman, a Professor in the City College of Hyderabad, was forced to relinquish his professorship because he was the Secretary of the Swadeshi League. Motilal Day was observed in many places in Hyderabad in spite of the Government promulgating a ban under Section 144 of the Penal Code. Sir Akbar Hydari attempted to make a show of constitutional reforms, but it came to nothing. When in January 1938 the Hyderabad People's Convention, under the Presidency of M. Hanumant Rao, demanded responsible government, new rules banning all political meetings were imposed.

Seeing that a political colour was being given by the Government to every demand for representative institutions, the need for a non-communal political organization was keenly felt by the leaders. About five hundred members attended the Haripura

Congress of 1938. These people, encouraged by the bold resolutions passed there, were determined on their return to build up a political body through which the youth of Hyderabad should be diverted from communal channels. Such a committee was formed and earnest appeals were made to the people for unity. But the Government was firm. The few sympathetic Muslims who had joined this body were weaned away by Government pressure. The Government now proclaimed that the demand for responsible government for Hyderabad was nothing but party politics or disloyalty. Congress was dubbed communal. The formation of the Hyderabad State Congress was prohibited in the Government notification of September 8, 1938: "It is the primary task of those who genuinely desire to sponsor the constitutional advance and liberty of the people as a whole to purify their own ranks, become true representatives of a people inherently at peace amongst themselves, and thus create a common national platform. They will then have prepared the surest foundation for Government to give earnest consideration to what in that event would be truly national claims, exclusive to no community, yet non-communal, and entitled to the fullest respect. Otherwise absence of honest distinction between communalism and politics must inevitably tend to jeopardise the chances of any advance. Despite the ostensible objects of the organization, Government is convinced that the continued presence in it of persons predominantly communal in outlook and aim will determine its actions. While the statement of Government's policy was made in good time for a reconstruction of this organization being effected and for its being based on broad national foundations, no steps in these directions have so far been taken and Government in thus confirmed in its conviction that the movement, ostensibly political, is in fact a cloak for subversive, communal activities to which the prestige of the name 'Congress' has been deliberately attached for misleading the public.

"Government is satisfied from its enquiries and from its knowledge of some of the leading persons associated with the proposed Hyderabad State Congress that it will be, whatever its outward professions, constituted on communal lines and animated by communal and subversive ends which will retard instead of advancing the pace of constitutional reforms in the State. Government have, therefore, decided to prohibit the formation of any organisation so named or so constituted and the Hyderabad State Congress, if formed, is declared to be an unlawful association under the Public Safety Regulation."

An attempt was made again by Manvi Narsinga Rao, M. Hanumant Rao, Kashinath Rao Vaidya and others, through the intervention of Nawab Ali Yar Jung, to induce Sir Akbar Hydari to meet the popular demand, but it was a dismal failure. A small minority in a country, having unrestricted power over the large majority does not give up that power unless forced to do so ; the rule of the Nizam was in most respects comparable only to the rule of the Turkish Sultans of Delhi, in spite of the repeated protestations of benevolence and liberalism by ministers like Sir Akbar Hydari. Gandhiji in spite of his admiration for Sir Akbar Hydari wrote in *Harijan* of 17th September, 1938 : “ The Hyderabad Communiques have therefore come upon me as a painful surprise. Sir Akbar is a great educationalist. He is a philosopher. It was a pleasure to read his recent convocation address to the Dacca University. It is passing strange that he should have lent himself to the reactionary declarations which condemn an organization before it has begun to function. What can be the meaning of communalism in a state which is overwhelmingly one population according to religion ? The doctrine of minority is a good hobby to ride up to a point. But it must be at least numerically a fair minority. Even a minority of one can expect perfect justice. But it has no status in the political field.”

Earnest and continued attempts at bringing the Hyderabad Government to reason and to acceptance of the modest demands of the Congress having ended in failure, the only alternative left for the Congress was to start satyagraha. Now came into prominence Swami Ramananda Tirtha, a leader of remarkable ability and transparent honesty and integrity. Before taking up the contribution of the Swamiji in the emancipation of the people of Hyderabad from the autocratic rule of the Nizam, it is necessary to say here that the Congress agitation in the State was somewhat complicated by the agitation of the Arya Samajists for a fair deal to the Hindus who formed 85% of the population. With regard to many activities there was not much difference between the Congressites and the Arya Samajists because there was little difference between their aims and objectives which were that the people of the State should be allowed to live under a Government which gave them freedom and justice.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha was born at Chinmalli in Gulbarga taluk. His early education was at Gangapur. A brilliant student and intensely patriotic, he joined the Non-Cooperation movement in 1921. He took his degree from Tilak Vidyapitha

and his thesis for the M.A. was on "The Evolution of Democracy". While at college he came under the influence of Swami Kaivalyananda, and he became attached to the Arya Samaj. Ascetic by nature and trained in the lofty ideals of the Arya Samaj, he did not accept any remuneration when he was appointed headmaster of the National School at Hipparga; he begged his food like a true sanyasi. It was in 1931 that he was initiated into sanyas.

Total renunciation of worldly things and initiation to a life of work and sacrifice naturally drew him towards Gandhiji. Though he became a devout follower of Gandhiji as early as 1921, his political career may be said to have commenced in 1938. It was he who gave the requisite dynamism to the Hyderabad State Congress and he was the first Dictator to plunge into struggle. His letter to the police on this occasion is of interest :

To

Nawab Rahmat Yar Jung Bahadur,
City Police Commissioner,
H.E.H. the Nizam's Government.

DEAR SWEET SELF,

I have been nominated by the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress as the first Dictator with all the powers of the Working Committee vested in me.

I intend to begin the work of the State Congress today after 3 p.m. near Putli Bowdi Station, with my four organising secretaries. I request you to please take note of this and take necessary steps.

With best regards,
in word,

(Sd.) Swami Ramananda Tirtha, M.A.,
1st Dictator,
Hyderabad State Congress.

Organising Secretaries

1. Venkatesh Joshi.
2. Raghavendra, S.
3. Raja Reddy.
4. Appa Rao.

27th October, 1938,
Jambagh, Hyderabad

The strangeness of this letter seems to have amused the impervious and frigid mind of the Police Commissioner, who submitted it with the following note :

To

His Excellency the President,

This is what the epistolary style of a serious organisation has resolved itself into. I am sure the Commissioner of Police is very much flattered.

29-10-1938.

(Sd.) Ali Yavar Jung.

His vehement appeal to young men on the eve of his arrest is worth quoting : "Young men, remember, opposition to tyranny is the worship of God. A clarion call is being issued to you. It is your species that has won freedom's battle all the world over. No sacrifice is too great at the present juncture. Respond to the country's call and understand clearly that the genesis of the present situation is to be found in the political rather than in any other problem.

"Keep the flame burning, take up the thread left unfinished by us. Ours is a purely national game and play it, we are not to be deterred by any odds. No, not even if the nearest and the dearest cry ; look not back, forward march is our way."

Eighteen batches of satyagrahis sought jail after him.

Swami Ramananda obtained the permission of Gandhiji to offer individual satyagraha in 1940, and he was in jail for fifteen months. He again participated in the Quit India struggle of 1942 and was detained for 16 months. He was the moving force in the activities of the State Congress and directed all aspects of the struggle. In June 1946 he became the President of the State Congress and was again elected as President in June 1947.

Mention must also be made of Govindrao Nanal, Kashinath Vaidya, V. S. Desai of Koppal, Shaikh Mohiuddin Saheb and Pandit Taranath. These are only a few among a large number of patriots who willingly sacrificed their all in the cause of freedom. Particular mention needs to be made of Pandit Taranath. A great patriot and an equally great scholar, versed in more than a dozen languages, he first served in the Education Department of the Nizam's Government at Raichur. He left Government service and started a national school by himself. He was soon deported from the State and the school was then run by his brother Amritarao, helped by some leaders of Raichur. A great

orator, he made rousing speeches and earned the particular disfavour of the Government.

The national school mentioned above, the Madrasa-e-Hamdard, was started in 1920 on the Ugadi at Raichur. He believed that education was the most potent force in bringing about national regeneration through training the youth, and he worked with his wonted zeal for this awakening. The aim of the school has been thus described by Shri Manik Rao : " The School aims at uniting the Hindus and Musalmans not as the politicians have done it but on the strength of the commands of their own respective prophets and sages. It will create a cosmopolitan spirit not on the so-called reform lines but on spiritual lines." Regeneration of all that was best in indigenous learning was his chief aim. He devoted special attention to Ayurveda, and devised his own new and scientific methods of diagnosis and treatment. He conducted a correspondence with many people in foreign countries and gave to these people a correct and accurate account of the national trend in India (*vide* appendix). He prescribed his own sphere of activity for the nation and steadily and with an amazing concentration persisted in that course. His was a unique personality, versatile, dynamic and intensely patriotic.

When on the 15th August, 1947, the British power ended in India, the Nizam thought that he was entitled to remain an independent ruler without any connection with either India or Pakistan. Jinnah of course wanted him to join Pakistan, and visited Hyderabad in July, 1946. Jinnah's attitude suggested that Hyderabad would lose its independent status in Pakistan, and fear of this probably decided the issue. The following from Sir Mirza Ismail's *My Public Life* (pp. 98-99) throws light upon the situation in Hyderabad at that time :

" A detailed account of the interview was given me by Nawab Hosh Yar Jung, who was present on the occasion. He told me that Jinnah entered the room smoking a cigar, and seated himself in the chair in front of the Nizam with his legs outstretched. Immediately there was an explosion. H.E.H. exclaimed, ' Do you know who I am ? Is this the way you behave towards the Nizam of Hyderabad ? ' The attack was so sudden and unexpected that the visitor was completely flabbergasted, he withdrew his legs, threw away the offending cigar and apologised. But the storm having burst, apology did not ease the situation. The Nizam swamped him with angry questions. ' What do you want ? What do you want to tell me ? ' and so on and so forth. Jinnah sought to say something (about an appointment), but

before he could utter a few words, the Nizam cried, 'I do not want any outside interference in my affairs. I can take care of the interests of my own people. I do not wish to discuss this matter with you.'

"I was told that 'the whole palace resounded with his angry voice, so much so that the oldest retainers said that they had never seen the Nizam in such a temper before.' In between the explosions, Jinnah somehow managed to play his last card by uttering the warning that the Muslim League would never extend any support to Hyderabad, either in its internal affairs or in the Constituent Assembly, if his advice was disregarded. That only made matters worse. 'What do you care? You were never helpful. I am not going to ask for your help.' Jinnah then said something about constitutional reforms. The Nizam cut him short: 'I am a busy person, Mr. Jinnah. I cannot go into details with you. If you wish to discuss the reforms, please go and see the minister in charge. Anything more? No? Then good-bye.'

" 'The interview,' wrote the Nawab, 'lasted just twenty-five minutes. But this new side of the Nizam's character came as a surprise to all of us. We never thought that he could be so firm and so furious. The Qaid-i-Azam has had the lesson of his life. But we know that this does not end here. He is a very vindictive man, and immediately after the interview, he started long conferences with local leaders'."

The desire to retain and exercise as much independent power as possible was natural for the Nizam, but he did not count upon the evil forces that had gathered around him and which he could not control. Said Kasim Razvi, President of the Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslimin, was the Mephistopheles of the tragic drama that was enacted at this time. His activities and his speeches on independence for Hyderabad perhaps opened out a bright promise of freedom before the Nizam's eyes. The Government of India with remarkable patience concluded a Standstill Agreement with the Nizam to last for a year. But the Razakars under Razvi, a motley crowd of foreign adventurers, vagabonds and ruffians, indulged in such vandalism and atrocities, and became such a menace to the peace not only of Hyderabad but also of the neighbouring provinces, that the Indian Government could not tolerate them. All attempts at peaceful negotiations and settlement proving fruitless, the Indian Government had to march its troops into Hyderabad and to occupy it in order to curb once for all the activities of Razvi, who had the audacity to shout in a meet-



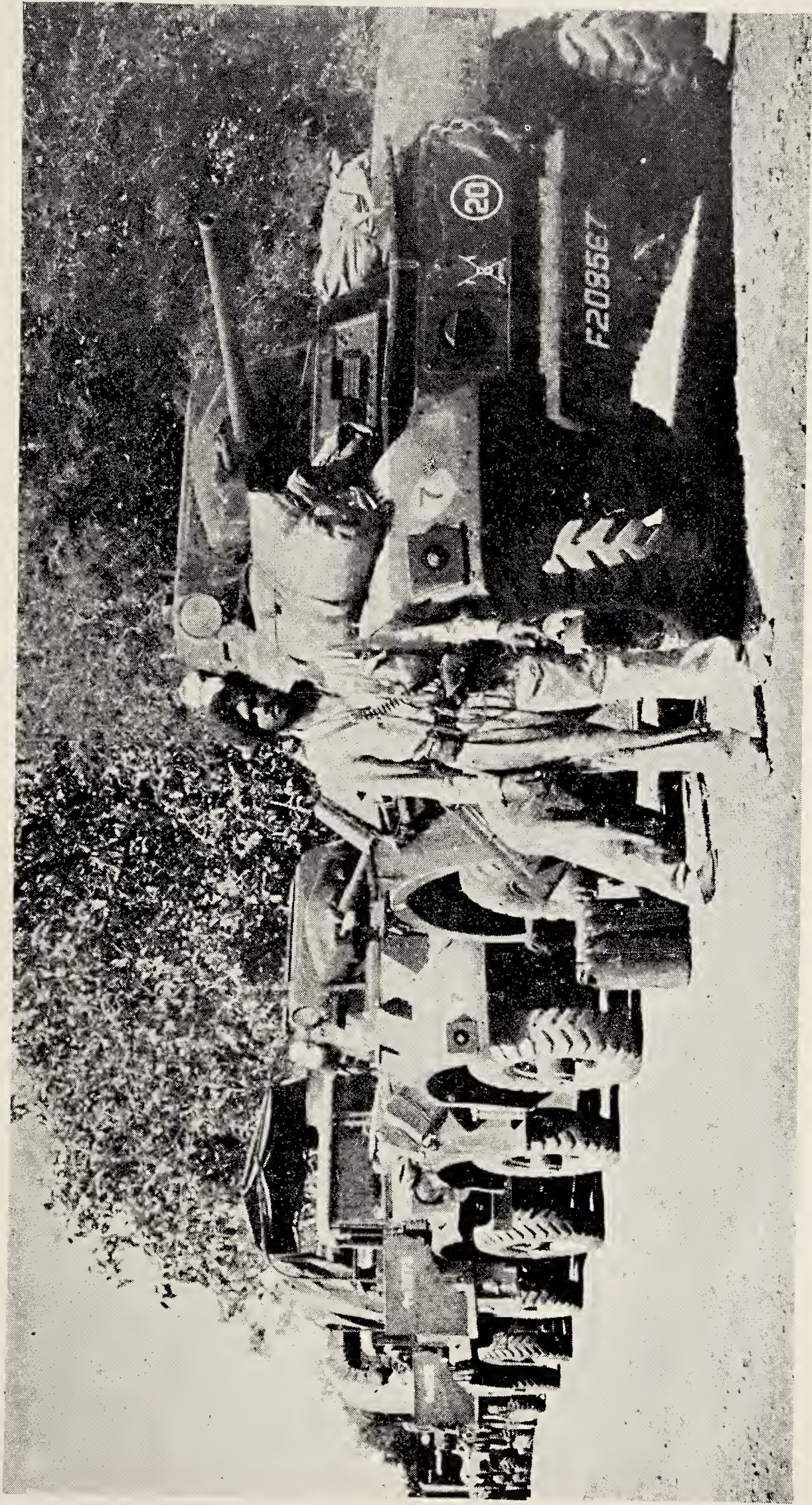
*Refugees from the Razakar terror. Some folk from Hyderabad
Karnataka huddled in an open camp on the Indian side.*



The Hyderabad Karnataka people collecting arms to fight the Razakars.



Students of Hyderabad Karnatak on guard against the Razakars.



*The Indian army entering Hyderabad State for police action from the
Bijapur-Sholapur border.*

ing that he would march against Delhi and unfurl the Asaf Jahi Flag in the Red Fort. The Nizam had to submit and accept the terms of the Indian Government. It was indeed bankruptcy of statesmanship in the Nizam to think that a land-locked state like Hyderabad could remain independent in the midst of Indian provinces while the Hindus of the State who formed 85% of the population were clamouring for merger in the Indian Union.

The areas of Karnataka which formed part of the Hyderabad State and were under its feudal autocracy for about a century and a half played their part nobly in the struggle for freedom. The people of these parts, smarting under feudal methods of administration and undiluted autocracy, plunged into the national struggle as soon as Gandhiji took up the leadership. In the third decade of the 20th century, Raghavendra Rao Chakalabbi, Tammanagouda Patil and Basavantrao Katarahalli Hiremath were among the leading figures who took part in the Non-Cooperation movement. In a unique but very effective manner, *Kirtanakesari* Jayaramachar toured all over the Karnataka country infusing courage and hope among the people and rousing them to national effort under Gandhiji's leadership.

Particularly after the Belgaum Congress of 1924 under the Presidentship of Gandhiji, the desire of the people of these districts to fight for the country's freedom was intensified. The clarion call of Jawaharlal Nehru at the Lahore Congress of 1929 for Indian independence had a tremendous effect in these parts, and a large number of people joined the Congress. Shirur Veerabhadrapa and Narasingrao Hampi were among the leaders of this nationalist upsurge. A land of inadequate rainfall even in normal years, these parts of Karnataka experienced droughts again and again in the fourth decade of this century. The Government did little to provide them the necessary relief. It was only after 1935 that the Government consented to a small remission of revenue and famine relief. Hardekar Manjappa toured over these parts in 1935 and his speeches made a profound impression on the people. Foreign cloth boycott, prohibition, khaddar work and the removal of untouchability were eagerly taken up by the people as in other parts of India. It was in 1939 that Govindrao Nanal, President of the Hyderabad Congress, and Swami Ramananda Tirtha intensified the national awakening among the people. National schools like the Vidyanand Gurukula of Kuknoor and the national school of Adur were established, and the spread of khaddar received a great impetus. The Arya Samajists joined the Congress fighters, and the satyagraha of 1939

was conducted efficiently and a large number of people went to jail. Congress leaders from Dharwar, Hallikeri Gudleppa and Doddameti Andaneppa, toured over these parts during this period.

The fight for freedom from Muslim autocracy took a new turn after the 15th of August, 1947. India became independent. The Kannadigas of the Nizam's Dominions had been deprived of the freedom which the country would enjoy. As soon as Indian freedom was achieved the Government of Hyderabad issued a *firman* prohibiting the hoisting of the Indian flag in any part of Hyderabad and made it a criminal offence to do so. Meetings and processions had already been banned. It was now that the people began to disobey the *firman* and that the rush to jail started in earnest. The Razakars were committing horrible atrocities in the border villages, especially at Alavundi, Kavalur, Bannikoppa and Mudhol. The Working Committee of the Hyderabad Congress had to take strong action in order to curb the activities of these ruffians. Volunteer camps were established in various places to curb the activities of the Razakars. But in each of these centres the number of volunteers was too small to face the Razakar menace. Shivamurthy Swami Alavandi, one of the ablest of the leaders, was in charge of the camp at Mundargi. There were only eight or ten volunteers in that small camp. Still, this small body of volunteers under Shivamurthy Swami faced 200 Razakars in a body and scattered them. Praneshachar, Dr. G. S. Melkote, Ramacharya Joshi were other leaders who worked hard to rouse the people to oppose the Razakars.

It was ultimately decided that larger camps with about 500 volunteers in each should be established to face the Razakars. The first of these camps was established at Mundargi and fitly enough Shivamurthy Swami was made the leader.

Similar resistance centres were organized in the border region between Gulbarga and Sholapur. The youth of these regions played a worthy and timely role in ably checking the advance of the Razakars. Sirdar Sharana Gowda, Chandrasekhar Patil and other leaders, at great risk and with uncommon ability in organization, were successful in keeping even the Razakars themselves in fear.

Hyderabad Pradesh Karnatak Sangha

The problems of the people of the Hyderabad Karnataka did

not find solution with the merger of Hyderabad in the Indian Union. The question of freedom from Muslim autocracy was a minor question in comparison with the question of these Kannadigas finding their rightful place in a new Karnataka Province. There could be no peace for these people until they were allowed to merge with their kinsmen in other parts and work out their own destiny. Efforts were made therefore to have the Hyderabad State divided according to linguistic regions so that the Kannada area might join the other parts of Karnataka. The Ryot Parishat at Kudarimoti for the first time took up this question of the division of Hyderabad. Quite a number of people had gone from Gulbarga and other places, and as a result of their efforts a resolution was passed in favour of this division. The Second Ryot Parishat was held at Mataladinni on the 24th of March, 1954, with Shivamurthy Swami as President ; Shirur Veerabhadrapa performed the opening ceremony. The demand for the division of Hyderabad on a linguistic basis was again made and a delegation was sent to Hyderabad to plead for this before the States Reorganisation Committee. As a result of the untiring efforts of these patriotic leaders that part of Karnataka which had been a part of Hyderabad for nearly a century and a half, and whose people were losing their cultural distinctiveness, Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur, was integrated in the new Karnataka.

Much is due to the Karnataka Parishat, a cultural organisation of Kannadigas of the erstwhile Hyderabad State. There was a similar linguistic association among the Telugu-speaking people of the State. This association of Kannadigas was a genuine attempt at self-expression in order to support the progressive forces of the national struggle. The first Conference was held under the Presidentship of P. Kishen Rao at Hyderabad, bringing the Kannada fraternity of the area on a single platform. The Bidar Session presided over by Janardhan Rao Desai was a landmark in the history of the people of Hyderabad State. The deliberations of this session unfortunately provoked Muslim opposition, letting loose on the innocent Hindus of Bidar town acts of arson and loot which in turn increased the self-consciousness and unity of the Kannadigas. The atrocities committed on the Hindu population were so barbaric that they opened the eyes of the Hindus to their condition and made them determine to assert themselves against these forces of tyranny. The third Conference was held at Surapur, in Gulbarga district, under the Presidentship of Annarao Ganamukhi, and the speeches delivered there resulted in a remarkable awakening among the Kannadigas.

C: Jamkhandi

An Example of Smooth Political Evolution

Jamkhandi was a small State in the northern part of Karnataka. It contained 73 villages and two thanas. The struggle for responsible government was carried on in this State from 1927 on. But this fight was different from the fight in most other States in Karnataka. The Rajasahebs were liberal in their outlook, and did not allow an open rift between themselves and their people to develop. In fact an ancestor of these Rajas, Ramchandra Rao Appasaheb Patvardhan, had participated in the fight against the British in 1857, but had been saved from the gallows by the loyalty of his Senapati, Chattu Singh, who took upon himself the responsibility for the events that had taken place.

The agitation against the British in Jamkhandi commenced from the time of the partition of Bengal in 1905. Popular feeling was roused in Jamkhandi by the news of the partition and even the students collected a "Mushti Fund" to help the sufferers in the Bengal agitation. The swadeshi movement came into being, with all its concomitants of picketing, Prabhat Pheris, etc. One of the members of the Rajasaheb's family had lost a jewel on the bank of the Krishna. The Rajasaheb offered a handsome prize to the person who should find it. A youth succeeded in finding it, and the prize was willingly given. But the youth sent it to Bengal for the relief of the political sufferers there.

It was in 1917 that the Jamkhandi Lok Sabha was formed to voice the feelings and wishes of the people before the Rajasaheb every year in June. It was a body primarily aimed at establishing harmonious cooperation between the Rajasaheb's Government and the people. The demands of the public including religious, social and agricultural matters were placed before the Raja. Kannada was the language used in all these writings.

While the period before 1917 was a stage of awakening of the people of Jamkhandi to the events that were agitating people in other parts of India, the ten years after 1917, the period of the Lok Sabha, can be called the stage of popular awareness of the relations that should exist between the Government and the people. The Lok Sabha interested itself chiefly in welfare schemes in the State and in creating understanding between the Ruler and the ruled.

In June 1927 the Lok Sabha was changed into the Jamkhandi State Praja Parishad. This body took up political problems, and the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of the

Rajasaheb became its chief object. A High Court for the State, and the formation of Local Boards, were also among the objects of the Praja Parishad. Periodical sessions of the Parishad were held and political leaders from outside were invited to preside over their deliberations. Tatyasaheb Kelkar, Shrinivas Rao Koujalgi, Narayan Rao Joshi, Doddameti Andaneppa, T. Siddalingaiah, H. C. Dasappa, B. G. Kher were among the distinguished leaders who presided over these sessions. A refreshing feature of these meetings and these demands of the people was that the Rajasaheb did not at any time take an alarmist view of the popular movement and continued to concede their demands in stages, perhaps in contravention of the suggestions of the British Resident. The Jamkhandi High Court came into being in 1913. The State Representative Assembly Act was passed in 1932 and came into operation in 1938. It introduced a Representative Assembly which contained 30 members, 16 elected and 14 nominated. In the Act of 1940 there was a separation of Reserved and Transferred subjects, and education, agriculture and local self-government were included in the latter, which were in the charge of a Minister elected by the Assembly. The Act of 1947 introduced full responsible government, and the Rajasaheb retained for himself advisory powers. B. D. Jatti was the Minister in this Government. It can thus be seen that Jamkhandi was one of the few Princely States in which neither the people nor the Ruler fell under the influence of forces making for a rift between them, and there was a steady evolution of representative institutions leading finally to full responsible government in 1947. True to this healthy tradition of political growth created in the State from the beginning, when the question of the merger of the small States arose after 1947, the Rajasaheb and Minister B. D. Jatti went to Delhi for an interview with Vallabhbhai Patel, and the result was that the Rajasaheb stated before the Sardar that, recognising the signs of the times, he was willing to merge the State. The Rajasaheb was the first among the Deccan Princes to accept merger, and thus he established a healthy precedent for the other Rulers. The history of popular freedom in Jamkhandi provides a refreshing contrast to that in other States like Ramdurg.

LIBERATION OF GOA

Historical

Portuguese rule had little influence on the general course of Indian history or culture. It neither retarded nor advanced the course of historical events to any extent. The all-India historian gives little prominence to the history of the Portuguese colonies.

But the historian of the Deccan and the West Coast cannot afford to ignore the part played by the Portuguese, and it has special significance for the historian of Karnatak. A study of the Portuguese encounter with the Indian rulers on the West Coast and the adjoining territories reveals the economic importance of the hinterland of Goa. Goa was, as it is today, the chief natural outlet for the commercial products of its hinterland. Rice, coconut, chillies, timber and pepper were the chief commercial articles that entered the overseas markets through Goa. India imported horses, ships, artillery, etc. Neither the interior of Goa nor the territory to the north of it were very productive of commercial goods, whereas the rich lands to the east and south of Goa constituted a veritable granary for commerce to the Portuguese and the other foreign traders such as the Arabs, the Dutch and the English. This explains why these rival traders, particularly the Portuguese, were so eager to cultivate friendly relations with the rulers of the Karnatak country. They often tried to appease the native rulers and obtain trade monopolies. Some of them exploited the political jealousies existing among native rulers and established their settlements on the coast. The Portuguese records show how they played off one against the other and colonised the coast.

Portuguese rule in India is a dark page of European colonialism. A student of the history of Portuguese rule in India perceives the negative aspects of their regime more than any positive and constructive aspects. It was a police raj, pure and simple, maintained for commercial exploitation. But for large-scale conversions and a systematic process of denationalisation, Portuguese rule could not have survived for a long period in the face of the opposition of the non-Christian population to the fanatical methods of the over-zealous missionaries.

Before the Portuguese occupation Goa had attained great prosperity, as can be seen from innumerable architectural and numismatic remains. The Kadamba rule had given peace and

political stability, which had helped the all-round development of Goa. Hindu culture flowered and reached its zenith under the benevolent rule of the Kadambas. Although the earliest inhabitants of Goa were Dravidian Kannadigas, Aryans from the North came from early times and there seems to have been a synthesis of Dravidian and Aryan cultures. Islam first came to Goa with the entry of Malik Kafur. With the conquest of Goa by Vijayanagar, the area once again witnessed peace and prosperity. The commercial prosperity of Goa was so impressive that it attracted foreign traders from distant lands. As a result of the influence of the Bahamani and Bijapur kingdoms, Islam spread to Goa to some extent. A few mosques appeared in Goa and some Mohamadans settled there. The continuous influx of people of different races with different languages and cultures for several centuries must have overwhelmed the Karnatak language and culture which flourished for over a thousand years under the Kadambas. Dr. Frayer, an English traveller who visited Goa in the 17th century, observes, "The mass of the people are Kanere." Even today pure Kannada words persist in the Konkani dialect, as for example *madivala* (washerman).

The Portuguese conquest of Goa brought about unprecedented changes in the social and religious life of the people of Goa. Sometimes it seemed likely that the Portuguese enclaves would be integrated with British India, in which case the impact of foreign rule on Goa would have been slightly different. Sir Arthur Wellesley, as well as his brother the Governor-General, made up their minds to annex Goa for military reasons—the British possession of Goa would prevent foreign help coming to Tippoo Sultan. However, the Wellesleys abandoned the idea.

Before we examine the effects of Portuguese rule on the people of Goa, we must notice that from the sixteenth century Goa was the happy hunting ground of many rival powers, and was subjected to attacks and plunder from all sides. The attacks on Goa by the Bijapur rulers and the Vijayanagar kings were actuated only by a desire for territorial acquisition to advance trade, since Goa was the most important channel for overseas trade. Especially in the case of the Hindu kingdoms to the east and south of Goa, we find no cases of organised plunder, destruction or other kinds of depredation, their object being confined mostly to obtaining facilities for trade. The attitude of the Muslim rulers of the Bahamani and Bijapur kingdoms with regard to the conquest of Goa was similar. In sharp contrast with this policy the Maratha invasions of Goa were characterised by acts of

plunder and abduction, as we find from many authorities. "The Maratha marauders had earned a very bad reputation among the people of Goa by their cruelty and predatory habits, when they harassed the villages of Bardez and carried away into captivity 1300 men, women and children. That is one of the reasons why there is no love lost between the Marathas and the Goans." (C. F. Saldanha : *A Short History of Goa*, 1957, pp. 106-7). It is no wonder that the Maratha armies which did not scruple to plunder a sacred Hindu temple like that of Sringeri should have indulged in such acts of harassment and terrorisation in Goa. The frequent attacks not only destroyed political and social stability among the people but also aroused an attitude of hostility towards them. In defence the Portuguese hit back at the invaders with ferocity. The Maratha menace to Goa continued until the collapse of Maratha power at Panipat in 1761, but the apprehension of further danger from Hyder and Tippoo of Mysore persisted up to the end of the 18th century. Thus the Goans did not have peace and rest to devote their attention to development. In earlier times, when Goa was ruled by the Kadambas and Vijayanagar, it enjoyed peace and was able to attain prosperity, and after the great calamity of Rakkasa-Tangadi in 1565, the feudatories of Vijayanagar remained friendly with Goa. The misfortunes of Goa commenced only from the 16th century and continued right up to its liberation in 1961.

The 450 years of Portuguese rule was nothing more than a military occupation. The Portuguese were more concerned with draining the resources of Goa for the enrichment of Portugal than with establishing a good administration or promoting the welfare of the Goan people. Portuguese rule in Goa was characterised by suppression of civil rights, and imposition of the Portuguese language and religion on the helpless people. This inevitably impoverished and denationalised the once prosperous and culturally advanced people. Goa was exposed to all the evil effects of colonialism, only a handful of people amassing wealth by smuggling activities, reducing the common people to utter poverty and despair. This was responsible for a large-scale exodus of Goans to other parts of India, especially Bombay, where they could be gainfully employed. From 1800 commenced the Goan emigration to British India and elsewhere. This was not creditable to the Portuguese.

The effects of the first 100 years of Portuguese rule are well summed up in the *Cambridge History of India* : "It will be evident from the brief narrative we have attempted that this

history of one hundred years of Portuguese adventure in the eastern seas contains little or no indication of any effort to found an empire ; never at any stage did the Portuguese captains assume the offensive on shore, nor did they actually come into contact with any of the great fighting races of India. They depended solely on their control of the high seas ; their main objective was always the capture and occupation of the most important ports and their defence when occupied. For this purpose were needed not administrators, but brave soldiers and sailors ; and success was due, first, to the high military qualities and personal courage and endurance of most of the captains, and secondly, to the rich rewards which attracted so many to undertake perilous journeys (on an average not 60 percent of the men who left Portugal reached India, so great was the mortality on the crowded vessels), and face the countless risks which awaited them at the other end.

“ The ultimate decline of Portuguese power in India was due primarily to two causes : first, the encouragement of mixed marriages at home and abroad, and secondly, religious intolerance. The former policy had been adopted, as we have seen, by the great Albuquerque, who probably foresaw that the constant drain on the male population of a relatively small country like his own must ultimately lead to a shortage of man-power ; the latter was pushed to its utmost extreme by the zealous fervour of the Jesuits, who selected Goa as their second headquarters outside Rome, soon after the foundation of their Order. The arrival of St. Francis Xavier in India in 1542 was an event of the most far-reaching importance and laid the foundations of that ecclesiastical supremacy in Portuguese India which sapped the financial resources and undermined the civil administration of its governors. Albuquerque and his immediate successors left almost untouched the customs of the people of Goa, only abolishing, as did the English later, the rite of sati. It may be recalled, however, that after the arrival of the Franciscan missionaries in 1517, Goa had become the centre of immense propaganda, and already in 1540 by the orders of the King of Portugal all the Hindu temples in the Island of Goa had been destroyed. The Inquisition was introduced into Goa in 1560.”

That religion was misused as an instrument of political domination and economic exploitation by the Portuguese is a well-known fact. Not only were Hindu and Muslim subjects forcibly converted : their temples and mosques were also destroyed, and their scripts and languages were suppressed. This was part of a scheme to denationalise the people and isolate them from

India. An atmosphere of superstition and blind faith was created. The anti-Indian propaganda was so effective that some Goans believed that Portugal, not India, was their motherland, that they were Portuguese and not Indians. On account of economic reasons—jobs were given to new converts—a large number of people were converted to Christianity. Religious intolerance and atrocities were characteristic of the times. The crude methods of the notorious Inquisition, which was set up in Goa in 1560, were described by the Archbishop of Evora at the time of the third centenary of the Cathedral of Lisbon. He observed: “If everywhere the Inquisition was an infamous court, the infamy, however base, however vile, however corrupt and determined by worldly interests, it was never more so than the Inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called the Holy Office. The inquisitors even attained the infamy of sending to their prisons women who resisted them, there satisfying their beastly instincts and then burning them as heretics.”

The political domination of Goa was equally repressive. The East is said to have fostered what is called oriental despotism. It is true that the East produced despots, but they were benevolent. Portugal, however, fostered in Goa in modern times the worst type of occidental despotism. Democratic traditions could not take root on Portuguese soil, and in the Portuguese colonies people were subjected to naked despotism. Under the Portuguese occupation the institutions of local self-government of the Kadamba and Vijayanagara period were crippled. With the establishment of the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar in 1926, democracy became a new heresy. In Goa political rights were suppressed and people were denied even freedom of speech and discussion. The Goan administration was carried on by the Governor-General with the help of a Council which was purely advisory. It was composed of four official members, three others nominated and five members elected by the Board of Directors of Associations recognised by the Government or by the forty highest tax payers. Thus the administration was highly centralised and certainly not democratic. The Governor-General was subject to the control of the Minister of Colonies at Lisbon, as the Governor-General of India was controlled by the Secretary of State for India in London. But since there was no democratic government in Portugal the Portuguese administration could not be criticised. In England British administration could be condemned inside and outside Parliament and through the press and platform. The administration in the Native States of India

was much more civilised and liberal than the Portuguese colonial administration in Goa. Not only were the Goans denied democratic rights but they were also kept ignorant. False and dishonest propaganda was carried on in order to impress on the Goans that Indian culture was inferior and there was poverty and starvation in India. Not until their liberation did the Goans experience political rights and democratic participation in the administration. We shall now conclude this historical survey by mentioning the chief events in the political evolution of Goa.

Landmarks in the Political Evolution of Goa

A.D. 119-1312

Kadamba rule in Goa. This long rule brings political and social stability and much prosperity to the Goans, enabling the people to achieve spectacular progress in art, architecture and culture.

A.D. 1312

Malik Kafur conquers Goa.

A.D. 1370

Vijayanagar repels the Mohammadans from Goa and Goa remains under Vijayanagar for a century.

A.D. 1498

Goa comes under the control of Adil Shah of Bijapur : Vasco da Gama lands at Calicut.

A.D. 1510.

Afonso de Albuquerque captures Goa from the Bijapur Sultan. The Portuguese are expelled from Goa by the Bijapur forces, but re-establish themselves in the same year.

A.D. 1520

Adil Shah of Bijapur invades Goa for a second time. Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar attacks Bijapur in the absence of Adil Shah in Goa. Adil Shah hurriedly returns to Bijapur to defend his kingdom.

A.D. 1534

The Portuguese occupy Diu.

A.D. 1546-1547

Sadasivaraya, the Emperor of Vijayanagar, enters into a treaty of alliance with the Portuguese. A Vijayanagar ambassador arrives

at Goa *via* Ankola and is received with pomp by the Governor of Goa. A treaty, defence pact and trade agreement signed.

A.D. 1560

Establishment of the Inquisition in Goa.

A.D. 1561

Occupation of Daman by the Portuguese.

A.D. 1565

Defeat of Vijayanagar at the Battle of Talikota (Rakkasa-Tangadi).

A.D. 1570

Bijapur invades Goa with a formidable army of 5,000 infantry, 35,000 cavalry, 2,000 elephants and 3,007 cannon, but the attempt to capture Goa is foiled.

A.D. 1600

Father A. Laerzio, the Superior of the Malabar Province, interviews Vijayanagar King Venkata II at Chandragiri, and the strengthening of the old friendship between Vijayanagar and the Portuguese is discussed.

A.D. 1623

A Portuguese Embassy arrives at the Court of Venkatappa Naik, the ruler of Ikkeri. Fernandez, Portuguese Ambassador, accompanied by Vithal Shenoy, the Ikkeri Ambassador at Goa, requests the Ikkeri king to have friendly relations with the Portuguese and presents a letter written by the king of Portugal to king Venkatappa Naik.

A.D. 1631

Treaty between Virappa Naik, the usurper of Ikkeri, and the Portuguese.

A.D. 1633

Treaty between Veerabhadra Naik of Ikkeri and the Portuguese.

A.D. 1653

Mutiny and attempt to bring Goa under Bijapur.

A.D. 1645–1660

Sivappa Naik of Bidnur, the undisputed master of the West Coast from Nileswar to Goa, humbles the Portuguese and drives them from South Canara and North Canara. He defeats the Portuguese with 80,000 men at Cambolin (Gangolli). The Portuguese surrender all forts and evacuate the Bidnur kingdom.

A.D. 1667

Naval treaty between Shivaji and the Portuguese.

A.D. 1671

Treaty between Somasekhara Naik of Ikkeri and the Portuguese.

A.D. 1683

Sambaji invades Goa.

A.D. 1737-1739

War between the Marathas and Portuguese for the conquest of Bassein.

A.D. 1763

The Raja of Swadi (Sonda) cedes Poonda, Panchamaharaj, Jambulim, Sanguem to the Portuguese.

A.D. 1764

Canacona is acquired from the Raja of Swadi.

A.D. 1781

Acquisition of Bicholim and Sanquelim.

A.D. 1781

Grant of Nagar Haveli to the Portuguese by the Maratha rulers.

A.D. 1787

The Conspiracy of Pintos : some Catholic priests and members of leading Catholic families of Bardez conspire to overthrow Portuguese rule in Goa and form a new sovereign republic. Fifteen of the conspirators sentenced to death.

A.D. 1812

Acquisition of Pernem.

A.D. 1812

Abolition of the Inquisition.

A.D. 1823

A Representative of Goa sent to the House of Representatives at Lisbon.

A.D. 1852

Uprising against the Portuguese domination in Goa.

A.D. 1895

Uprising against Portuguese rule in Goa, headed by Dadaji

Rauji Rane Sardesai. Dadaji Rane was sentenced by the Portuguese courts to deportation to Timor for 28 years and imprisonment there for eight years. He died there in 1906.

October 5, 1910

Proclamation of the Portuguese Republic.

May 28, 1926

Beginning of Prime Minister Salazar's dictatorship.

June 18, 1946

Satyagraha by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia.

July 21, 1954

Liberation of Dadra.

August 2, 1954

Liberation of Nagar Haveli.

April 12, 1960

Decision of the Hague International Court in favour of India regarding the right of passage claimed by the Portuguese from Daman to Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

December 19, 1961

Liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu.

December 20, 1961

Reintegration of Goa, Daman and Diu with the Indian Union.

Liberation of Goa

With the liquidation of the Portuguese settlements on the west coast of India, India's freedom was complete. The liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule was part of the national freedom struggle. The second world war brought about with lightning speed the liquidation of empires and colonial systems which had been built up by the imperialists and the colonialists over centuries. Despite Churchill's defence of imperialism during the second world war and his declaration that he had not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, the post-war period saw the rapid collapse of the colonial regimes. The British withdrew from India and other countries in Asia in a friendly manner. The achievement of

freedom by India and a host of other countries was the inevitable culmination of historical processes. The history of the decline and fall of empires in the 20th century forms a fascinating study for the historian.

The retreat of colonialism and the emergence of new national states was not only the inevitable result of historical processes but was a triumph of the heroic struggle of the enslaved and oppressed peoples. With the withdrawal of the British from India, Portugal instead of following the British example, adopted reactionary and anti-Indian measures and tried to retain Goa and other small pockets. It retained Goa for fourteen years, and India was forced, after exhausting all peaceful means, to take military action in 1961 and thus end one of the worst specimens of colonialism on Indian soil. Before we describe the freedom struggle against the Portuguese, it is necessary to give a brief account of the political evolution of Goa and note the chief characteristic features of Portuguese colonialism.

How Goa came under the Portuguese is too well known to need narration here. The Portuguese committed aggression against the Sultan of Bijapur when they forcibly occupied Goa. They could retain their possessions by the sufferance of the Vijayanagar and Bidnur rulers. They exploited the hostility prevailing between the Bijapur and Vijayanagar kingdoms. Considerations of trade chiefly prompted Vijayanagar to tolerate the Portuguese. In spite of Vijayanagar's military pacts with the Portuguese, Bijapur made repeated bold attempts to drive the Portuguese from Goa. It did not succeed since Bijapur had not developed a navy which could defeat the Portuguese pirates on the sea. After the collapse of Vijayanagar in 1565, the Bijapur and other Muslim powers made little effort to win back Goa.

The Portuguese attempts to establish their rule beyond Goa on the west coast were firmly resisted by the rulers of Bidnur. The powerful rulers of Bidnur such as Venkatappa Naik and Sivappa Naik drove them out of Mangalore, Honavar and other places. They also took strong objection to the conversion of Hindus. They gave protection to many Hindu families who fled from Goa to their territory to escape forcible conversion. Thus Portuguese expansion towards the south-west was checked by the rulers of Bidnur.

The people of Goa who came under the rule of the Portuguese did not reconcile themselves to a rule of prolonged oppression and economic exploitation. The oppressive administration and fanatical religious policy were responsible for repeated

popular revolts. The brave Goans organised more than twenty rebellions during the first 250 years of Portuguese rule. There were altogether more than forty organized revolts up to the beginning of the 20th century. The first revolt took place in 1555, when the Goans refused to pay the increased land revenue. In 1755 the people of Satari district commenced a heroic battle against foreign domination and fought for decades. In 1787 a more organised revolt took place with the object of overthrowing foreign rule. The aim of this revolt, according to the verdict of a Portuguese Court, was "to establish a new republic, in which the people of the country would have ruled themselves by exercising all the ruling powers through a House of the people." But the revolt was ruthlessly put down. To strike terror in the hearts of the people the bodies of the leaders were cut to pieces and exhibited in the streets.

There were a series of revolts in the 19th century. In 1821 there was a revolt started by the military as a result of which the Governor of Goa had to be deposed. In 1823 the people of Satari district rose as one man, and the entire district had to undergo untold suffering and punishment. In 1852, Dipaji Rane started guerilla war. In 1869 the rebellion under Custobe challenged the Portuguese government which could not bring it under control for a long time. In 1871 a mutiny broke out in the native army. In 1895 Dadaji Rane revolted against Portugal. In 1912 the Ranes once again revolted, and the rising was suppressed with great difficulty.

Thus the people of Goa, both Christians and non-Christians, resisted foreign rule and in their heroic struggle many gave up their lives. However much the Portuguese tried to impose a tradition of loyalty and abject servility, the urge for freedom could not be killed. As far back as 1852 Father Jeremias Mascarenhas said in the Portuguese Parliament that no-one should be surprised if Portuguese India demanded independence. He proclaimed that liberation was a natural evolution common to individuals and colonies.

On account of geographical isolation and the retrogressive measures adopted by the Portuguese, the Goan national struggle did not come under the influence of the non-violent Indian national movement till 1928. In 1928, under the guidance of Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, the Goan freedom fighters organized a Goa Congress Committee. Dr. Cunha was the father of Goan nationalism. He worked as an engineer in France, where he stayed for 14 years to explain the significance of India's freedom



A scene during the Goa satyagraha in Karnataka.

struggle to the French public. He firmly believed that Goa could not remain in isolation and it should unite with India to secure national emancipation from foreign domination. He founded the Goa Congress Committee in 1928 at Bombay and strove with devotion, with his Goan associates, to free Goa from the Portuguese. In 1946 he was sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment for participating in the campaign to establish civil liberties in Goa. After undergoing inhuman jail experiences in Portugal he was released in 1950. Returning to India, he again plunged into the freedom fight and worked for the liberation of Goa till death snatched him away in 1958. In the history of Goa's freedom struggle, T. B. Cunha occupies the foremost place. His writings, such as *Portuguese India*, a survey of four hundred years of foreign colonial rule, and *Denationalisation of Goans*, are noteworthy contributions to historical and political knowledge. Within 6 months of his death he was posthumously awarded a gold medal for peace by the World Peace Council at Stockholm. In 1961 his select writings were published by the Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, which thus paid a fitting tribute to the selfless services of this noble soul.

The first Civil Disobedience Movement in Goa under the leadership of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in June 1946 was a brave performance, in which Goan satyagrahis such as Dr. T. B. Cunha, Dr. R. Hegde, P. Kakodkar and other patriots were arrested. This movement created quite a stir in Goa, as some of the leading nationalists were tried by special military tribunals. The leaders were either sent to prison or deported as prisoners to Portugal. About 1,500 people in all were arrested and were given savage treatment. Dr. Lohia, who was arrested and kept in a solitary cell for three days, was released near the Indian border. When he made a second attempt to enter Goa he was prevented from entering Goan territory.

The Indian National Congress backed Goa's freedom struggle, though it refrained from participation in satyagraha or other action. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Harijan* dated 30-6-1946 hinting that Portugal should be ready to quit Goa: "The little Portuguese settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the right of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants

of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognize the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.

“To the inhabitants of Goa I will say that they should shed fear of the Portuguese Government as the people of other parts of India have shed fear of the mighty British Government and assert their fundamental right of civil liberty and all it means. The difference of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. The religion is for each individual, himself or herself, to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects.”

The fight of the Goans for liberation was further strengthened by the famous letter of Gandhiji written in reply to Mr. Jose Bossa, Governor-General of Portuguese India. In this letter of 2nd August, 1946, Gandhiji stated :

“I suppose you know that I have visited Mozambique, Delagoa and Inhambane. I did not notice there any Government for philanthropic purpose. Indeed I was astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and the Portuguese and between the Africans and themselves. Nor does the history of the Portuguese settlement in India prove the claim set forth by you. Indeed, what I see and know of the condition of things in Goa is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa are speechless is proof not of the innocence or the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined only to a few malcontents.

“Every account received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India confirms the contrary view. I suppose the report of the sentence by your court martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far-off Portuguese settlement is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. Why should a law-abiding citizen like Dr. Braganza be considered so dangerous as to be singled out for exile?

“I, therefore, hope that you will revise your views on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself wholeheartedly for civil liberty, and, if possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own government and invite from Greater India more experienced

Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such government.”

The Indian National Congress Working Committee in its meeting held on August 12, 1946, at Wardha, adopted a resolution strongly condemning the Portuguese repression in Goa. “The people of these (the Portuguese) possessions have been reduce to poverty and degradation ; politically they have practically no rights, and even the most elementary civil liberties are denied them. The fascist administration of Portugal functions in a peculiarly oppressive way in this small colony, which once was rich and prosperous and is now deserted with its people migrating elsewhere in search of a living Goa has always been, and must inevitably be, a part of India. It must share in the freedom of the Indian people The Working Committee notes the contrast between the attitude of the Portuguese in regard to their Indian possessions and the policy recently enunciated by the Governor of French India, who stated that the people are free to decide their own future and may if they so choose join the Indian Union. The Committee appreciates this expression of policy on behalf of the French Government.”

August 15, 1954, is a memorable day in the history of Goa's freedom struggle. On this day three small batches of Goan satyagrahis crossed the Goa border at three places.

Reports of harassment of satyagrahis by the Portuguese roused the citizens of India. In May 1955, Indian volunteers began crossing the Goa border. The first batch of 54 satyagrahis entered Goa and was fired at by the police. But more and more volunteers from different parts of India began to enter Goa. In August 1955, about 3000 non-violent volunteers entered Goa. The Portuguese opened fire, and about 22 were killed and 225 were injured. The inhuman treatment of the unarmed volunteers by uncivilized officers representing Salazar's fascist regime showed clearly that the Portuguese were not prepared to settle the Goan question in a peaceful manner. The methods of Portuguese rule were exposed and India was convinced that Goa could not be freed by adopting peaceful techniques.

Despite the atrocities committed by the Portuguese, the people of Nagar Haveli, a small Portuguese possession in the north, liberated themselves. Portugal's appeal asking for a right of passage through India to Nagar Haveli and other former Portuguese enclaves was later rejected by the International Court of Justice. There was much criticism of the Government of India's policy. Many members of the opposition urged that Goa

should be taken by the Indian army. Prime Minister Nehru counselled patience. In his speech in the Lok Sabha on September 17, 1955, he stated that on grounds of practical considerations the Government of India could not permit satyagrahis crossing the Goa border. He said "we should also take into account the policy and methods followed by Dr. Salazar and his Government ; keeping them in view we should consider how far satyagraha against such a Government and such a person can prove successful." Nehru described Goa as a symbol of dying colonialism trying to hold on. In his earlier speech in the Lok Sabha in July, 1955, he had remarked that the Portuguese claim that Goa was part of Portugal was absurd and had strongly criticised the Portuguese methods of colonial administration. He had further said, "we will continue to pursue with patience and firmness the path of conciliation and negotiation. Equally, we must declare that we would be false to our history and betray the cause of freedom itself if we did not state, without reserve, that our country and Government firmly and fully believe in the right of our compatriots in Goa to free themselves from alien rule, and to be reunited with the rest of the motherland"

Dr. Salazar, ignoring the conciliatory appeal of India, adopted brutal methods to put down the forces of freedom in Goa. To intimidate the innocent people of Goa he stationed about 12,000 foreign troops on Goan soil. Besides, he indulged in a hostile campaign against India. He tried to spread the lie among some of the Western powers that Goa was a province of Portugal. Unfortunately, the simple problem of Goa was made big and complicated by bringing it into the orbit of the international cold war. The Portuguese methods of propaganda and colonial mentality led to India's severing of diplomatic relations with Portugal. Dr. Salazar also exploited religious feelings and tried to play the Vatican and Catholic countries against India. After waiting with patience for years India had no other alternative than using force in December 1961. Such a course of action was justifiable not only on moral, legal and other grounds but also it was necessary to prevent greater disasters.

Characteristics of Goa's Freedom Struggle

There were striking differences between Goa's freedom struggle and that of India's national movement, as between the British and the Portuguese colonial systems. In the case of British India Indian nationals could draw inspiration from the

British political ideals and traditions. Such liberal traditions were totally absent in Portugal. It was from France that T. B. Cunha, the father of Goan nationalism, derived inspiration. The early phases of Goa's struggle against the Portuguese resembled the Indian fight against the British ; both were violent rebellions. But the circumstances of the end of foreign domination in India and Goa were different.

The non-violent struggle in Goa came as late as 1928, whereas the Indian National Congress came into being as early as 1885. There were reasons for this late rise of the national spirit in Goa. By inhuman and oppressive penal measures Portugal had terrorised the people of Goa into helpless submission. Although the people were conscious of oppression, they dared not organise peaceful associations or assemble to establish their rights. This was in sharp contrast with the founding of the Indian National Congress and the rise of other liberal and reform movements that preceded the Congress in India. The far reaching psychological effects of the infamous Inquisition and the semi-barbarous methods of the Portuguese colonial regime in Goa reduced the people to abject servility. This explains why Goa did not witness the rise of Hindu reformers such as Vivekananda. Goa remained in complete darkness and was almost denationalised. But ideas of nationalism crossed the borders and at last the Goans woke up and tried to join the stream of national emancipation. After India attained freedom in 1947, France voluntarily liquidated its small pockets. But the Portuguese colonialists were not prepared to settle the question by peaceful negotiation, and India was compelled to send her armed forces to oust the Portuguese from Goa. Thus the end of foreign domination in Goa was in different circumstances. While the British withdrew from India as friends the recalcitrant Portuguese did not display the political sagacity which the British exhibited when they decided to transfer power to India and Pakistan. Under the pressure of public opinion and an atmosphere of high political excitement and tension, India had to free Goa by resorting to military action.

Thus one can see the striking difference between the end of British rule and the forced termination of the Portuguese rule in India. The one was smooth and graceful while the other was under compulsion. The Portuguese conquest and maintenance of their rule in India was brutal and their end was equally inglorious to them since they were not amenable to civilized methods of discussion and negotiation.

Justification of India's action in Goa

The Portuguese claim that Goa was part and parcel of Portugal was emphatically refuted by India. When a representative of the Portuguese Government at Goa stated that the Goans were different from Indians, Mahatma Gandhi retorted, "It is ridiculous for the Head of the Government Information Bureau to write of Portugal as the Motherland of the Indians of Goa. Their mother country is as much India as mine. Goa is outside British India, but it is within geographical India as a whole. And there is very little, if anything, in common between the Portuguese and Indians of Goa."

India's concept of freedom meant the liberation of the entire country. Declared Prime Minister Nehru in 1954, "That process of liberation cannot be completed till the remaining small pockets of foreign territory are also freed from colonial control." India has sought peaceful settlements of all disputes. In Hyderabad and Goa she used force as a last resort. She showed commendable forbearance in the case of Goa and tried every possible means of peaceful negotiation. When Portugal failed to recognise facts and indulged in unfriendly activities threatening the unity and security of the country, the Government of India, in the interest of self-preservation, were perfectly justified in ending the Portuguese rule by the use of force. Those who criticised India's action in Goa were trying to demonstrate their political loyalty. India's right to take Goa after the passing of the resolution at the United Nations in support of the abolition of colonialism could not be questioned. When the International Court gave its verdict in favour of India in the Nagar Haveli case, the liberation of Goa was taken for granted. Even then the Government of India refrained from using force, hoping that like France, Portugal would withdraw peacefully. But when, without heeding the peaceful negotiations of India, Portugal increased her anti-Indian activities, demoralising people in Goa and India, India could no longer wait. (*Vide Appendix*). If Sardar Patel had been alive he would have taken action much earlier and integrated Goa with India. Nehru's policy of peace and friendship for the Western countries delayed this operation till December 1961. The statement issued on the 17th December, 1961, by the Government of India clearly sums up the Indian position.

Circular telegram to Heads of Missions

"Portugal has not heeded last appeal sent to them in our

note of 15th December to leave their Indian colonies peacefully and in accordance with resolutions adopted by United Nations. Their reply to U.N. Secretary General's message categorically stated that they will not negotiate on basis of U.N. resolutions but only in context of Goa being a province of Portugal. They had taken same attitude to American initiative to settle this matter peacefully few days back. We have therefore reluctantly and regretfully been obliged to take armed action to remove these last vestiges of colonialism from India, which Portugal has been bent on maintaining by force.

“ You are aware of past and recent background. Following points are emphasised to enable you to deal with queries and comments.

“ (1) Geographically, ethnically, linguistically, culturally and economically, Goa, Diu and Daman are part of us.

“ (2) We have waited patiently fourteen long years for Portugal to fall in step with history and civilisation. We have tried diplomatic and other approaches, which Portugal has insultingly rejected. Even last-minute efforts made by friendly countries and U.N. Secretary-General have ended in failure.

“ (3) Freedom is birthright of all people. The Charter of United Nations reaffirms equal rights and self-determination of peoples. United Nations has declared in resolution 1514 that there should be immediate end to colonialism and that force should not be used to maintain colonialism. In resolution 1542, it has specifically described Goa to be a colony. Portugal has ignored these resolutions.

“ (4) Portuguese rule in India is naked police regime where people have no voice. Alien rulers have established discriminatory and unresponsive administration. People's demands for civil liberties are ruthlessly crushed and inhuman sentences imposed. Prisoners have been tortured and killed. There is no economic or cultural progress, only exploitation of colony's natural resources like iron ore and manganese. Smuggling has been encouraged.

“ (5) Portuguese behaviour and oppression have powerfully affected emotions of people of India who have been criticising Government for inaction and apathy. Apart from Government's diplomatic moves to persuade Portugal to quit, people have waged non-violent agitation. In reply, Portugal has tortured and terrorised local patriots and shot in cold blood peaceful demonstrators who went from India.

“ (6) Recently, Portugal has embarked on open aggression

and attacks on normal Indian shipping and fishing. Occupation forces in the colonies have been strengthened and there are daily depredations into Indian territory by Portuguese soldiers. Even as recently as the morning of 17th December, Portuguese forces attacked a police post in Indian territory. This attack was preliminary to capturing an Indian enclave.

“(7) Portuguese officials are evacuating their posts and abandoning civil population to mercy of Portuguese soldiery and anti-social elements. There is widespread distress and local administrative and economic structure has broken down.

“(8) Portugal has left no scope for peaceful negotiations and is already in flagrant defiance of United Nations. It is impossible to negotiate on accepted principles of international intercourse with a country which takes its stand on 16th century concepts of colonial conquests by force.

“(9) It is not possible for any Government to remain passive spectators of such brutalities and chaos. Portugal refuses to leave its colonies peacefully and the only course left to India is to assist in the removal of this medieval colonial regime which has already broken down.

“(10) India is a secular democracy and ensures equal rights to all citizens and respect for all religions and cultures. The people of Goa will enjoy full democratic rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Union Constitution.

“(11) It is the intention of Government of India that when Goa becomes free and joins Indian Union, it will retain its identity, its cultural individuality as regards religion, language and customs.

Part Three

A FEW MEMOIRS AND REMINISCENCES

A FEW MEMOIRS AND REMINISCENCES

Thoughts of a Seeker

It was in September of 1906 that *Dhanurdhari* was first published. The *Kesari* of Poona was being published every Tuesday and so we decided to publish *Dhanurdhari* every Friday. This facilitated our publishing the news of *Kesari* in the same week. Ours was a weekly of four pages, royal size. I took copies of the first issue myself and distributed them among the men of importance in the town. Shri Bondade Balappa was one of them. He was a great admirer of *Kesari*, like Shanbhog Seshagirirao of Sirsi. He was well versed in the ideals and principles of the Arya Samaj. This brought about greater intimacy between him and me as days went on. His friend, the late Maganhalli Doddabasappa, an astute and experienced trader, also was very sympathetic towards our journalistic efforts.

The First Struggle

The Indian National Congress was about to meet in 1906 under the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji. The late Babu Surendranath Banerjea was the uncrowned king of Bengal at the time. He was the leading spirit behind the agitation against the partition of Bengal. It was on account of persistent efforts that Dadabhai Naoroji had finally consented to accept the presidentship of the Congress. The Congress had been split up into two parties—the Extremists or the “Tilak Party” and the Moderates or the “Gokhale Party”. Banerjea belonged to the latter group. This had given rise to a long controversy over the choice of the president for that year’s Congress.

Just about this time H. Channakesava Iyengar of Madras had a cartoon published in the *Vikatapratapa* of Bangalore, in which he represented the Congress as a donkey and Banerjea as its seller.

We were shocked and distressed when we saw this cartoon, and straightway we wrote strongly against it in *Dhanurdhari*. Channakesava Iyengar sent a wire to us demanding cessation of such virulent attack against him. This only aroused us to further action and we published the details of the telegram also in our next issue. Only then did the Madras celebrity come down from his heights and write to us that he had not cast any aspersion on the National Congress and what he did was only the

method, common in Western journals, of offering advice and suggestions. Every Hindu knows that the donkey is a gross and vulgar animal, and our contention was that he should have introduced a horse in place of that animal. We were convinced that we were right, and people also thought so. This contest, anyway, made our paper more popular and those who knew us expressed their admiration of the clever and firm manner in which we fought our journalistic battles in spite of our youth. We got a block of a picture of Dadabhai Naoroji prepared by a toy-maker and published it in our paper. Made by a man who knew little of block-making for printing, it was a clumsy attempt and showed our total ignorance of the use of blocks in printing. Enthusiasm we had in abundance, but not the means or the knowledge corresponding to it. I was almost always immersed in reading and writing, and all the work of the press fell on my brother's shoulders. He knew all about the machinery of printing. My work was to translate passages from the daily *Dnyanaprakash* of Poona and also from *Kesari* and *Kal*. Maganhalli Doddabasappa, an acquaintance of ours, gave us an article for publication in which he took strong exception to a recent speech of Dr. Annie Besant. Our publication of this article served to bring about a greater enlightenment among the masses. In this way *Dhanurdhari* attained popularity to a large extent within the first year of its existence. There were about 700 subscribers to the paper.

Impediments

We were able to meet the hire of the press and other expenses but found no profit at the end of the year. The owner of the press perhaps felt that we were radical in our views ; so he showed his unwillingness to hire out his press to us further by demanding a higher amount. We were unable to pay anything more, and he was not prepared to undertake the printing of our paper himself. Our *Dhanurdhari* thus came to an end.

Action Against the Paper

The grim and determined struggle for freedom in British India did not fail to have its effect on the princely States also. At that time the late V. P. Madhava Rao was Dewan in Mysore. Press laws were promulgated in Mysore also, somewhat in advance of the British Indian laws in the matter of suppression of nationalistic papers. While speaking of the unfortunate necessity for thus gagging the press, the Dewan said that he was forced

to take that extreme step on account of the existence of one troublesome paper. Very soon it came to be known that he was referring to our *Dhanurdhari*.

One day in 1909, we were surprised to know that the Police Inspector of Davangere had gone round the houses of our subscribers and collected the back numbers of our paper. We could see what this was for. In the issue of the same week we wrote that the police had carried away the old issues of our paper and we were apprehensive about the continuance of the paper from the very next week.

In a few days a Police Jamadar came to us and said that the Assistant Commissioner had sent him to take us to his office. The summons was for my brother. We feared that a calamity was imminent for our paper. But my brother had experience of his work and knew the rules and regulations. The Jamadar was not in uniform, so he told him that he did not believe that he was a policeman and would not go with him. The Jamadar had to return disappointed. Soon after another policeman in uniform came and my brother had to go with him.

My brother was taken to the Deputy Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner treated him with kindness and read out to him the order of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja. In that order nine articles in the earlier issues of our paper were mentioned. The Commissioner told him that those articles were in violation of the Mysore Press Act and gave a warning that if such articles were published thereafter action would be taken against him according to the Act.

The Deputy Commissioner then asked my brother what he would write in his paper after that warning. My brother quietly told him that it was impossible for him to say beforehand what he would write when he took up the editorial pen to write. In the next issue of our paper we explained our situation to our readers under the title "Changed Conditions". We also wrote that all that appeared in our paper were only translations from papers in British India and that it was very unfortunate that what was permissible in British Indian papers was anathema to the State Government. This attitude of the Mysore Government was however a severe blow to our journalistic ambitions. We did not have the means to publish the paper in British India. We could obtain neither men nor funds in these parts, and the political conditions also were not encouraging. Leaders like Lokamanya Tilak were in prison. The Government while suppressing nationalistic movements on one side held out the Morley-Minto

Reforms on the other. After considering all these things we decided to carry on the publication in Davangere without offending the State Press Act.

Stay with Gandhiji

Gandhiji was released from prison in March, 1924. I thought of staying with him for some days. But there was also the anxiety about going so far away from my old mother. Ramkrishna Jois, an astrologer who had visited me the previous year, now came to see me. It was the 7th of February, 1924. He foretold my future as follows :

1. Imprisonment in about a year.
2. Mother's death soon after, on a morning when she is in her "Dhyana."
3. In my forty-fifth year, a park, hermitage and buildings will be secured by me and then under a Guru's blessing I shall obtain spiritual enlightenment.
4. Death when I am 48.

I believed that my mother would live at least for a year more and I wanted to stay with Gandhiji at least for a month. The meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was also impending, and I decided to go since I would have the privilege of seeing the other great leaders also. I had an affectionate regard for Shri Balappa's younger brother. So I got his future also foretold by the same astrologer on the 7th of February, 1924. He said that this young man would undertake a foreign tour. I had jokingly told the astrologer that a young man like him who would not go to Bangalore leaving his mother at home, could never go to foreign countries. But what I conceived as an impossibility at the time did happen and he made a successful journey abroad.

I told my mother that the astrologer had assured me that she would not die within a year and that I would return in about a month. I made all preparations for the journey. I obtained a letter of introduction and went to Sabarinati. I first met Shri Kaka Kalelkar and was given a separate room to stay in. The All-India Congress Committee was still two weeks off. Hoping that it would be easier for me to meet and talk with Gandhiji if I went earlier, I had come at this time. But even now it was almost impossible to get an occasion to speak to him. People from all parts of the country were always coming to hold conversations with him.

Regularly attending the prayer meetings twice a day, following Gandhiji when he went out for a walk in the morning, sitting at a distance quietly when he was busy—this became my daily routine. Shri Majali Vakil was at the time slightly unbalanced in mind. He would be normal and quiet when he sat looking at Gandhiji. I had to take him with me in the afternoon and sit with him every day. There I had all the facilities for carrying on my own work regularly as I was doing it at home. Sabarmati did not look like a separate Ashram at all to me, for I had full freedom to do what I wanted. I also had become a member of the Ashram.

It had been settled that I should have the chance of speaking with Gandhiji one morning during the daily walk. Accordingly, as soon as the morning prayer was over I approached Gandhiji. But some leaders came and started conversation with him. Thinking that I should have no chance of speaking to Gandhiji that day, I returned to my room. I hoped that I should have my chance the next day. But soon after I reached my room Gandhiji sent for me. Straightway he told me that a few minutes had been set apart for me that morning and asked me to tell him about my errand. We went out walking. I spoke to him in Hindustani but in a clumsy manner. He could, however, understand what I wanted to say. I could clearly make out what he was saying. I asked him about reincarnation or rebirth, a topic which had occupied my thoughts for a long time. His reply was that his belief in rebirth was as unquestionable as the reality of the Sabarmati which flowed by the side of the Ashram. I begged him to help me get the same firm assurance about rebirth as he had. I had expected him to give me some philosophical discourse to satisfy me, as Tilak used to do. But Gandhiji finished his answer in one sentence: that he could not establish the reality of rebirth with the help of mere intellect. So I had to give up the topic. Then I took up Asteya, one of the nine fundamentals of satyagraha, and expressed the doubts I had about it. He replied that if we made use of another's property even when it was of no use to the owner, it would certainly constitute theft, and that in order to abstain from tasty food it was not necessary to give up salt. But I was eager to obtain a definite answer to my question regarding rebirth. When he told me that the subject was beyond the pale of mere intellect, I had to satisfy myself by thinking that it was a matter of faith. I never spoke to anybody about rebirth afterwards. Long ago I had thought that it might not be right to try to establish by reason anything

that went beyond intellect to the region of faith and belief. I now found from Gandhiji confirmation of that view.

The All-India Congress Committee met according to schedule. I attended it. Moulana Mohamed Ali's conversation with Gandhiji made everyone shed tears. I heard the rousing speech of Deshbandhu Das. I stayed in the Ashram for a week after the A.I.C.C. Session. Thus my stay at Sabarmati was for three weeks. Mahatmaji's industry and unfailing devotion to duty had a profound moral effect upon men. One could easily see his heart of utter sincerity and purity behind whatever he said.

I was very happy because I felt that my stay with Gandhiji was my life's fulfilment. What a poor, unknown, unimportant human being I was! Where was my place? How poor was my learning! What unique good fortune it was that I had the opportunity of staying for three weeks with a great soul who was renowned and honoured all over the world! I used to visit the late Maganlal Gandhi occasionally. He used to have a number of charkhas round him and was conducting experiments to improve them. He had with him also taklis of various types for purpose of experimentation. When I went there to take leave of him I asked him what he would give me as a memento. He gave me a takli made of brick. Even today I make use of this during my travels.

(Translated from Hardekar Manjappa's Nanna Kanika, a self-appraisal of 32 years of his life of dedicated service.)

An Appeal to a Westerner for right thinking on India

Dear friend,

By now you must have received the post sent last from here. As I was very busy I could not write earlier. My wife took it on herself to write to you therefore. She is much interested in your letters and has already written her feelings to you.

I read the clippings you sent. They are nice. But I am afraid you have been wrongly informed about some point. It is a minor one surely and you need not bother. Nevertheless I should like you to know the fact as it is. I was not in jail with Mahatma Gandhi. We know each other very well. A play of mine in Hindustani, our national language (Hindustani is the language of Hindustan) bears a foreword by him. It was also first played before him, as the President for the occasion. As

lovers of the country's freedom, and that of the soul too from all superimpositions, and as lovers of Humanity irrespective of caste, creed, colour, or nationality, our ideals and fields of work are the same more or less. But our places are different and far apart. I live in the South and he in the North (now at Wardha). Until I was extradited in 1920 I was in the Nizam's dominions. My activities were concentrated there mostly. My arrests and sufferings were inflicted mostly by his Government. Here in British India I was locked up only once in Dec. 1933, though my home and Institution were raided by the Police and Magistrate twice. Every raid, mind you, creates lot of troubles, chief being fear in the illiterate village folk we serve. For some months after a raid they shudder to approach our dispensary even if they are dangerously ill, for fear the police may trouble them ! It is the suffering of the people which pains me especially. And all this mischief is done only because the British who pretend to be the trustees of our welfare are in a state of panic after the popular non-cooperation and civil disobedience movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. There is nothing for them to fear surely, for the movement is strictly non-violent and the Great Leader has a hold on the millions of followers which baffles description, being unique in the history of Humanity. Both men and women, sometimes thousands of them were hammered mercilessly with batons and boots on legs of the police, were sometimes belaboured even after they fell unconscious but not even a word of hatred was uttered by the victims. They only shouted with their failing breath 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai (May Mahatma Gandhi be hailed), Bharat Mata-ki-Jai (May Mother India be hailed)!' Do not think this is a cry of an imbecile mob, robbed of arms, incapable of violence. No, it is a big disciplined regiment of powerful, thoughtful, robust youth prepared to fight the battle of freedom at any cost, prepared for any sacrifice, yet incapable of the violence which could be the boast of any white soldier. But they dare not even whisper violently so long as Gandhiji's great spirit rules the heart of India. Violence may succeed in bringing us Swaraj (Independence), but it would be once again the success of Violence against reason and common sense, the glorification of the brute against Man : would India have it that way ? Has she nothing better to give unto the world tired of bloodshed already, asks our little General ! And the youth, millions of them, overwhelmed by the logic which is his life, bow to him and follow his way ! It is true many who have no vision squirm and writhe under the weight of his personality and power, as they have no

pattern to build after it. They are asked to listen to the spiritual call of the East and they have no ear for it. They can only tear a leaf from Europe's or America's or Japan's diary and struggle to make history here in fulfilment of it. They would have Dictators if only they could ! But they cannot, for they are but a few, and so are their followers. Still it is the " Gandhi-Spirit " that rules India. True, it has not brought Freedom near enough, but has made millions here loathe the so-called Freedom of the Capitalistic nations. As Freedom is not within sight yet, many are getting impatient, no doubt ; but would still reject whatever would wittingly hurt others or involve sacrifice of truth. " I would rather sacrifice the country for Truth, than Truth for the country " these are the words of our ' toothless ' General, and willy-nilly, youth is moved by them. Such is the spiritual warmth in which Gandhiji's " Swaraj " is incubating. Few have been able to see it in its march towards us, many are impatient at least for a sight of it, yet all wish for it and are prepared to lay down their lives for it ; for Gandhiji *has seen* it coming, and says it is bound to come if only we prepare the way. It is such a man the British dread, it is his movement that has put panic into them ! Yet he is pledged to Truth and Love ! What haunts the British mind then ? Its own base ' Karma ' ? But for Mahatma Gandhi's dynamic power, India would have put her massive weight on the side of violence. The atmosphere was such after the war (1918) : and the irritation, insult and sufferings inflicted by some thoughtless, heartless British Officers on us were provoking enough to raise a violent revolt. But there rose India's man. He stood at the helm of affairs with his usual undaunted smile. He sang " spiritualise Politics. India must be free but not shed a drop of human blood ".

" The Englishman is as good as any of us or as bad, but it is the *system* of government that is Satanic. We must so bear ourselves towards him as to make him feel he has nothing to fear. He must be able to live here as he does in his own land: only he should no more boss. " And India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin kept tune with him and is still doing so, in spite of some dissatisfaction here and there. Such is the glorious spirit of India's fight for freedom. Is there not something elevating for your people also in it ? If you are convinced there is something unique, please enlighten your great people about it. Journalist as you are, with a good paper at your service, you can do the 360 millions of this country a world of good, by letting your people know the truth and nothing but the truth

about them, their woes under British exploitation and oppression, and the straightforward way in which they are struggling to free themselves—from the foreign yoke shall I say? No, for Gandhiji's words ring in my ears: "I do not prefer an Indian bureaucracy to a foreign one, I only want the rulers to be responsible to the ruled".

The altruism of the ancient Aryan speaks through this man, the deep feelings of the Hindu; and that is why, in spite of a century-old British education and reading of European and American literature deifying selfish, all-exclusive nationalism, patriotism and such rubbish, millions bow to the All-Human, Universal, Altruistic call of India's Saint and Seer, Fighter and Educator! He has put the Hindu in mind of his daily prayer, its spirit, its sense. That ends with "May all the Worlds be blessed with joy," "May all from the peasant to the Seer be happy, encircled by the Oceans". We have no ancient prayer asking for Divine Blessings to be ear-marked for us. The most important of all prayers taught to every boy before beginning his education is "May my whole being be illumined with Thy Light" and there it stops. It asks for neither gross material affluence here nor Heaven hereafter. Religion has preserved these prayers. The Hindu was only repeating them parrot-like. But Mahatma Gandhi, after strenuous self-education—we call it "Tapas"—in the light of these has sounded his bugle-call for the country to awaken to its great altruistic Universal spirit; and youth as if awakened by the loud whispers of its own ancient heart, is once again up and doing. Yet Gandhiji and others like him, wakeful, watchful souls, pray in silence that the new awakening may not adopt the violence so rampant in the West and the Westernised, and make India's struggle for freedom only a third-rate copy of the bloody ones witnessed there. India must be Indian, a vital tree of love sans hatred of any nation or sort, rising and spreading with its own light, too lively not to absorb what other nations have to give it to enrich its growth. *For India to be only a copy would be an international tragedy.* Should that not be prevented by all right-thinking souls?

Coming to our Indian Princes, the less said of these live anachronisms the better. Some of them are good but most of them are blood-suckers. The Maharaja of Baroda whose life-sketch you have sent me has done much good to his people. The Maharajas of Mysore and Travancore, the two South Indian states, are harmless souls. Well, let me stop here. I am trying to get you some books about these Indian Princes. I will send them

to you as soon as I get them. You will know what they are and can enlighten your people afterwards. They are, enough to say, the strongest pillars of the British Raj here, which however shines a bit by contrast, for while the British bleed us white under anaesthesia, the crowned heads of India, most of them, do so boorishly.

I for one am not enamoured of the so-called republics either, for I see the purpose and system of all "rules" is more or less the same. It is the exploitation of the weak by the strong, of the "have-nots" by the "haves", and the whole trick is played in the fair name of religion, order, law and what not! Perhaps Russia is an exception; but I loathe the violence that established and still sustains the Soviet rule. There must be a "change of heart", as Gandhiji always says. Governments and systems are determined by it. Education of the right type alone can purify the heart and humanise it. It must be rational and not national.

"What are some of the perplexing problems of your life to-day?" Or "does the inner peacefulness absorb all difficulties?"—you ask. Why is man so bloodthirsty, so greedy, so callous to the rights and welfare of his own brothers? Has civilisation been a failure in spite of centuries of its existence? Has its name been only a cloak to dignify the base ways of the biped man? If not, why is he whetting his teeth and claws? And what is worse, calling these degradations and cruelties heroism? What is the way out? Such are the problems that worry me most. The will can absorb them into "the inner peacefulness", but that would be no solution but a salvation (from "salve"), literally speaking, an escape from realities. "Salve" is the cry of the conscience and *in the effort to do so I must find peace*. As the solutions of the great questions of life are not objective conclusions merely but subjective experiences, peace grows with every experience, every realisation. In that exacting realm of experience, "salve" means "be", "realise"; and "teach" means *influence* by the very perfume and force of such life. The great teacher is the man of great realisations—not of great learning or scholarship. Such a one teaches—if I may use that word here—by simply "being"—that is, he wishes others to "become". Well, even that wish is perhaps out of place for him; for a flower can only bloom when fully grown, but not wish its perfume to spread. There it is in the open heart of the blossom. To shed or spread its perfume is not its concern. The breeze does that for it, for it is its nature. Peace lies in the path that leads to the fulfilment of one's own nature in one's own natural manner. The rest only follows when that is done. To try to reform others without reforming oneself

is to ignore the beam in one's own eye ! The world is not in need of reformers of others but of themselves. Our Swami Rama Teertha when he was amongst your people in America once said humorously, " wanted reformers : not of others but of themselves ". What a truth ! We want a man-making education rather than a nation-making one.

My book *Foundations of Religion* is written in Kanarese or Kannada, the language of my province. Almost all my writings are in either the provincial or the national language (Hindustani). I am so sorry they cannot be of use to you therefore. I am however sending you with these three articles made by a student here out of the *Foundations of Religion*, which can give you an idea of the book in English.

I am sorry I know nothing about the Himalayan scenes and the people you have read of. I have never been to those parts. I can say nothing about them.

" Will you allow me to study some of the subjects which are interesting to both of us ?" You ask. Most surely. The subject that interest me most is Life, and all that explains, elevates and sublimates it. That subject is called Raja Yoga by us here. Its purpose is to hasten the unfoldment of life through knowledge realised by self-discipline, or self-realisation as we call it here. It discards no aspect or system of knowledge. It accepts all that fulfils its purpose. Other subjects are to me of secondary importance. I however keep myself in touch with as many of them as possible only in connection with this central one, Raja Yoga. I can understand them mostly in the light of this. If that is appreciated by you, need I say you are most welcome to study that with me.

I thank you for the photo you have so kindly sent. I shall heartily welcome the life-sketch you " would send ", if I " should wish to have it ". Do please send it, but at your convenience.

With kindest regards,

Yours in Eternity,
TARANATH.

Taken from Letters of Taranath, a devoted son of India who tried to give a true picture of renascent India.

The Hand of Fate

Not till I had settled down to write about myself did I realise the difficult nature of the task I had undertaken. I felt sorry, even a little angry, with myself that I had not been able to

resist firmly the wiles of the Editor who took it into his head to invite my contribution a couple of months ago.

In 1925 I proceeded to Madras and was admitted to the Chemistry (Honours) course in the Presidency College. I used to come home to Mangalore during the vacations, and during one of them I chanced to read, in *The Hindu*, Subhas Chandra Bose's letters from Mandalay prison, and then some appreciative newspaper comments on his discarding the I.C.S., and his meteoric rise in the political firmament. The I.C.S. was, at the time, regarded as perhaps the most glamorous career for Indian youth, despite the Mahatma's non-cooperation movement.

Subhas's sacrifice, therefore, moved me considerably and a stray thought flitted across my mind. "Can't I too pass the I.C.S. and then get out of it?" I believe, at that moment in 1926 or 1927, I conceived the idea which, a decade later, came to fruition.

When my father after arranging for a loan scholarship of Rs. 6,000 decided to send me to England in September, 1928, for appearing in the I.C.S. competitive examination in the following year, I became a prey to an inner conflict of ideals, ambitions and fears. My parents were of course keen that both their sons should enter the "glorious, heaven-born" service. My elder brother had already passed the competitive test in London in 1927, and had just concluded his probation at Cambridge.

I was, however, in a somewhat depressed state of mind in June, 1928; owing to my poor performance in the laboratory test, I had been ranked low in the final Honours (Chemistry) examination of Madras University. Though I had obtained 82 per cent of the marks in the S.S.L.C. examination in 1923, had passed the Intermediate examination with distinction, and even topped the list in the Preliminary Honours examination (in English) in 1926, yet my failure to equal my earlier achievements weighed heavily on my adolescent mind, and I seriously doubted my capacity to get through the London test, and wondered why the few thousands of rupees, which my father could ill afford, should be wasted.

Moreover, I had, since 1920, been rather emotionally affected by the passing away of Lakomanya Tilak, by Mahatma Gandhi's whirlwind campaign of the early twenties, by the orations of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru, by the towering personality of Swami Shraddhanand, who had visited Mangalore in 1924 and stayed in the neighbouring Arya Samaj Mandir. I had worn coarse khadi since the age of fourteen, had taken part in student demonstrations off and on, and even led a hostellers' agitation against the

Simon Commission only a few months earlier in Madras, risking my government scholarship which, however, was not forfeited.

Ultimately I reconciled myself to the idea of preparing for the I.C.S. examination in right earnest, more as an intellectual challenge than anything else, and with the definite mental reservation that if I succeeded in the attempt I should give up the service some years later in order to fight the British openly. I silently prayed to God to help me pass the test, and also subsequently to enable me to emulate the example of Subhas Bose. At the back of my mind there was also the slightly meretricious idea that, belonging as I did to the lower middle class, there was no more effective or expeditious way of entering high politics than resignation from the much coveted I.C.S.

Thus I arrived at Victoria Station, London, in late September, 1928, with the firm determination to work hard for the examination due nine months later, and to get into the Service. Occasionally, I consoled myself with the thought that even if I failed in 1929, I would take one more chance, the last one for me being in 1930. For the time being, however, I decided to study exclusively for the I.C.S. test, did not join any university, but enrolled myself as just an occasional student at the London School of Economics.

I had been in London hardly two months when my studies received a severe setback. Astrologers tell me that the conjunction of Mars and Uranus in Sagittarius in my horoscope has brought about surprising ups and downs in my career. Be that as it may, I was drawn into the vortex of petty politics of the Indian Students' Union, Gower Street. Outside it, my inner being was caught in the toils of a spiritual crisis—a conflict of the spirit versus the flesh; and metaphysical problems such as God, the *raison d'être* of the universe and of man on earth, morality and cognate matters, troubled, even tormented, my being.

My mind was in a tumult, my imagination became morbid, even ran riot; and on some nights sleep completely deserted me as I wrestled with questions that seemed to have no answer.

But I stuck fast, almost mechanically, to certain ideals and principles, and kept before my mind's eye the figures of two men, Jesus and Vivekananda, who still have a potent appeal for me. I could not, however, concentrate on my studies, and a cessation of the turmoil, or even an escape from the tempest raging in my soul, seemed impossible.

But by the grace of God, as it were, when the examination was less than two months away, I was enabled, by sheer effort of

will, to put away from my mind all disturbing thoughts, and to take to my books. But time was against me, and when the long-drawn test was over I was overtaken by a fit of despair. I was so tired and weary that, come what may, I made up my mind to rest at the Y.M.C.A. Hostel in Llandudno, Wales.

While I was there, a friend wired to me that I had passed, but my hopes of success were so remote that I wouldn't believe the telegram, and even thought it might be a hoax. My doubts vanished only after I saw my name in the list published by the *Times*. My taut nerves became tranquil, and I remembered God. I was full of joy and pride.

When the marks list came a few days later, I was astounded at my own performance in subjects such as British History, Economics, Political Organization, Constitutional Law and Anthropology which were comparatively new to me. It was then that I felt, not vaguely but with a modicum of certainty, that a Higher Power had been at work.

Having passed the rigorous competitive test I relaxed mentally and emotionally during the year of probation without any fresh attempt at solving the problems that had plagued me the previous year. However, my plan (or ambition) to get out of the service at no distant date became firmer as news reached London of Gandhiji's Dandi March and the Satyagraha that followed.

When I returned to India in December, 1930, I had almost made up my mind to defy the deadening conventions and traditions of the Imperial Service and to be on the look-out for opportunities to disagree with, and even disobey British bosses; Harold Laski's *The Dangers of Obedience* was a book after my own heart.

Another book, breathing indignation, grim fire-eyed defiance, and describing the spiritual rebirth of man, which affected me deeply at the age of eighteen, was Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*. I fell out not only with my British superiors, but often with some of the older, hidebound Indian Officers. My experience in that service would easily provide enough material for a little book in itself, but space forbids me to dwell upon it further here. Routine work invariably bored me, and only something unusual cropping up enlivened me. As time went on, such occasions came thick and fast, and more and more. Obviously they caused a great deal of stress and strain, but they were congenial to my spirit.

The last straw came when I visited Russia despite official displeasure and opposition, and when I returned from my European travels in December, 1935, I sensed the gathering storm. The general attitude in the service ranks towards me became gradually

hostile day by day. A series of brushes with higher officials, including the Governor of the C.P. and Berar, resulted in my supersession and made me literally fed up with life in the Service. I felt that I was wasting my time in these futile skirmishes, and became convinced that I could put my time and energy to better use, and more satisfying to my soul, outside the Service and in India's freedom struggle. However, I was grateful, and still am, for the administrative and other experience I had gained in the Service.

By a providential coincidence, as it were, Subhas had just returned from his European exile, and released from an Indian prison where he had been confined after arrest soon after his landing on Indian soil. I sought an interview with Jawaharlal Nehru in August, 1937, when I was Sub-Divisional Officer and Additional District Magistrate, Narsinghpur (Madhya Pradesh).

I met him in the office (Swaraj Bhavan), but he invited me upstairs (Ananda Bhavan) where, during a half hour's talk, I laid bare the conflict within me, said I would like to get out of the Service and asked for his guidance as to my future work. He said he would write to me later on about the matter, and I took leave of him.

His manner was free and cordial, and I expected he would encourage me. You can imagine my disappointment when a couple of months later he wrote to me advising me to continue in the I.C.S.

I wrote to Subhas Bose as well, who had in the meantime been elected President of the Haripura Congress. I could not meet him personally, but the letter I received from him backed me up, and clinched my decision. He wrote, "I welcome you with all my heart. What will be a loss to the Service will be a gain to the country."

I was strangely conscious all the while that a Power outside myself was urging me to resign, and when on January 26, 1938, I sent off that letter to the Secretary of State for India in London asking to be relieved on April 19, on the morrow of Easter Monday, I experienced an immense sense of relief, a feeling of elation and lightness of heart.

However, a tragedy marred the day of my departure from the I.C.S.; two dear young colleagues of mine, Jayarao and Sukumar Bose, who had solemnly promised to stand by me and assist me after I left the Service, were fatally injured in a motor accident as they were coming from Sagar to Jabalpur to spend the Easter holidays with me. Sukumar died on the eve of Good

Friday, while Jayarao succumbed to his injuries the day after my resignation.

Thus there were three casualties in the I.C.S. in C.P. and Berar during that Easter week of 1938. By an inscrutable concatenation, another close colleague in service, R. K. Patil, till lately a Minister in Madhya Pradesh, was relieved of office on the same date, April 19, five years later, though he had not specified that date or any other in his letter of resignation. Would you blame me if I saw the Hand of Fate in such apparently fortuitous happenings?

It is now eighteen years since I entered public life, and of these I have spent more years in prison and Parliament than in the field. I learnt a good deal from Netaji about the spirit and method of agitation and organization, in which his only equal was the Mahatma. I had the good fortune of living with him in his Calcutta house for nearly two months and we two used to go for long morning walks together. To know him was to love him, and those few weeks are to me a precious memory.

Gandhiji had an endearing manner about him. When, in response to my request, he invited me to his Juhu cottage soon after my resignation, he instantly put me at ease, and asked me what work I had been assigned. He remarked, "The field is so vast, and workers are so few." Wouldn't he have felt the same way today, were he alive?

In December, 1938, I was telegraphically summoned from Jabalpur to Bombay by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and told that I should see Mr. Nehru at his sister's residence there the next morning in connection with the Secretaryship of the National Planning Committee set up by Congress President Subhas Bose in October, 1938.

He had invited Mr. Nehru to accept the Chairmanship of the Committee and it was graciously accepted. At an informal breakfast with Mr. Nehru, I was appointed Secretary of the Committee, and I entered upon my duties in January, 1939. Unfortunately, on the eve of the Tripuri Congress Session, Chairman Nehru took strong exception to one or two press statements I had made supporting Subhas's stand. He forbade such "active political participation", and I was constrained to say that in that case I wouldn't have given up the I.C.S.

He wrote to say that "there was no alternative for me but to resign" my Secretaryship. Subhas thereupon appointed me Organizing Secretary of the Forward Bloc, and World War II broke out in September. I was arrested for anti-war agitation in April

1940, and spent thirteen months in Arthur Road Prison, Bombay, as a convict. Released, I found myself a few months later inside Arrah jail in Bihar, and then for a long term of 3 years 3 months was a detenu in the Jabalpur and Seoni jails in the Central Provinces.

It was in Jabalpur jail that I did something which I believe I wouldn't have been able to do outside. I read, and re-read Sri Aurobindo's *Life Divine*, and the clear, illuminating exposition of the Master, the super-mystic, the Mahayogin of our times, dispelled many of the doubts and fears which had held me captive in London in 1929 and assailed me time and again during the subsequent years.

I was released from detention in September, 1945, and in July, 1946, elected to the Constituent Assembly.

H. V. KAMATH

(From the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, July 26, 1956)

Prison Experience

After my release in January, 1923, I remained free only for 8 or 10 months. Towards the end of the same year I was arrested for disloyalty. This arrest was rather peculiar. My young friend, the poet Shridhar, had written a Lavani song titled "Desi Dundume". It had been printed in our press. The police arrested me for having printed something which breathed disloyalty. Usually it is the writer and the publisher that are held responsible for such a thing. The Government did not arrest Shridhar, who was not only the author but the publisher also. I was given rigorous imprisonment for two years, while Shridhar was only warned. This time I was sent to the jail at Bijapur. About 15 or 20 days earlier Shri Majali of Belgaum had been sent to this jail. He welcomed me with great affection. The Jailer of the prison, one Mr. Warner, was well known to us. I must mention a surprising incident here. On the day Majali was taken to the prison, Warner asked him who else was likely to come. Majali immediately replied that Diwakar would come. When he said this there was not even a case against me. Later I asked him what it was that made him foretell my going to that prison. He replied that he himself did not know what it was. It must have been an inexplicable premonition.

The jail at Bijapur is a very old one. It was a huge pile of buildings, used as a rest house for travellers. Government had

converted it into a prison. In comparison with the Yeravada or Belgaum jails it was too small.

Shri Majali and I were housed together in the jail. And the authorities sent someone to remain with us since the rules do not allow two prisoners to remain together. One comfort that we felt was that we were in the same room in which Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali had been confined. We were far away from the other prison quarters and we had no chance of having any contact with the other prisoners. The policemen who came in with the carriers of food never spoke to us. We were allowed to walk about in the verandah in front of our room only for half an hour in the morning and evening. At all other times we would be locked in. Our condition was no better than that of wild animals in a cage. We had been sentenced to hard labour and we had been given the work of making ropes. It was a labour to which we were not accustomed, but we did it to the best of our ability. We had some freedom in the matter of getting books to read, and the Superintendent also was a fairly decent man. He gave us books to read. I remember his giving us quite a large number of books about birds.

In this way days passed. But the walls around us had made us blind to the external world. We could not see even the stars in the night. We felt often that there was no world outside the walls of our prison. Now a pathetic incident happened which I cannot help mentioning.

It was February 1924. My friend and comrade Majali Datto-pant was taken ill with a strange disease. It was a fit study for a student of psychology. It was not any common bodily ailment ; it was not insanity, it was not any dullness of mental faculty. One could only describe it as a strange, complicated mental aberration.

Within a fortnight his condition became alarming. Since everything happened before my own eyes I like to give here a few interesting details about his illness.

On the day he was taken to Bijapur jail Warner, the Jailer, asked him who else would come. Majali at once replied that Diwakar would come. He told me later that he himself wondered why he mentioned my name. I went there only two months after this incident. At that time he was in a normal condition. He himself told me about this two or three times. He had a belief that he could foretell the future.

It would not be wrong to say that the place where we were confined was a cave. Except for half an hour in the morning

and another half an hour in the evening we had to spend all our time in this cave. Walls around us and a wall-like roof above us ; this was our residence. Even when we went out for half an hour we had only a narrow courtyard surrounded by a wall 12 to 16 feet high. Not a plant, no cattle, no human being could enter this place. The only living beings we could see were one or two attendants or officers. Even these would not speak a single word to us. It was only the Superintendent and the Jailer who would speak to us.

Under these conditions what was left to us was only talking to each other, reading a little, making rope or sitting quiet. Shri Majali was reading mostly the writings of Aurobindo. He would often sit in meditation. One day all of a sudden he was taken ill with fever. He was ordered to take quinine. By mistake he swallowed four pills at one time. This brought about high fever and vomiting. He seemed to lose his mental balance too. Others however could not understand his mental disorder. As if possessed, for 10 or 15 minutes he would speak continuously on some topic, mostly philosophical, as if he were delivering a lecture. He would not have full control over himself at that time. One could see he was really inspired at these times. Once, when the Superintendent visited our room, he gave for about six minutes a learned, profound and inspired discourse on Christianity. The Superintendent was dumbfounded. Whenever he gave such speeches he would be exhausted at the end.

Things continued in this way for about a week. The fever came down, but his bloodless face showed that he was a tired man, and there were indications of anaemia. He now began to give profound discourses on Advaita. He would describe his experiences in the practice of that faith. There was no doubt that during such talk he was experiencing a strange exhilaration and serenity. Suddenly he would say that no one could keep him in prison any longer, that a telegram had come and that he would be released in half an hour.

I was alarmed. I knew that, if things continued in this way, his disorder would reach a critical stage. I clearly explained to the Superintendent my fears about my friend's condition. I made it clear to him that confinement without outside contact had affected his mind and he could regain his normal condition only if he were removed to a better environment. The Superintendent replied that he had no powers to do anything in the matter himself, and that he could only send a report to the higher authorities.

As days passed sleep also left him. Incoherent speech about his release, or more often about Vedanta, increased. One morning at eight he stood for ten minutes with bent head facing the sun as if in deep meditation. After this he slowly sank on the bed. By 10 o'clock he was inert as if he had lost all consciousness. There was a fixed stare in his eyes. His arms and legs were stiff, and he would not speak. I was now really afraid about his condition. His pulse however was normal. I called in the doctor. He tried to revive him by sprinkling cold water on his face. But the stare in his eyes remained as before for about two hours. Soon after, I came to know from Majali himself what it was.

After he became fully conscious he thus described his experience. "A process of purification of my body was going on. A goddess—she looked like Sarojini Devi—was cleansing every atom of my body. When I was absorbed in this you were unnecessarily harassing me. I was seeing all that you were doing. But I could not speak or move my limbs." He told me all this in his own strangely characteristic manner; and finally said laughing: "How can this doctor understand these things?"

Numerous were such experiences which he would relate to me. He had no rest during the day, no sleep during the night. And he would tire himself out with his excitement while relating his experiences to me. This went on for about a fortnight. Then he became irritable. One day he kicked the Jailer. He gave me also a sound beating. From this time his disease took a new turn altogether. He would angrily ask the Jailer why he was not released though the order for his release had come. Once he was obsessed with the notion that the Jailer and I wanted to poison him, and stopped taking any food for a couple of days. I had to get plantains for him from outside by requesting the police. For three days he was even kept in solitary confinement.

It was on the 18th day after the commencement of his illness that he was released on the recommendation of a civil surgeon who had come from Sholapur. His condition however did not improve for some months even after the release. It was our good fortune that he regained his normal condition at last.

When Majali was released there was a deterioration in my condition also. Want of adequate sleep and taking one meal a day were perhaps the cause. But what was of greater importance was that I developed a fear that I too would be affected mentally as the result of this confinement. My mind would often wander and I would feel that I no longer had any control over my

faculties. I strove hard to regain control over my mind, and succeeded at last. Confidence came back to me. Within a few days after this I was taken away to Yeravada prison. Sholapur Station lies on the way from Bijapur to Yeravada. When we reached that station a longing came to me to read newspapers. But I was a prisoner in police custody, I had no money and I could not go out alone. While I was thinking what to do a newspaper vendor boy came to me. I asked the boy to call his master. He brought the proprietor of the bookstall. I spoke to him of my desire to read a paper and also of my being penniless. He gladly gave me a paper; not only that, he asked me if there was any other work for him to do. I felt very happy to see this fraternal feeling in him.

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When I was imprisoned for a second time in Yeravada prison there was an interesting fight between the prisoners and the authorities.

In that prison there are many separate enclosures. In each enclosure near the place where arrangements had been made for water supply, prisoners had installed figures of Gods—along with tulasi plants. There were flowers also near by. All this was done by the prisoners themselves. Soon after the morning bath many prisoners used to water the plants and offer worship. It is true that these Gods had not been installed with due Sastric rites. Still, many a pious prisoner was offering his devotion sincerely to the tulasi plant or to his idol, and was deriving solace and peace from his worship. Thus, these tulasi plants and the idols had attained great sanctity among the prisoners, who could not live without them. They had become an inseparable part of their prison life.

During the last days of 1924 the jail Superintendent happened to notice these tulasi plants and idols. He was an Irishman. What he thought about them or whether anyone gave him the suggestion, no one can say; he decided to have all of them removed. Immediately he issued orders that all the idols and all the tulasi plants should be removed from the barracks. Many plants were removed and many idols disappeared. News of this spread to all parts of the jail and created great excitement everywhere. Many did not take food on that day. Perhaps the Superintendent expected trouble as the result of his hasty action. He promptly promised the prisoners that he would not have them removed. The matter rested there.

But it had not been forgotten. Probably the Superintendent had decided to take action after obtaining permission of the higher authorities. Within a month came the order that the havaldars should throw away the tulasi plants and demolish their pedestals. The havaldars carried out the order in right earnest. The plants were cut down, and the idols were gathered and piled up in a corner. All these things were over in about five hours. There was again great excitement all over the prison. Prisoners began to say that the Superintendent had broken the promise he had given. In their helplessness they tried to devise a way of taking some action. They came to the conclusion that fasting was the only course open to them. Indeed this is the only way open to such helpless people of showing their resentment. Hundreds of prisoners fasted on that day.

We were in the "Separate" section at the time. The order was late in reaching us. We had taken our meals when it reached us. It was at about 11 a.m. A havaldar came with a pickaxe and similar instruments and was about to demolish our place of worship. I was quite friendly with him and would discuss many things with him. We could not however remain passive when he was removing the idols and tulasi plants. Just then we heard what had happened in other parts of the prison. The havaldar gave pickaxes to one or two prisoners and ordered them to demolish the pedestals of the tulasi plants. Without any anger in my attitude I asked the prisoners who were about to start the work of demolition: "How can you hope for God's blessings when you destroy objects of worship? Why do you indulge in such things? Some karma has brought you to this unhappy place. If you carry on your sinful acts here also, what lies in wait for you after you leave this prison?" Hearing these words the prisoners threw down their implements and sat on the ground. They felt that they should have thought of this before and were ashamed. The havaldar was now in a fix. He was a good man, soft-natured, but he had to do his duty. He took up the pickaxe as if to carry out the order of the higher authorities himself. I spoke to him: "You have taken up arms against the objects of your devotion and worship. Simply because you are a Government servant it does not mean that you must blindly obey all the orders of your higher authorities. Suppose they ask you tomorrow to kill your children, do you carry out that order? You are about to carry out your work of destruction against the deity who gave you those children. Unhappy man! At the worst they may dismiss you. You can earn your living somehow. God will not make you and

your family starve." My words had their effect on his mind. Though an untouchable he was cultured and full of the finer feelings. Many people who belong to the so-called higher classes often descend to the most detestable of deeds. Class or caste is never a criterion of the inner culture of man. This truth was vividly seen in his response to my appeal. He threw away the pickaxe which he had and stood holding his head in both his hands. I spoke to him again : " If after this you are still determined to carry out your orders, you deliver the first blow to me. I shall stand embracing the pedestal of this tulasi plant. After that you carry on your work." This was perhaps the limit for that sensitive havaladar. He could have ordered us into our rooms and locked us in ; he could have done even worse to us. Instead of that he decided to disobey orders and lose his job rather than do a thing against which his soul revolted.

Before evening there was intense excitement all over the prison. About a thousand prisoners carried on a hunger strike. We managed to hear all that was happening outside. I had sent word to all the prisoners that they should on no account give up the work assigned to them, that they should not eat any food and that they should not speak to any official of the jail. I told them that success was certain if they faithfully carried out these three things. In another part of the jail there was Senapati Bapat. He had given the same instructions to the prisoners in his barrack. The next day there was confusion among the officials of the prison. Nobody spoke to them. Everyone was absorbed in the work assigned to him but spoke not a word to them. Only the leader in each circle had the right to speak to the authorities. Others had been instructed not to answer any question.

I thought it was necessary on my part to make the Superintendent clearly aware of the real situation and the reasons for the fast we had undertaken, and I offered to do my best to bring about a compromise if the authorities were prepared to redress their wrongs. The Superintendent himself came to me the next day at about 10 in the morning. I made him understand that the authorities were not justified, for whatever cause, in wounding the religious susceptibilities of the prisoners. The Superintendent told me that his object was only to eliminate disorder and confusion in installing these objects of worship and that he would have such objects placed in order at Government expense and that there would be a tulasi pedestal for every barrack. I went with him to the other parts of the jail and found that he was speaking the truth. At the same time I learnt that his inten-

tion was to settle matters before the impending visit of the Inspector-General of Police. Seeing this, I told him that a written order was necessary before the prisoners could be made to break their fast. He had to accept my condition and an order was issued. The same evening the I.G.P. paid a visit and asked as to break the fast. I told him that we would take a bath the next morning, offer our worship and dine together. The next morning to the satisfaction of everybody the episode came to a close.

(*Translation of a few passages in Shri R. R. Diwakar's "Sereya Mareyalli"*).

An intrepid patriot's account

For nearly half a century, my life has been one of hardships and struggles, disappointments and sorrows, hopes and frustrations. But behind all these I have seen and felt the joy and solace of living and working for a cause, for an ideal and a great purpose. Even in jail I fought for the cause of my co-prisoners and in many cases won.

My family was one of landholders in Hosaritti, taluk Haveri. We lived a comfortable lower middle-class life. I lost my father early in life, but my elder brother was so loving towards me and so solicitous of my welfare and progress that he was more than a father to me. Very early in life I showed a special aptitude for mathematics and my power of quick computation amazed people. My elders recognised this talent in me and my brother was eager to educate me to any extent, even to sending me to foreign countries. But the man who first recognised this talent in me was *Rao Bahadur Mensinkai*. I was brought to Dharwar in 1919 by Mensinkai, who entrusted me to the care of Shri Mrutyunjay Swamiji. This was in June 1919.

Just then the Karnataka High School had been started at Dharwar. I joined the school. Shri Katti came to the school as Principal in 1920. Great care was taken of my comfort and welfare, because my people hoped that I would go far in learning and achieve big things in life.

That was the period in the history of our country when a single man's inspiration had electrified people into nationalist fervour. Gandhiji had come to take the place of Tilak and carry on the struggle for India's freedom and advancement. Being of an impressionable nature and blessed with a strong memory I eagerly learnt many things about the Congress, the great men who had done great things for our country, and above all about

Tilak and Gandhiji, who infused a new dynamic strength in the staid and sober deliberations and activities of the Congress. Fortunately for me Lala Lajpat Rai and Shaukat Ali visited Dharwar at this time. Soon after, Gandhiji himself came. The sight of these leaders and the knowledge of their achievement opened out in my mind a new vista of service and sacrifice for the motherland. I began to dream of contributing my mite to this struggle for national freedom and growth. I was only fourteen years old then.

Gone were the dreams of my becoming a mathematician, and the hopes of my loving brother of making me a great scholar. I decided to give up these dreams and follow in the footsteps of Gandhiji and others. I was hankering for greater knowledge about my country and about the men and women who shaped her destiny. I was fortunate here also. J. M. Salimath, a scholar and great orator, saw my hunger for knowledge and helped me by giving me quite a number of books dealing with the lives of great patriots, past and present. As a student, however, I was far above the average and was liked by my teachers.

My active life of struggle started soon after, and for the first time I had the experience of attending the Belgaum Congress session as a volunteer. In 1924 there was the momentous session of the Congress at Belgaum, sanctified by the presence of Gandhiji. Shri Manjappa also was there, and presented to Gandhiji a copy of his book, *Satyagrahi Basaveshwar*. I worked as a volunteer during the session and was thrilled to the core of my being at the prospect of living a life dedicated to the motherland. The strength and inspiration necessary came from living with Gandhiji, Manjappa and other leaders, though for a short time. Thus, the four momentous years between 1920 and 1924—the truly formative period of my early youth—was a period of radical change in my life. I frustrated the hopes reposed in me by my brother, but I gained what my whole being longed for, the prospect of dedicated service to my land and my people.

Filled with ideas of being of service to my country in one way or another, I thought of establishing an institution in which youths should receive the necessary inspiration and requisite training in sacrifice for national service. I came to Dharwar, and gathered a band of strong and energetic young men and trained them in all the qualities and attainments necessary. Thus arose the Bharateeya Taruna Sangha at Dharwar within three years of the Belgaum Congress, and with the inclusion of men like N. B.

Hiremath, Muddanna and S. S. Kajjari, it became a prominent institution for training national workers. Shri K. F. Patil also joined the Sangha in January 1929. The duty of the members of the Sangha after training was to go out among the people to acquaint them with the ideas and objectives of Gandhiji, and the fourteen points of the constructive programme, and to infuse in them an enthusiasm for national service. Soon our Sangha was enlarged with the addition of new members, and in October 1928 came to be called the Karnataka Youth League. Important leaders of Karnataka like Alur Venkat Rao and Shri Molvi joined the League and gave it the benefit of their knowledge and experience.

It was at this time that Shri K. F. Patil, who was headmaster of the Hamsabhavi High School, sent Mylara Mahadevappa to me. I was then in my native village, Hosaritti, for the Deepavali feast. Mahadevappa was then a boy of 15 or 16. He was taken as a member of Bharateeya Taruna Sangha. He was sent to the Khadi Centre in Hudli, Belgaum district, to receive preliminary training in Khadi work ; after some time we sent him for further training to the Khadi Centre at Kaladgi in Bijapur district, which was in charge of Hanumantha Rao Kaujalgi. Mahadevappa could not remain there for long. A boy of transparent honesty and sincerity of purpose, he was displeased at the behaviour of a few workers there, and came away to me in 1929. During the period of his absence from home, the elders of his family, who were searching for him, came to me and took him away to Motibennur, where, in the hope that he would not run away from home, they performed his marriage.

Another event of great interest and significance needs mention here. In February 1928 the Simon Commission landed in Bombay. A Commission sent for the purpose of studying Indian conditions and ascertaining Indian opinion for formulating proposals for constitutional reforms to India, it did not contain a single Indian, and this was an insult to Indian intelligence and self-respect. People of all parties and all classes demonstrated their resentment by a complete boycott. There were hartals ; students did not attend schools and colleges ; there were mammoth processions with placards containing " Simon, Go Back ". For the first time, not only the elders but also the youth of the land had been roused to concerted, determined, national effort. This was what I saw in Bombay ; exactly similar was the reception given to the Commission in all the places which they visited. Nature too seemed to have been in tune with the temper of the

people ; for at a time when there is no rain, violent storms and heavy rains came as if to evince displeasure at the Commission's visit. Our Bharateeya Taruna Sangha took a prominent part in the demonstrations and processions organised against the Commission. The desire to form an integrated Karnataka State was as keen among us as among the people elsewhere who wanted the formation of linguistic provinces. The latter, as in the case of Orissa, even went to the extent of pleading for a separate State for themselves before the Simon Commission, though the Commission itself had been boycotted ; but we in Karnataka never thought of approaching the tabooed Commission.

Gandhiji completed sixty years in October 1929, and we decided to celebrate the event. We were able to get the President of the National Boycott and Bonfire Organisation, Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, to preside over our celebrations. The boycott of the Simon Commission had given a new fillip to our national work, and our zeal was unbounded. Flag-hoisting, march past and salute took place in the morning and a mammoth procession started at noon. We came to the Karnatak College. Mr. Kapadia was the Principal. He invited us to enter the college and have our meeting there. Shri Gokāk, Professor of English, read out a poem he had composed on Gandhiji, and the Principal spoke on the life and work of Bapu. At the end of the lecture he declared a holiday for the College. The procession then went to the Kadapa Maidan, where under the Presidentship of Shri Jairamdas Doulatram a meeting was held.

Many non-Brahmins were at first unwilling to join the Congress in fear that the organisation was dominated by Brahmins, and that any success to the Congress might result only in augmenting the power and influence of that community. But from 1930, non-Brahmins joined the Congress in larger numbers and the struggle for freedom became broad-based and stronger. I tried my best to bring the non-Brahmin communities into the Congress. Participation in Congress activities brought me imprisonment twice in 1930. My second term of imprisonment ended in December of that year. In January 1931, I organised a Ryots' Conference at Hosaritti during an annual fair. Before the Conference concluded I was again arrested.

Complete independence had been declared to be the goal of the country at the Lahore Congress of December 1929, and Gandhiji had been requested to take command and lead the country. As usual, Gandhiji took some time to come to a decision, for he would not embark on a struggle without exhaust-

ing all means of honourable settlement. When he finally found that a fight was inevitable, he announced the plan of marching to Dandi to break the Salt Law. A small body of about 80 men would be selected to go with Gandhiji. I had sent Mylara Mahadevappa to Gandhiji's Ashram to receive training. He was ill at the time of the selection of volunteers to accompany Gandhiji. Jamnalal Bajaj, who had been entrusted with the work of selection of volunteers, wrote to me that the young man could not be selected on account of his illness. But I wrote back to say that he must be selected ; a temporary indisposition should not come in the way. He was selected and he represented Karnataka in that memorable march.

I could not resist the desire to meet Gandhiji and participate in the Salt Satyagraha, in spite of the pleadings and exhortations of my brother to desist from political activities before I completed my education. We called a meeting of Congressmen in Dharwar and Shri Gangadhar Rao Deshpande addressed the gathering. Even after the lapse of 33 years, it is thrilling to visualise our irrepressible enthusiasm of those days, when we felt that the most worthy fulfilment of an Indian's life was to stake his all, his very life, in the service of his motherland. I formed one of the party which proceeded to meet Gandhiji. On the 21st of March, 1930 we reached Ahmedabad, and on the 22nd we joined Gandhiji's party on the march. Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru were a few yards in advance, and were engaged in serious conversation. Now Motilalji suddenly came in a motor car and drove to where Gandhiji and Jawaharlal were going. He got out of the car, a brief conversation ensued among the three, and Motilalji took away his son in the car.

Gandhiji made full enquiries about us and directed Kaka Kalelkar to take me to the Gujarat Vidyapith, where I should be given special training. According I went to the Gujarat Vidyapith. The course of training was short, but intensive and arduous. We had to be trained to meet any hardship, physical or mental, without flinching or easily breaking down. Indeed, this training made a new man of me.

I returned, and went direct to the Central Satyagraha camp at Ankola as member of the camp. I toured all over the district, establishing satyagraha camps in all important places and acquainting the people with the nature of the struggle ahead and their duties and responsibilities in it. Bonfires of foreign cloth were made and foreign goods like soap, cigarettes, and even sugar, were thrown into the sea. We vowed to use only swadeshi goods.

After finishing my assignment in North Kanara, I came to Hubli about the end of May. I was directed to gather a band of sturdy and stout-hearted youth to form a satyagraha army which would inflexibly face any trials or torments in the course of the impending satyagraha. The army was formed and trained ; and appropriately enough, we called it the " Ironsides ", after the name of the intrepid and disciplined army of Oliver Cromwell—with this difference, of course, that while the army of Cromwell was guilty of his country's blood, ours was not. We were directed to proceed to Darsana to take part in the Salt Satyagraha. We were not molested at the place, and then we went to Ville Parle, and from there to raid the Vadala Depot. Strangely enough, we were not arrested at any of these places. We came to Sholapur, where the police had falsely implicated Dhana Setty and his two comrades for murder and imposed Martial Law in order to strike terror among the people, but had only succeeded in rousing them to more desperate resistance. From there we came to Bijapur, where our army was disbanded.

I returned to Dharwar, to see some sensational developments in our fight. A second front, so to say, had been opened against the Government ; it was the cutting down of toddy trees as a part of our Prohibition campaign. Shri Krishna Rao Mudvidkar was going about from place to place rousing the people to enthusiasm by his fiery eloquence. Finally he stopped at Hosaritti to supervise the demolition of toddy trees. This was a work in which anyone might take part, and amid scenes of tremendous enthusiasm trees were cut down in large numbers. The police looked on for some time in helpless silence, for they could take action only when Government trees were cut down. But Chinnamulugund, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, and Kaujalgi, another police officer, would not allow considerations of administrative propriety to stand in the way of their seeking official advancement by putting up cases against Congressmen. The power which had been placed in their hands had turned them into degenerate ruffians, and they tried to outdo their British masters in fighting the Congress. We were accused of cutting toddy trees belonging to Government. The speeches that I made at the North Karnataka Parishat at Haveri served to rouse the ire of the police still further against me. But Mr. Meher, the Assistant Collector of Dharwar, was a fair-minded and upright judge, and acquitted me for want of proper evidence.

While I was engaged in cutting down toddy trees, my brother visited me. He told me that he was not at all averse to my engag-

ing in national activities ; he only wanted me to complete my education before I took up Congress work. For nearly 24 hours he argued with me ; he expostulated with me ; he even entreated me to give up for a time what he called my mad venture. Finding me obdurate, he finally threatened to commit suicide. Even this would not shake my resolve. We parted with anguish in our hearts—he for his failure to wean me away from what he conceived to be my folly, and I for my inability to convince him, whom I loved deeply.

The police were intent on arresting me and having me convicted. They were afraid to arrest me for fear of mob fury. But when I was touring in Dharwar to organise satyagraha and set right some irregularities in the Congress organisation, I was arrested in Guttala, at 10 p.m., and immediately taken to Dharwar. The same Mr. Meher was the judge, but I was given three months and taken to Hindalgi jail. This jail was built in 1924, and the Superintendent, Mr. Plunkett, was a well-mannered though strict man. I had to grind 70 pounds of jawar every day—arduous labour by any standard, but it helped me to eat with relish the detestable prison food doled out to us. I was released on the 17th of December. As soon as I crossed the prison gate, I found Mylara Mahadevappa waiting to receive me.

I felt that I should not rest but should continue to carry on the national work to the best of my ability. There was a big jatra at Hosaritti on the 10th of January 1931, and I organised a Ryots' Conference on that occasion. Shri M. P. Patil inaugurated the function and Shri Hosamani presided. The Government imposed a ban on my speaking there, but I spoke. Perhaps for fear of exciting the people, the police did not arrest me. They, however, tried to induce me to submit of my own accord ! But on a charge of preparing contraband salt at Hosaritti, I was arrested, tried, and sentenced to three months in the last week of February.

As a consequence of the Gandhi-Irwin agreement of the 5th of March, 1931, I was released on the 9th of March. I came to Haveri. I was able to attend the Karachi Congress of this year, under the Presidentship of Vallabhbhai Patel. The year 1931 was indeed a year of hectic activity for me. In addition to touring all over North Karnataka and organising Congress work, I worked as Secretary of the District Congress Committee, with Shri Hosamani as president. In the last week of December I brought Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to Hubli.

During January of the next year momentous events took

place in quick succession. Gandhiji returned from the Round Table Conference and soon after was arrested and imprisoned. There was a hartal all over Karnataka. Government let loose all the forces of repression, while the Congress carried on its activities with grim determination. This was the period of Congress "Dictators". The President of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee was Karnad Sadasiva Rao. I was nominated as the fifth Dictator for Karnataka.

Now a change came over my views with regard to the fight with Government. It was all too easy to provoke the Government to arrest us, and then spend some months in the quietude and stagnation of a jail. This negative attitude to the problem of our national freedom and regeneration, I felt, would not take us along the road to fulfilment; there ought to be, parallel with it, positive action to disconcert the Government and prick the bubble of their invulnerability. This could be accomplished only by underground work. So I decided to remain in hiding and make myself a source of annoyance to the Government, and keep the enthusiasm for patriotic work burning among the people. Of course I would eschew all violence.

I made Bangalore my headquarters, and toured all over Karnataka exhorting the people not to use foreign goods and to be ready to answer the call of the Congress for any struggle. Sampige Venkatapathiah, an untiring worker, was one of the band of competent and resourceful elders I had met to work with me. In March, 1932, I wrote to the Collector of Dharwar that I was busy mobilising strength for the fight for freedom, and would be available for arrest as soon as my work was over. Nettled by the nonchalant audacity of this intimation, Government set their police sleuths on me, and it became now a game of hide-and-seek between me and the guardians of law and order, sometimes grim and hazardous, but often diverting. Once the police took a warrant for my arrest to my brother, but he only tore it up before them. Soon they found an excuse for arresting him and another brother of mine. A reward of Rs. 5,000 was announced to anyone who revealed my whereabouts and helped in my arrest. It was funny to see the police searching for me in all places, while I often moved in their midst in disguise. I gave notice to the Magistrate that I would be at Bagalkot in May to attend a Political Conference which I had called. I paid a visit to Hosaritti at this time. I was in disguise and the police failed to recognise me. I stayed for a night in my house and walked out of it in the morning, under the nose of the police.

This time I had decided to give myself up to the police. As soon as I reached Bagalkot on the 26th of May, 1932, I was arrested and brought to Dharwar on the 30th. The same Mr. Meher was the Magistrate. I was sentenced to 30 months' imprisonment on the 9th of June. I came out of jail in May 1934, and in September of the same year Government removed the ban on Congress.

In the struggle of 1941-42 I exerted myself in training volunteers for the fight.

Karnataka was second to none among the provinces in carrying on the fight for freedom, and evoked the hearty approbation of Gandhiji. I played my humble role in the Freedom struggle. The members of my family like many other patriotic persons took an active part in the struggle. Here I must mention the inspiration I got from my brother Sangappa Hallikeri.

G. V. HALLIKERI, Hubli.

Leaves from a Diary

17-12-'27

Butler Committee. appointed to inquire and report on the relation between Indian States and British India. While the inhabitants of British India have at least a hope of getting responsible government, we the inhabitants of Indian India have not even a ray of hope. The very fact that the Simon Commission is appointed, however imperfect it may be, shows that the claim has been recognised. But the appointment of the Butler Committee clearly shows that the claims of the Princes to strengthen their position has been recognised, while the claims of the people of the States is not even worth a cursory glance. While British India has one master, Indian India has two, the upper being the British and the lower being the Princes; and the latter more inimical to democracy than the former. Indian India is politically less educated than her neighbour, and yet she has two tyrants to fight with, whereas her sister who is better off has only one and the weaker one (not in the sense of strength, but the sense of obstinacy.) Let me see what Messrs. D. V. Gundappa and H. Krishna Rao say about this Committee. Fortunately I will have the advantage of witnessing the feelings of

the Indian States Subjects Conference, which is to be held at Madras during the Congress Meet.

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27-1-'28

The Congress can never make a "Free India" without the co-operation of the people of the Indian States. It is high time that the Congress should take as much interest in the Native States as in the British Provinces.

In the eyes of the Congress, India should be one, an indivisible one whole. Otherwise the Native States will become mill-stones round the neck of the rest of India in its march towards Swaraj. Already the Princes are brought up in a slavish mentality to worship the British Demon against their own countrymen. They fear that their autocracy and misrule will be put an end to, as soon as India is free. These Princes, I guess, will never help the Congress and Indian nationalism ; on the contrary they will oppose it when their selfish and unholy interests are at stake. So the only hope, and a real hope, lies in the people of the States, who do not lag behind their brothers, if only they are politically educated.

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14-2-'29

The Chamber of Princes : At last they have taken the wise step of putting an end to the purdah system. They took such a long time to realise that the proceedings of a political body like theirs must in the nature of things be open and public. At any rate they are to be congratulated on this enlightened and wise, though belated, step.

Loyalty Resolution : They have unanimously passed the loyalty resolution. Those Princes who displayed their manuscript oratory and the Maharaja of Alwar, the only extempore orator in the Chamber, have all deprecated the idea of complete independence for India. Their divine and implicit faith in British overlordship was sung in chorus by all those who took part in the debate—no debate, rather a debate with no opposite side. In their over-enthusiasm for their sacred connection with the British Crown, they said they will not touch with a pair of tongs any scheme or proposal for the future government of India, which does not proceed on the basis of the British connection. Bravo ! boys, you deserve the pattings of your Emperor, and by his own imperial hand, mind you.

But no sane man can blame them for their effeminate faith.

The poor Princes, situated as they are between the devil and the deep sea, between the ever-vigilant Political Department of the Government of India and the awakening people of their States, can take no other course. In fact they have taken a wise course. All of them have very clearly and nobly visualised the laudable idea of a federation of free and autonomous states and provinces. If their wish is genuine, their motive is unimpeachable. Only their activities, their paying such an enormous amount as fees to Sir Leslie Scott, perhaps the largest amount ever paid to a lawyer, out of the hard-earned money of the poverty-stricken people, their autocratic rule and misgovernment, and their absolute land-lordship and unparalleled luxury, make one suspicious of them. However, their speeches in the Chamber indicate that they deserve the congratulations of the sons of India, with all their weaknesses and drawbacks.

Taking the Princes and every other factor in the political field of India into consideration, I feel the best and most practical thing to do is to accept Dominion Status. I firmly believe, at the same time, that India's ultimate goal can be nothing short of complete independence. It is not a question of breaking connection with this country or with that country ; it is the question of a country being dependent or independent. I hold that every country and nation has a right, and an inviolable right, to be independent. Therefore my country, with her culture, civilization and antiquity, shall be independent, if not now, at least in the future. For the present we should accept Dominion Status as a practical step. After the period of convalescence of about a quarter of a century, Mother India, who has been the victim of the terrible disease of slavery for so many centuries, should stand boldly, gracefully, as she once stood to the wonder and admiration of the world, free from any trace of the devitalising and demoralising disease of thralldom.

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12-7-'30

"Keep the Mysore flag flying nobly and bring credit to the State and to the community."

But my ideas are of a broader mental outlook. It is of very little consequence to me whether the flag of Mysore flies or does not fly. My flag is the flag of Mother India. It is the tricoloured national flag that I like to see flying. It will be my proudest privilege if I happen any day to do my bit to keep that great flag flying. But our Mysore reactionaries are taking shelter under

the Mysore flag and they want their young men to follow in their footsteps.

Further, he wants that I should bring credit to the State and the community. In my opinion the one way in which I can bring credit to my community and State is to devote all my energy and thought to the liberation of India, whose welfare and prosperity mean the welfare and prosperity of all the States and provinces, and the communities and castes that are in her. If the whole is taken care of, the part will take care of itself as a matter of course. Some say, "if the parts take care of themselves, the whole will take care of itself in the long run." But this is approaching the question from the wrong end, and such pleas betray a lack of broad vision, foresight, and sincerity of thought.

I am indulging in this tall talk, while doing practically nothing, except wearing khadi, in the way of translating my thoughts into action. Am I to discontinue my studies and join the Civil Disobedience Movement? That I am not able to do in my present state. The plight of my family, the desire to complete my educational career with a law degree, and also the attitude of my friends and benefactors, of whom some are reactionary communalists and others are ignorant people who would very much like to see me as an officer with a decent salary in an office, instead of a prisoner in a jail, and lastly my own unpreparedness to soar to such heights of patriotism—are responsible for what I am now. Perhaps I am like one of those whose number is great nowadays in this unfortunate land, who talk much and do little. I hope God will some day give me the strength to be true to my convictions. But why has He placed me amidst such people, whose views and my views are poles asunder? Why is He helping me so much through these people, who will ultimately think me to be an ungrateful wretch? Then again why is He, day after day, indefinitely multiplying my gratitude to them? I can't really understand. Is it that these people are in the right, and Providence wants that I should follow in their footsteps? Or is it that He wants to put my courage of conviction and sincerity to the test? I really do not know and cannot comprehend. Time only can enable me to find an answer and a solution.

14-11-'30

Lord Irwin's sincerity and sympathetic friendship for India is to be measured by his despatch on constitutional changes. I maintain he is neither sincere nor sympathetic in the true sense

of the terms. A man's sincerity and sympathy are to be tested by his actions and not by mere words, however oratorical, high-sounding and platitudinous they may be. A man who has rained down no less than nine ordinances so far, a man who has set at naught the civil and political liberties of a helpless nation, a man who has inaugurated and is defending the worst oppressive and barbarous regime since the English domination began, a man who is breaking the heads of non-violent satyagrahis, removing the bangles and kumkum of lady patriots and giving barbarous sentences and punishments to the best of men, a man who, while all along showing full Dominion Status as the goal of India, has recommended only a few unwanted reforms, even whose worth has been neutralised by his other recommendations like the G-G's powers, Parliament's control, etc., and a man who has actually deceived India (the Moderate and Liberal section of it) by his pretence of good-will and sincerity, cannot by any stretch of imagination be called a friend of India and a sincere Christian. Are Saprus and Jayakars—who really mean to get real self-government—still victims of the Irwin illusion? I hope the farce of the R.T.C. will prove to be the last trick in the game of magic so successfully played upon our well-meaning, but half-hearted Liberal and Moderate “liberators” of India. The only difference between Congressmen and Moderates is that the former are quick to be disillusioned and are ready to fight like heroes for the cause of the motherland, whereas the latter refuse to be disillusioned or, at any rate, take an unnecessarily long time to be disillusioned, and when, if at all, they realise they had been illusioned so far, they sink into their armchairs in despair instead of marching to the battlefield, with all the righteous indignation that a real man ought to get under such circumstances—like such heroes as Patel, Nehru, and innumerable other brave souls.

Let the future historian take note of the “Irwin illusion”.

FROM SHRI K. HANUMANTHAIYA'S Diary.

Reminiscences of a Woman-Patriot of Karnatak

It was the historic event at the Jallianwalla Bagh of April, 1919, which evoked protests all over the country and led to the Non-Cooperation Movement, that made me join the freedom struggle in 1920. Especially the passing away of Lokamanya Tilak on 1st August, 1920 and the several lakh strong procession of the people in Bombay to which I was an eye-witness, as I was

then living in that metropolis, thrilled me very much. The date of Lokamanya's passing away and the date earlier proposed by Gandhiji for starting the first Non-Cooperation Movement synchronised, and that also had a psychological effect on the minds of many people as it had on mine. This goes back to over four decades from to-day.

I had then, between 1920 and 1923, innumerable opportunities in Bombay to see, meet and hear a large number of leaders from all over the country. Bombay was, as it has always been, the nerve-centre of the Movement for Swaraj. I took to khadi in 1920 and tried to propagate it especially among women in Bombay right from the beginning of 1921. When Bombay was humming with the first N.C.O. Movement in 1921-1922, and when the Khilafat Movement was also tagged on to it, the unity among the Hindus and Muslims was unprecedented. Such unity we never saw before nor thereafter.

When in November, 1921, during the visit of the Prince of Wales (later Edward VIII), there were riots in Bombay in spite of Gandhiji's efforts to make the people adhere to complete non-violence, the Mahatma went on a fast. I could then see with my own eyes the magic effect his fast could have on the public mind. His 3 or 4 days' fast brought about a peaceful atmosphere in Bombay, which saw and experienced violence on a gigantic scale for the first time between the general mass that boycotted the Prince of Wales's visit and protested against it and the handful of loyalists who participated in the celebrations and festivities connected with the Prince of Wales's visit. I have even to-day a vivid picture of those events before my eyes as the scenes were unforgettable.

My first attendance at the Ahmedabad session of the Congress in December, 1921, and the enthusiasm I saw thereat further strengthened my bonds with the National Movement for freedom. Along with some of my women friends in Bombay I arranged to stage a drama entitled *Swadeshi Vrita*, written by myself. The drama was written and enacted entirely by women, with a view to propagating swadeshi, which played a great role in the movement, especially in the first N.C.O. phase. Participation by women in dramas and their coming on the stage was history in itself over 40 years ago. This event brought many men and women into the field of khadi and swadeshi, and several of them took swadeshi-vows, though a large number of them did not adhere to the vows subsequently.

My active participation in the movement in a place like

Bombay brought me self-confidence, which stood me in good stead when on my coming to Hubli in 1923 to reside in Karnatak permanently, I was entrusted by Dr. N. S. Hardikar with the work of trying to awaken my Karnatak sisters.

The Hubli Bhagini Mandal, started by Dr. Hardikar in 1922 soon after his return from the U.S.A., when the N.C.O. movement was at its height, had drawn into its fold many women in Hubli. The Mandal had as its aims and objects all aspects of the freedom movement, including girls' education on national lines. A school named "Tilak Kanya Shala" was started by the Mandal in 1922, and on my coming to Hubli from Bombay it was entrusted to my care. This school was shifted from a small rented building in the town to the Karnatak Press (where the *Samyukta Karnataka*, the leading daily, is now being printed), started and owned by my late revered father-in-law, K. Ananda Rao, who, though a Government pensioner, was himself drawn towards the National Movement from the very beginning. The Karnatak Press was the nerve-centre of all the activities connected with the Congress and the freedom fight right from 1920 to 1947. As I was living in the press premises, I could conveniently and all the time take care of the Tilak Kanya Shala, the girls whereof were naturally inspired by patriotic feelings.

To create a national awakening among the women of Karnatak, Kanya Melas were being taken to different parts of the Province, and through their public performances by way of dialogues, etc., a general awakening was created and strengthened. This gave a fillip to swadeshi, khadi, national education, etc., among women in particular. The Belgaum session of the Congress in December, 1924, presided over by Gandhiji, gave Karnatak's women opportunities to further resolve to come into the fold in large numbers. I had the privilege of captaining them under the banner of the Hindustani Seva Dal, just then started by Dr. Hardikar.

As a member of the A.I.C.C., I attended most of the Congress sessions between 1924 and 1939, including the A.I.C.C.'s important meeting of March, 1930 held at Ahmedabad soon after Gandhiji started on the epic Dandi march. Those of us who went there from Karnatak met Gandhiji at Jambusar, a village on his way to Dandi for starting Salt Satyagraha. Karnatak's representatives assured Gandhiji of their full support, and on their return to Karnatak, Ankola in North Kanara was fixed as the venue for starting that phase of the movement in Karnatak. The North Kanara district came into prominence from then on.

I was one of those who camped in Ankola for several weeks in April–May, 1930, when the Salt Satyagraha was being conducted in a planned manner under the guidance of leaders like Dr. N. S. Hardikar and the late Shri Hanumanth Rao Koujalgi and others.

In 1932, after the breach of the Gandhi–Irwin Pact, Civil Disobedience restarted. I was arrested in Hubli as the Provincial Congress Dictator and sentenced to four months' imprisonment. On my release I was for more than two years watched by the police, who actually sat day and night at the gate of the Karnatak Press. Despite their vigil, women from North Kanara released on the expiry of their sentences and returning from different prisons used to come to me either for future guidance or help of some kind. The Tilak Kanya Shala entrusted to my care and located in the Karnatak Press, as also the Hubli Bhagini Mandal referred to earlier, were declared illegal and their property confiscated by the Government. Such declaring of women's institutions as illegal had very few parallels in the country.

In 1934 I went to Bihar to serve the unfortunate sisters there stricken by the earthquake havoc. I had then the unique opportunity of serving under and coming in contact with Dr. Rajendra Prasadji. I worked under the Bihar Earthquake Relief Committee of which he was the head, and my participation in rendering help to the suffering womenfolk brought me great experiences.

With the advent of Congress ministries for the first time in the provinces in 1937, the movements of Hindi, khadi, adult education and so on got a fillip, and especially as a member of the Bombay Provincial Adult Education Board I could tour all the three divisions, Gujerat, Maharashtra and Karnatak, for a number of years, which I utilised not only for adult education but also for the propagation and promotion of all the other aspects of constructive work such as Hindi, khadi, swadeshi, and so on.

The constructive work for the uplift of rural women started by the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, which entrusted the Karnatak area to me early in 1946 prior to independence, was carried on in different districts of this part of the country. The work is still going on. Such work was and is of immense importance both for the achievement and sustenance of the country's independence.

MRS. UMABAI KUNDAPUR, Hubli.

The Land of Sacrifice I Saw

I visited Ankola in the beginning of 1932. All the people were excited, and enthusiastic about satyagraha. The whole taluk of Ankola was then a perfectly integrated unit—like the human body. Men, women and children, all were inspired with a single purpose. It was the common talk of people everywhere. Sport, pleasure, recreation, were all absent. Houses were empty. Those who withheld payment of taxes were the rural folk. But the people of the towns also heartily co-operated with them and rendered all possible help.

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The early days of March. Shanbhogues and Government officials arrived at Uluware to confiscate the movable property of those who had refused to pay revenue. Most of the inhabitants of the village are farmers. The search and attachment went on for four or five days. The process was repeated again. Ramdas, the leader of the village, went to prison with all his associates.

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I saw Ramdas's house for the first time in 1930. His father, Huliadas, was an old man of seventy-five. He was suffering from rheumatism and could not move about. It would gladden his heart to see people wearing the Gandhi cap. He would offer some jaggery or seeyala (water of the tender coconut) to every Congressman who went to him. Mahatmaji was a god to him. He yearned to see Gandhiji. He would ask everyone: "Can you make Mahatmaji come to these parts? I long to have a darsan of him." This old man passed away in 1931. He was the proud owner of twenty acres of wet land—all pure gold. The fields of Uluware were the richest in the whole taluk of Ankola.

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My visit to Uluware two years later, in 1932. The house of Ramdas is in ruins. So are eight or nine houses on both sides of it. Government have confiscated all these houses. Near by there are a few small huts made of leaves of the coconut palm. The former owners of the now dilapidated houses live here. The cultivated fields around also belonged to these people. But now they belong to Bahadur Khan and a few others who bought them. The dispossessed people have not taken even a single bamboo from their former houses. Their lands have been taken over by others; half of them are left fallow. But not a word of

bitterness comes from those who have lost their property. Their only regret is : “ We cannot offer seeyala to those who come to us, not even jaggery !”

I met some of these dispossessed people at Visapur. They too lived without regrets. Doing the work that came to them, eating the food that they could get, sleeping on whatever they had for bedding, but wearing a smile on their face under all conditions, they “ kept the noiseless tenor of their way ”. “ You lost your lands, you lost your houses ; what about the future ?” I would ask them. “ As for that, God alone knows,” was their reply. With remarkable stoic equanimity they would describe to me all their experiences, and tell how they never lost their serenity even in the midst of all their trials and tribulations.

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Our ryots are like children ; there is no craft or subterfuge in their talk. Never are they haughty or arrogant. They are always gentle and composed. The ryots of Uluvare brought their land into the limelight. By their sacrifice they brought eminence and glory to their people. If you want to see the ideal of satyagraha realised, you must go to the ryots of Uluvare, who having lost everything they had, not only bore their calamity with magnificent fortitude but also kept smiling all through. To see them and to understand them is to be blessed.

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Even a simpleton will be stirred by new ideas and feelings if he pays a visit to the villages of Ankola taluk. He feels as if he has come to a strange land. Most of the people there belong to the Nadavaru tribe. I am not acquainted with their early history. It is said that their ancestors served in the army of Vijayanagar. Even to-day their young men’s names bear the suffix “ Raya ” or “ Nayaka ”. “ Beera ” is one of the Gods in their pantheon. This God carries a sword in his hand and has a bow and arrows by his side. No other tribe in India has the sense of unity of the Nadavars. Of course there are rifts and quarrels among them ; but these are exceptions, not the rule.

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Soorve is a village in which close unity exists among the people such as is found nowhere else. All the Nadavars of that village, except the Patel and his family, lost their lands and houses by refusing to pay taxes. Similarly, most of the people of Kana-

gila, Hichakada, Vasarekudri lost all their property during the No-tax Campaign. Many had to leave their houses and spend the rainy season in hastily built huts. They have borne all this calamity with astonishing fortitude and are now earning their living in some profession or other.

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Devanna Krishna Naik belonged to Bole. He had fifty acres of fertile wet land. He was considered the most substantial land-owner among the people of the villages round about. We must meet him and talk to him when we are depressed by loss and frustration—to learn courage and endurance. He lost every bit of property he had ; one who had never worked in the fields, he is now a labourer in a few fields which he has taken for rent. One who never knew the pangs of hunger, now he cannot have two meals a day. He was capable of feeding a hundred guests formerly ; now he has to fast along with the guest who goes to him. He lost everything, but he has not lost his tranquility of mind. His courage and fortitude have not been shaken. He has never approached anyone for favour or charity. When the vicissitudes of this life hang heavily on you and you are despondent, meet Devanna Naik ; at least for a while you will forget your wretchedness and desolation. If I go on narrating every incident or event of Ankola, this writing will not come to an end. Our brethren of North Kanara have lost their possessions, but not their dignity and self-respect. They are destitute, but not abased. Adversity has not unnerved them. So much about them is enough.

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I had not seen the villages of Siddapur taluk. I had an opportunity of visiting them recently. I did not have much acquaintance with the heroes of these places. I had the good fortune of meeting them at Visapur. Forest everywhere ; a house or two in the midst, at a distance of at least half a mile from similar habitations. Betel-nut garden in front of the house, and cultivated fields near by. No other houses or people in the neighbourhood. Living in the midst of such surroundings, they showed amazing heroism in fighting the battle for freedom and sacrificing their all on the altar of liberty. How they managed to walk thirty or forty miles a day to and from these remote jungles is known only to them—and to the mountain paths that they trod.

Many details about the No-tax Campaign in Siddapur have not yet come to light. Those who took part in the satyagraha there were ruined in many ways. Wherever you go, you come across neglected plantations and dilapidated houses in which the owners lived. You hear also from the people now living there, thrilling accounts of women fasting in front of the houses of those who bought their property at auction. You listen to harrowing tales of suffering borne by those whose breadwinners had been carried off to gaol. In some families several people were sent to prison. Let me give an example. Kelaginmane Nagesh Hegde is now living in Visapur. He was in prison for two years. His brother Ramakrishna Hegde was given $7\frac{1}{2}$ months and again 18 months; two other brothers were in prison each for six months. The wives of these brothers, Ganapi, Thimmi and Mahadevi, were given one year's imprisonment. When almost all in the house were gaoled in this way, what must have been the woes of the family? Nagesh Hegde was a Patel, and he resigned the post in 1921. His was a family of repute and he was held in high esteem by all the people around. Now, with nothing to call their own, they are living as ryots in Mysore. Even though they are in this deplorable condition, peace and good cheer reign undisturbed in their family.

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The agriculturists' condition in Siddapur taluk is everywhere similar. If the farm near the house is gone from his hands, the landlord finds no use in that house. Many such houses too have been forfeited. Ganapathi Venkannabhatta of Benehalli lost his house, and his movable property also was seized. His family is now living in the house of a neighbour. Venkannabhatta's house was a large one costing three to four thousand rupees. The fields surrounding his house are lying fallow. Thimmanna Subbabbhatta of Kavkatti lost his house and all other property. He has sent his wife and children to his father-in-law's house and lives in another village earning his living as a coolie. Thimmiah Mahabale of Mungani lost his all and ran away to a distant country. Like this, there are not one or two, but hundreds of instances of people rendered utterly destitute in the No-tax agitation. Many of them owned rich farms and were good agriculturists. They lived in comfort in large houses.

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The Balikasramas of Karwar and Shimoga graphically illus-

trate all this. The children were not orphans, poor or destitute. It is not difficult to imagine what must have been the plight of the parents who had to send their children of three or four years to distant asramas in this manner.

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Siddapur formed an important part of the Banavasi country, made famous in history and by the poet Pampa in his famous lines. Everyone who visits Banavasi has the same feeling even now. But in his imaginative recapture, there is not the former flush of admiration, the note of ecstasy is missing. There are the placid beauty and charm of nature as before ; but in the song of the admiring visitor there is now a note of anguish and despondency, though a sense of exultation and pride in the sacrifices of its heroes is not absent.

Translation of *Nanu Kanda Thyagabhoomi* ('The land of sacrifice I saw) by " Parichita " in *Jaya Karnatak*, September, 1934.

A Patriot C.I.D. Officer

Shri B. M. Kankanwadi originally came from a very rich merchant family of Yamakanamaradi in the district of Belgaum. It was really an irony of fate that Kankanwadi's father, a rich man, was confronted with a financial crisis when the boy was only 11 years old. After his father's death he came under the care of his mother, and with great difficulty he was able to complete the course for matriculation. He had a great desire to become a pleader, but owing to poverty he could not continue to study and was forced to take up the job of a menial, *i.e.* caretaker, at a Traveller's Bungalow, on a meagre salary of Rs. 4 per month. As luck would have it, one day the Superintendent of Police of Belgaum district, an Englishman, halted at the Traveller's Bungalow. Pleased with Kankanwadi's satisfactory work, the Superintendent of Police offered a tip, but the caretaker declined it. The Superintendent was surprised that the caretaker declined the tip, and also that he spoke good English. On further enquiry he learnt that though Kankanwadi was a matriculate he was working there on account of his financial circumstances. The Superintendent was impressed by his good qualities, and helped Kankanwadi to get the post of a constable in the Police Department. Kankanwadi, who had experienced poverty, determined right from the date he drew his first month's salary as a constable, to set aside a

part of it to help poor students. Gradually by dint of hard work and merit he rose to the position of Inspector of Police, and came to be known as an officer of integrity and efficiency. He was specially selected for the Political Branch and he served continuously and successfully for over a period of 17 years, with Poona as his headquarters.

This brought him into contact with the activities of the national leaders who led by Lokamanya Tilak were engaged in the freedom movement. Kankanwadi's task was a difficult one, since he had to be loyal to the Government and discharge his duties as C.I.D. Inspector, a job which often conflicted with his patriotism.

A fact seldom recognised by historians of the freedom movement in India, is that even some officers were not really opposed to Indian independence. They were not only not opposed but also were positively helpful in furthering the cause of freedom. Kankanwadi belongs to this distinguished minority. Since he was associated with top-ranking leaders such as Tilak, Agarkar, Gokhale and others, his role as a C.I.D. man was important. His was a delicate task as he was asked by the Government not only to report about the national movement, but also to suggest ways and means of curbing it. But he discharged this delicate task with great tact and ability. Kankanwadi did not hesitate to disclose his identity to Tilak in the following words :

“I am commissioned to watch your activities and report about the national movement. I must be faithful to my master. But at the same time I tell you that I am your man, interested in the liberation of my country. My request to you is that you can make use of my humble services to the extent possible, and at the same time be good enough to give me advance information about your organisation and programme so that I may communicate the same to the authorities.”

Tilak was much impressed by this appeal. As events proved, he could safely trust this man, and he did not, therefore, hesitate to disclose important information. But this was not to be a one-way traffic. Kankanwadi was obliged to convey to Tilak, at least a week in advance, the steps contemplated by the Government to arrest him or his followers and suppress the national movement. It happened on many occasions that Kankanwadi brought advance information as to when and where Tilak would be arrested or how Government had planned to put down the freedom fight. This enabled Tilak to make necessary arrangements in advance. The understanding between the captain of

India's freedom movement and the representative of the Government was thus helpful for the advancement of the national cause. Thus Kankanwadi was trusted both by the leader of the freedom struggle and by the British authorities. The Government relied on Kankanwadi, since the information he brought in advance always proved to be correct.

Kankanwadi's sincerity, integrity and efficiency were well known in Government service. But the Government did not know how staunch a patriot he was in his heart of hearts. Later, when he was entrusted for a brief period with executive duties far away from Poona, he was called upon to employ force to put down a violent national upsurge. He was ordered by his superior to resort to a lathi charge and firing to bring the situation under control. Kankanwadi's plea not to resort to repressive measures was not acceptable to his superior officer. But Kankanwadi had properly assessed the psychology of the mob and foresaw the disastrous effects of such a hasty and high-handed action. Instead of suppressing the movement, such a course of action would provoke the people to resort to violence. Thus when he was ordered to obey the command of his superior, he faced a dilemma. Not prepared to go against his conscience, Kankanwadi did not hesitate to submit his resignation. Thus ended the career of one of the most efficient Indian officers under the British rule.

The transparent sincerity of Shri Kankanwadi, his unimpeachable character and integrity, are remembered even today. The fact that he donated the savings of his life for the noble cause of founding an Ayurvedic Hospital at Belgaum, is a proof of the sincerity and nobility of this officer. In the history of the freedom movement, one comes across instances of brilliant and honest people resigning from Government service and joining the national movement. There are also instances of people in Government service serving the cause of the motherland in other ways. Kankanwadi occupies a foremost position among the people in the latter category.

(Gathered from the late B. M. Kankanwadi's diary and during an interview with V. S. Basavanal on 28-2-1964.)

A Poet Reacts to the Struggle for Freedom

Born and brought up in the Malnad region of Shimoga district in the midst of natural surroundings of incomparable beauty and grandeur, nourished by people to whom the sophistry

of modern civilized life was unknown, K. V. Puttappa learnt early in life to admire the simple, the graceful and the imposing things around him. As to all great poets, a thing of beauty, whether in nature around him or in the spirit and deeds of man, was a joy for ever. The lives of great Indian spiritual leaders of the 19th century stirred his responsive heart even while he was a student in the middle school. There had grown up in him a deep-seated dislike of foreign rule even when he was an adolescent. To his sympathetic and imaginative mind, the activities of the revolutionaries and terrorists, of which he often heard, seemed almost natural and justifiable expressions of the patriotic spirit. This attitude, however, changed under the influence of Gandhiji's ideas.

To the inspiring call of Swami Vivekananda to every Indian to cast away fear and despondency and to build up a future worthy of the noble traditions of the past, there was a ready response in the heart of the young poet ; and later, when Tilak called upon every Indian to place the Motherland above all other objects of worship and be ready to offer the utmost sacrifice at her altar, he was thrilled to the core of his being. When he came to Mysore for his further education, his eager receptive mind had absorbed all the influences of the great national leaders and was fully awake to the new national forces that were stirring the depths of Indian life.

Poetry came to him easily, like song to the nightingale. The second half of the second decade of this century, with the First World War and the aftermath of disappointment to Indian political aspiration, together with the inhuman massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, roused the country to fury. The youth of Karnataka were fully awake and were seething with nationalist unrest. The lectures in Mysore of Gowri Shankar Misra of Varanasi, with their impassioned appeal for sacrifice in the cause of freedom, had a profound effect on the youth. When the second lecture was over, a bonfire of foreign cloth was made. A neighbour snatched Puttappa's cap and threw it into the fire ; and Puttappa took off his coat and threw it in, too. The feelings of the people had been roused to such an extent that a student threw into the fire all the clothes he had on, to find to his dismay that he was standing there totally undraped. The nation was moving fast, unmindful of the troubles and sufferings on the way, and prepared for any sacrifice. The poetic Muse in Puttappa was aroused.

Strange to say, Puttappa first gave expression to his thoughts and feelings in English. He showed a few of his poems to James

Cousins, who, after reading them, asked him : “ Have you written anything in your own language ? ” The young poet replied that it was difficult to express his thoughts and feelings in Kannada. Cousins told him : “ You wear khaddar, a symbol of your love for your motherland. You must love your mother-tongue also in the same way. Try to write in Kannada ; you will find that your fears are baseless.”

During the First World War, Puttappa, like all young men of his day, wished for the victory of Germany, since it would cripple the might of England which had enslaved India. Youthful excitement and vehemence outran discretion and sober thought, and they could not think of the fate of India under German rule, more imperialist and ruthless than the British. They hailed the arrival of the German cruiser Emden as an occasion for rejoicing.

The death of Tilak and the rise of Gandhiji into prominence, however, helped to wean him away from such intemperate thoughts and feelings. He had heard of Gandhiji's work in South Africa even when he was a student at Thirthahalli. After Gandhiji assumed the leadership, the young poet understood and admired his practical, clear-cut approach to political problems, his idealism, his non-violence and his insistence on hating the evil and not the evil-doer. This effected a profound change in the youth's ideas and outlook, and gave clarity and precision to his thoughts and refinement to his feelings. The epic of suffering and sacrifice for freedom in the third decade of this century roused the poet in him. He followed Cousins's suggestion.

His intellectual and emotional reactions to the events that followed in quick succession, especially between 1929 and 1932, were expressed in poems of unsurpassable beauty and sincerity of feeling. One of the earliest of his patriotic poems was “ Panchajanya ” (Krishna's conch which was sounded on the battlefield of Kurukshetra), which is an impassioned call to all patriots to march onward in the fight for freedom, never looking back and heedless of the terrors that might lie in wait. When he read the poem in the University Union Hall in Mysore, it thrilled the hearts of the hearers. (See Appendix for an English translation of the poem). Poems came from his pen in quick succession dealing with various aspects of the struggle for freedom and infusing courage and strength and hope into the hearts of the people of Karnataka. The Government let loose all its fury on non-violent satyagrahis during 1930 and 1931 and it was during these years of apprehension, trouble and tribulation that he wrote the largest number of patriotic poems. While in “ Desa-

bhaktana Bayake ” he makes a patriot, who is ready to sacrifice himself for freedom, beseech Bharata Mata to give him another life to see the day of her deliverance, in “ Kalaratri ” he infuses courage and hope into the hearts of the satyagrahis of 1930–31, some of whom had begun to doubt the success of their sufferings and sacrifice. “ Mind ! do not despond. The ocean is being churned and the poison Halahala has now come forth. Surely Amrita will come forth in a short while. The blackest of nights must give place to the Day ! ” A book which made an indelible impression on Puttappa’s mind was Will Durant’s *The Case for India*, in which the author exposed the extortion, loot and exploitation associated with British rule ; and the poet poured out his ire and resentment in the sonnet “ Bharathamathege ”.

The death of Motilal Nehru was almost a personal loss to Puttappa, to whom the great lawyer was an embodiment of sacrifice, and the sonnet he wrote in March, 1931, describes his feelings. Another great sonnet which moved the hearts of Kannadigas profoundly was the one on the death of Sen Gupta written, in July, 1933.

The role of literary figures in the fight for freedom cannot be ignored in any history of national liberation. The national urge for freedom found expression in poems of patriotic intensity in every province in India, and Karnataka was no exception. Puttappa takes rank as one of the foremost patriotic poets of India. Every event of national importance found its echo in his heart flowing out in the form of poems. The poet’s response to the national struggle continued throughout the period of the struggle. His reactions to subsequent events may best be expressed in his own words, gathered in an interview : “ The heroic sacrifices made for freedom and the sufferings undergone by countless patriots occupied my attention and I wrote a number of poems in which I called upon the people to go forward never stopping till the goal was reached.” Recalling the historic event of 1947, he said, “ It was the proudest moment of my life to listen to the radio programmes from Delhi announcing the birth of independent India. The speeches of Nehru and Radhakrishnan on that occasion made a profound impression on me. After hearing about the proceedings of the ceremony of the memorable transfer of power to India a multitude of thoughts came to my mind and expressed them in my poem, ‘The Epic Song of Freedom’.

“ Another phase of my nationalist writing concerns my longing for United Karnataka and the revival of the Kannada language and literature. I gave expression to this dream of the

Kannadigas in many a poem, such as 'The land you tread upon is Karnataka', and 'Victory to Karnataka'. Even these ideas of cultural revival were not looked upon with favour by Government, which issued an order prohibiting me from giving expression to my feelings in favour of a United Karnataka. But I reacted to this in my poem entitled 'Akhandha Karnataka' in which I said that Karnataka is eternal, imperishable, and far above Governments, which come and go. Fortunately my dream of United Karnataka has also been realised.

"Before I close my recollections of some of these events that affected my mind and writing, I must refer to the Father of the nation, Bapuji. He won freedom for us. He showed us the way in which we should proceed. But the architect of Freedom had to be far away from the scene of national rejoicings, engaged at Noakhali in the great mission of bringing about unity of hearts among the people. When this light of Indian freedom was suddenly extinguished by a madman it was perhaps the greatest blow to my heart, and I poured out my agony in my poem, 'The father of the nation'."

Gathered from the writings of K. V. Puttappa and an interview on 16-2-1964.

Political Exiles in Portugal

Portugal being a country very little known to outsiders, our people can hardly have an idea of the sort of life that is led by our Goan political exiles who have now been in that country for more than nine years, isolated and helpless. Having myself experienced that desperate situation for seven years, I am able to give here a glimpse of the conditions under which we had to live in that far-off land.

The seven years of my life in Portugal as a political deportee were divided into two distinct periods; the first I passed in Portuguese prisons, mostly in the Jail of the Fortress of Peniche, a period that lasted four and a half years; and the second in Lisbon, where I was free for two and a half years. In this second period, although released from prison after being granted amnesty, I was not allowed to leave Portugal and return to India, which is contrary to all the dictates of law. However, in 1953, I succeeded in leaving Portugal of my own will and coming back to India.

When I think of my sojourn in Portugal, I am unable to say which of the two periods of exile was the worse, the one I

passed in jail or the other when I was in relative freedom. In fact, the whole of Portugal is at present a vast prison, where people live under the terror of the political police. The entire mental and social atmosphere is unbearable for anyone having a sense of human and cultural progress. The most elementary rights are denied to the people outside prison as they are denied to those inside.

I have bitter memories of these seven years which I consider as lost in my life, having been unable during this time to pursue my normal activities according to the moods and ways proper to my personal aspirations and character. However, there were, during this long time, some aspects and moments of my existence which have enriched my experience of people and things and made me forget the unpleasant incidents which are the usual lot of prisoners and exiles. I shall omit here the disagreeable incidents and relate only good impressions and some important aspects.

My best and most interesting memories are of my prison companions of the Fortress of Peniche. The jail was exclusively political, having no common criminals. That gave a peculiar character to our companionship, in which prevailed the greatest solidarity, cemented by our common detestation of the dictatorial and reactionary system existing in Portugal.

When I reached Peniche in 1946, I was the only Indian there, all my companions being Portuguese. In 1947, more Goan political deportees joined and formed the first group of our exiles in Portugal. They were Purshottam Kakodkar, Rama Hegde, Jose Ignatius Loyola and Lakshmikant Bembre, who are still in Portugal even after having served their full term of sentence and been granted amnesty. Later, more were sent to the unhealthy jungles of Portuguese West Africa or kept in Lisbon, and are still there.

Our Portuguese companions belonged to different classes and professions, and followed different political ideologies, but were united by their strong feeling against the fascist ruling system. This I learnt from hundreds of such men during the four and a half years of my stay in the Fortress of Peniche. They represented the political elite of Portugal.

There were among them old republicans and democrats who had offered resistance to the dictatorship, some of them being in prison for twenty years, having gone through many jails and concentration camps in Portugal and the colonies. There were also those professing the anarchist doctrine. Not a few were

socialists of different shades. There were some officers of the army who had led military revolts and tried to overthrow the fascist Government. Among the newcomers, the greater number were communists or sympathisers, who belonged to the new generation brought up under the dictatorship.

The Jail of Peniche was a real political university composed of people who had exceptional experience in action allied to a remarkable theoretical preparation, partly acquired in jail, where they found leisure to learn. It would be difficult to meet anywhere outside a selection of political fighters with such experience and such diversity of ideologies, all united in a common aim.

These political prisoners were men of strong personality, remarkable for character and intelligence, such as are rarely to be found anywhere outside the prison. This became clear to me when I was released and lived for two and a half years in freedom in Lisbon, where I came to know more people of all classes and parties. The best among these had also been in prison.

For, as I have already said, Portugal is a vast concentration camp, where the fascist dictatorship has suppressed all freedom of action as well as of thought. It is a pity to see the low cultural level to which the Portuguese people have been reduced. The reactionary doctrine of the dictatorial rulers, with its permanent press censorship and suppression of all freedom of expression and democratic liberties, has reduced the best thinkers, writers and artists to silence or has forced them to follow the mediocre thought of the ruling class. One of the great Portuguese writers once stated in public that to write in Portugal had become a mental torture, since one has to put a brake on one's best feelings and thoughts in order to avoid suppression by the censors.

Every progressive idea is banned under the dictatorship. Books and authors, present as well as past, national as also foreign, bringing a contribution to human progress or fighting conservatism and reaction, are forbidden by frank or hypocritical ways of suppression. Not a single book or paper criticising the present system can be published in Portugal.

To fill the cultural vacuum thus created the dictatorship has given a tremendous impetus to other sorts of activity and intensified public interest in such odd recreations as football games, lotteries and processions of Our Lady of Fatima. Football and Fatima are the main diversions that replace real culture.

Under Salazar the direction of public affairs has been handed over to people of ordinary intellect who are foreign to the modern thought and retain power by mere accident of historical circum-

tances. Not a single Portuguese of genuine intellectual standing supports the dictatorship. Salazar himself is a man of mediocre intellect and reactionary culture; and hence the dull social, political and intellectual atmosphere now prevailing in Portugal, with all its depressing effects. I felt this strongly by contrast when after leaving Lisbon I landed in France on my way back to India.

Such are the characteristics of the system and the state of affairs of the country which according to its Colonial Act arrogates to itself the right to "possess colonies and civilize their population". Our prisoners and exiles in Portugal and Portuguese West Africa have to endure all the rigours of this inhuman system without any hope that there will be an end to their ordeal, now lasting for nearly ten years. Even when free, they are harassed and bullied under any pretext as they are without protection against fascist arbitrariness and contempt for law.

How long will they have to endure their wretchedness?

From Shri T. B. Cunha's Memorial Volume, 1961.

From a Spectator's Angle

The national movement led by Mahatma Gandhi developed in three great waves, at intervals of about ten years. I was privileged to witness the second and third of these, and to participate in a peripheral way in the second.

When I came to India at the end of 1926, the trough between two waves was at its lowest. However, what I later realised to have been the first stirrings of the next wave were soon to be felt. In the early months of 1927 the Bombay Youth League was formed. The cleavage in feeling and opinion between the young and the old was very pronounced at that time in Europe, where it was usually explained as caused by the war. Why it should have appeared in India is not so obvious, but there is no doubt that it did. Youth leagues spread and multiplied rapidly in the next three years, and became a political factor of great weight, influencing the Congress to pitch its demands high and eventually to launch Civil Disobedience. Of the Bombay Youth Leaguers who later became well known I remember Yusuf Meherally, V. K. R. V. Rao, and H. D. Rajah. Meherally was the most active leader; I got to know him well and spoke to Youth League meetings several times. The most celebrated youth league, however, was the Naujawan Bharat Sabha, which had branches in many places in the U.P. and Punjab, and was generally supposed to

foster the underground revolutionary party. On a visit to Lahore in 1927 I was able to meet Bhagat Singh, the most famous of the revolutionaries of that era. A year or so later he was involved in the affray which led to his execution in 1930.

About the middle of 1927 the appointment of the Simon Commission was announced, and that gave the next big impetus to the second wave of the national movement. Shortly after that I was put on trial under Section 124A, I.P.C., on account of a pamphlet entitled *India and China*, and I spent three months while under trial in the Arthur Road Jail, Bombay; I was acquitted and released just in time to see the "Go Back Simon" demonstration when the members of the Commission first arrived in India.

Despite these intimations of renewed life, the Congress of December, 1927, at Madras, at which I was present, was a routine session, which I remember most clearly for the only sight I ever had of Mrs. Besant. She spoke briefly, without any display of her celebrated eloquence. However, the Independence League was launched here, and I met two of its leaders, Jawaharlal Nehru and Bulusu Sambamurti. It had not many members, but everybody realised that it represented a big section of the younger people. The next Congress session, in December, 1928, at Calcutta, was very different. The atmosphere was growing tense; the conflict between the older and younger leaders was acute; and they were able to continue together only by compromising on an ultimatum. The Congress agreed to accept Dominion status if it was granted within a year; if not, it would declare unitedly for independence.

The All-India Trade Union Congress grew in a similar way in the same period. I attended a session at Delhi in March, 1927, where there were fewer than 50 delegates, and nothing very important happened. In December of the same year, at Cawnpore, there was a bigger attendance and a good deal of heated argument. At the Jharia session, in December, 1928, the attendance was bigger still and the atmosphere still more heated. This session elected Nehru as President. The Executive of the A.I.T.U.C. had appointed me to draw up a memorandum to be addressed to the Nehru Committee. The principal problem was the communal question. Like most other people at that time I assumed that it could be dealt with by exhortations to national unity and a policy of religious neutrality or secularism. I drew up a document of several typed pages incorporating these ideas, together with the more specifically labour demands for universal suffrage

and a commitment to a social security policy. I read it out to the session, amid a deafening noise, and was formally thanked for my trouble, but other subjects intervened and neither my draft nor any other was adopted.

1928 had been a hectic year for labour. There had been a complete strike of the Bombay textile industry lasting for nearly six months, and shorter strikes on the G.I.P. and E.I. Railways, in the Jamshedpur steel works and in several of the jute and cotton mills near Calcutta. I was concerned in some degree with the strikes on the E.I. Railway and in some of the jute mills, and I visited Jamshedpur. There I met Subhas Chandra Bose, who was also interested in the strike. He was eager to make contact with any people who showed revolutionary potentialities, and he may have been attracted by the Communist theory that the industrial working class is the revolutionary class *par excellence*. Probably his experience at this time helped to convince him that the theory is unsound.

In March, 1929, 31 Communist and labour men, including myself, and some Congressmen, were arrested on a charge under Section 121A, I.P.C., and I spent the next five years or more in various jails in the U.P. Thus I saw the two Civil Disobedience movements from that angle. The enclosure in the jail in which we were confined was theoretically isolated from the rest of the jail, but through sympathetic warders we heard something of what went on in the others. Moreover, sometimes we heard the Civil Disobedience prisoners shouting. Some of those in our case were allowed bail and so lived in the town and saw what was going on; and of course our defence lawyers knew what was happening. Indeed one of them joined Civil Disobedience and came into the jail too, though he was placed in another enclosure. Thus we were able to experience the Civil Disobedience movement at a fairly close second hand.

After serving my sentence I was released in September, 1934, and I was present at a Congress session in Bombay a month or two later. But in December I was again arrested under the emergency powers. After a few weeks in Yerravda Jail, Poona, and a few days in the Central Jail at Belgaum, I was confined in a bungalow in the Belgaum Fort. The man in charge of the bungalow was a gardener, an illiterate Kannadiga who knew very little Hindi, the only Indian language I knew at all, so conversation was difficult. I had a Hindi translation of Tilak's *Gita Rahasya*, with a coloured picture of the author as frontispiece, and one day the gardener saw it. He stared at it with an expression

of fear, and cautioned me not to let the police see it. There was a police post at one of the gates of the Fort, and when no officers were present I sometimes got into conversation, in Hindi, with the constables. They maintained that India was unfit for Swaraj, because the upper castes would be unjust to the lower. While interned in the Fort I wrote a book on Mahatma Gandhi, which I published in Madras some three years later. I was finally released in July, 1936.

When I wrote this book I was still under the influence of the Marxian doctrine, according to which a possessing class, or a colonial power, will yield its privileges only to force. The provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 were therefore difficult to account for, and had to be distorted. I thought that Civil Disobedience explained something, but by 1935 the movement had been thoroughly crushed. Yet, as Churchill very cogently argued, the Act conceded nine-tenths of power, and it was absurd to suppose that constitutional safeguards, even together with the Muslims and the Princes, would long prevent insurgent India from seizing the remaining one-tenth, or that an army of occupation could be an effective instrument in such a struggle. The psychology of the British Conservative Party needs more attention than it has received, and it is to be hoped that R. A. Butler will take time off and write some frank memoirs. He was deputy to Sir Samuel Hoare at the India Office throughout the discussion of the 1935 Act, and he has been one of the principal leaders of the post-war decolonisation.

The key-figure among the Conservatives at this period, however, was Baldwin. He sensed the needs of the post-war world better than anybody else, and reminded his party of the traditional wisdom of the British ruling class, the wisdom expressed in the compromises of 1688 and 1832, the knowledge when to yield. He brought about a permanent rapprochement with Labour at home, and took a big step, in the form of the 1935 Act, towards a similar compromise with India. He is the real author of decolonisation.

The Government of India Act of 1935 has been much criticised, no doubt with justice. But it had merits which the ultimate solution worked out between 1947 and 1950 was to lack. It maintained the unity of India, and it tried to avoid the risks of premature democracy. After what has happened in many of the newly emancipated countries it is more generally realised now than it was in the 1930s that democracy has its dangers and that there is some sense in the Conservative position. It is part

of the wisdom of Conservatism that it tries to prevent people from participating in government until they have the weight in the community which will enable them to do so effectively. New claimants to a share of power are required to show that they have this weight—admittedly it is a very rough test—by making an organised and prolonged nuisance of themselves. The British middle class in the Reform movement, the British working class in the Chartist movement, the women in the Suffragist movement, and the Indian educated class in the Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience movements, all had to make an organised and prolonged nuisance of themselves before they obtained a share of power. It might have been healthier for India if the same test had been applied here, and the relatively narrow franchise of 1935 had been retained in the Constitution of 1950, and enlarged step by step over the years only in response to effective demands, instead of being given as a gift to vast numbers of people who do not value it and are incapable of making use of it.

After Willingdon, Baldwin's choice as Viceroy was Linlithgow, a liberal-minded man who came to India with the ambition to establish Dominion self-government. Unfortunately Baldwin soon retired to be replaced by the far inferior Chamberlain. There was now no pressure from London, and Linlithgow found himself baulked by the Political Department, which he could not control. The Residents, acting behind his back, probably in concert with important people in London, influenced the Princes—who were mostly quite willing—to withdraw from the commitment to the Federation with they had made at the First Round Table Conference.

Linlithgow was frustrated in his efforts to bring the new constitution into force by a second factor, the war. His or Chamberlain's unimaginative policy, combined (as I have always thought) with the Congress leaders' excessive concern for prestige and neglect of political realities, led to the great tactical error of the resignation of the Congress Ministries in the eight Provinces, followed by the symbolic resistance to the war effort and the Quit India campaign. To modify the celebrated dictum, it was magnificent, but it was not politics. Tilak would never have relinquished his grip on those eight Provinces. The result was to create a vacuum, which Jinnah proceeded to fill. An angular and exceedingly independent man, Jinnah was no favourite with the British, but he now established himself as their ally, as opposed to the apparently irreconcilable Congress. In a war in which for three years they experienced nothing but defeat, the

British desperately needed an ally, so Jinnah was able to build up the League, till by the end of the war he was so strong that he could defy everybody, including his former patrons, the British.

In view of the 1935 Act, there was never much doubt that independence would follow soon after the war was over. The Quit India campaign as therefore unnecessary, and though I knew many of those who were active in it and heard something of their exploits, I always regarded it as a tragic waste of effort and heroism. On the other hand, the Non-Cooperation of 1920-21 and the Civil Disobedience of 1930-34 must have had a big influence in hastening independence. Montagu's reform of 1919 was unpopular with the Conservatives, and was allowed only because of the critical position of Britain at the height of the first World War. I do not think that even Baldwin would have been able to get the 1935 Act through Parliament if the Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience movements had not convinced the majority of Conservatives that the time had come to yield.

P. SPRATT.

Part Four

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

IN THE SESSIONS COURT DHARWAR

Statement by

GANGADHAR BALKRISHNA DESHPANDE

Case against Gangadhar Rao Deshpande for a speech he made at Navalgund. The accused's statement and the Court's judgment along with the opinions of two Assessors are given here. (From the records in the District Court, Dharwar.)

I. I don't wish to encumber the record of this case with any long statement. I am not presenting this either to palliate or aggravate anything I may have really spoken at Navalgund. If I had found my speech correctly reported, I would have simply asserted "What I have said I have said".

Palliation is not in my line. I believe I have made many other speeches containing stronger criticism of Government than appears in some of the sentences now alleged as forming part of my speech. I only wonder that I should be prosecuted, not for sedition, but prosecuted for a speech like the present. My reason for refraining from aggravation is that the Law Court is not a political platform. I have spoken from hundreds of platforms before, and all concerned are by this time fairly well acquainted with my political views. I know that a report of what I speak here will naturally receive wider publicity than a speech made elsewhere. But it is not fair to this Court that I should say anything to which the Court cannot in all propriety give a reply.

II. In order to understand the drift of my speech and realize its spirit, I shall make my position clear as briefly as possible.

I believe in the dictum of Sir John Seeley in his *Expansion of England* that subjection for a long time to a foreign yoke is one of the most potent causes of national deterioration. I further believe in the often quoted statement of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that 'good government is no substitute for self-government'. Therefore it is my firm conviction that Swarajya or self-government, which is the birthright of every nation, is the only remedy for the eradication of the evil contemplated by Seeley.

After years of continuous agitation on the part of the people, it has been now declared beyond all possibility of doubt that the establishment of Swarajya is the object of British Rule in India (*vide* preamble of Government of India Act of 1919). We all fully appreciate the generous

assurances given to us in this matter by His Majesty the King Emperor and the British Parliament. Yet, consistently with the self-respect of the nation, I hold that though we may welcome co-operation, advice and even guidance from outside, Swarajya can only be established and maintained in India by the Indian Nation itself after going through the process of self-sacrifice and self-purification and thus acquiring the necessary strength as a necessary consequence.

The Indian National Congress, the premier political body in the country, has laid down as its object the attainment of Swarajya in India, by the people of India, by all legitimate and peaceful means (*vide* p. 254 of *India in 1920* Report prepared for presentation to Parliament under 26th Section of the Government of India Act), and has inaugurated the policy of progressive non-violent non-cooperation as a means for the attainment of its object: In its session at Nagpur, held in December 1920, the Congress has accepted and passed a resolution on non-cooperation, the relevant and important portion of which is as follows (*vide* p. 8 of *Young India* of 5-1-1921):

“Whereas in the opinion of this Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country, and whereas the people of India are now determined to establish Swarajya, and whereas all the methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more especially in reference to the Khilafat and Punjab, now this Congress, while re-affirming the Resolution on non-violent non-cooperation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta, declares that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme of non-violent non-cooperation with the present Government at one end, and the refusal to pay taxes at the other should be put into force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee.” It then goes on giving steps for preparing the country for it.

III. The Special Session of the Congress referred to in the above Resolution was held at Calcutta in September 1920. It was at this Congress the resolution of non-violent non-cooperation was passed for the first time. I had attended that Session of the Congress. But unconvinced as I then was about the efficacy and the practicability of some of the items of non-cooperation, I voted with the minority which had opposed that Resolution both in the Subjects Committee and in the Open House. But after it was passed by the Congress, though unconvinced I accepted it as mandate from the Congress. Between September and December I studied the speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi, the author of this movement, and also watched its wonderful effect on the masses. In the meantime, in the month of November, Government of India has issued a

communique with regard to this movement and in that communique they had clearly set down their policy in respect of the same. The Government of India declared that as long as the movement was within bounds of non-violence, they would not interfere with it by repression but would try to meet it with counter-propaganda. Instructions to Provincial Governments were issued to the same effect (*vide* pp. 60-61 of *India in 1920*, Report prepared for presentation to Parliament in book put up).

The situation in short was this. The establishment of Swarajya in substitution of the present system of Government was a common cause between all the parties concerned, the Indian people consisting of both co-operators and non-cooperators, the Anglo-Indians and the Government. The dispute then raged and still rages round two points only, *viz.*, (i) the time when the goal, that is the establishment of Swarajya, is to be reached; and (ii) the methods by which it is to be attained. With regard to the first, one party represented by Government maintains that the Indians are not yet fit for Swarajya and therefore they require further training, and the other represented by the Congress maintains that they are fit for immediate Swarajya. In respect of the second point, it may be said that the Government does not look with favour on the movement of non-violent non-cooperation.

Yet when I was convinced of the purity and the efficacy of the movement and also became aware of the Government policy of meeting it with counter-propaganda, I threw in my lot with it. Since Nagpur Congress I am trying to carry out its resolution in letter as well as in spirit to the best of my ability. In this connection, it may also be noted that the present Viceroy also has confirmed the policy enunciated by the Government of his predecessor Lord Chelmsford.

IV. It is a fact that I presided over the first Dharwar District Conference held at Navalgund on the 14th of July last. As it was a political conference, I discussed the political situation of the day and criticised the present administration with a view to create and promote a desire for the attainment of Swarajya as early as possible, even during the current year, by means of non-violent non-cooperation as inaugurated by the Nagpur Congress. But it is not true that it was attended by 1000 or 1200 people. The Chairman of the Reception Committee in his opening speech contained in the report put in by the Prosecution (Ex. 4) tried to explain the fact of the attendance being poor by reference to Dharwar incidents. The meeting place was a small house. It could not have contained more than 300 people, amongst whom Brahmins, as the report says, predominated. The fact that the Brahmin element was predominant is now being kept in the background by the Prosecution, being conscious of the fact that all the witnesses except one (and that too a Mamlatdar) belong to non-Brahmin class, especially to the Lingayat class. It is true,

as the report notes, that all the taluks of the Dharwar District were represented. Yet it is curious that all the witnesses come from Navalgund.

I am a pretty fast speaker and I spoke for not less than 2 hours and a half.

I don't blame the Inspector of Police, Mr. Mahadev Tukkappa, the Local Police Reporter, if, being unused to report speeches, he misrepresented my speech or hacked my sentences in a number of places. But I must say that some of the statements alleged against me are, in their present form, an insult to my intelligence.

The Report (Ex. 7) is a garbled account of my speech. It is incomplete as is evident from the last sentence in it. The words "and wagaire" clearly show that the report does not claim to be complete. It is curious that these words are ignored in the English Translation put in by the Prosecution. In considering the question of the validity of the sanction (to which I shall refer in the next para) this omission to translate these words becomes relevant. The Inspector admitted in this Court that the so-called Report is not the report of the full speech but it represents "notes" of what he thought to be important. These "notes" contain words not more than 1100 in number. A slow speaker, in my opinion, cannot take more than 15 minutes to go through a speech of 1100 words. There is evidence that I spoke for more than two hours. I have already stated that I am a fairly fast speaker.

The notes contain some sentences which I never uttered and some which I could not have uttered; some are absurd on the face of them; some, as forming part of one speech, are disconnected. I shall show later on some specific instances in support of my contention.

V. The sanction for this Prosecution is granted "in respect of the speech" delivered by me and not in respect of the scrappy notes of that speech. There is no evidence, either oral or documentary, to prove my speech delivered on the 14th of July. There is no evidence to prove that "my speech" was before the Government when they sanctioned the prosecution. Granting of sanction is a matter of discretion; Government could not have exercised its discretion as it had not the necessary material (the full speech) before it. Under these circumstances the Court has to be satisfied that the Government did exercise its discretion. There is no evidence on this point. On this ground alone the prosecution must fail.

VI. I must submit in this connection that much confusion is being made by the Prosecution regarding the meaning of the words "Government" and "Swarajya". Let me explain both the words as I used them. I may state once for all that whenever I used the word "Government" I always meant to convey the idea of a "system of government" or rather, a system of administration. For Government when referred to as in my speeches is nothing but a system. I have throughout my speech used the

words "rajya padhati" and "nokarshahi" which mean nothing but a system of government and bureaucratic system respectively. In the vernacular the word "sarkar" is used in the sense, as above, indicating "rajya padhati" or "nokarshahi" and this word "sarkar" is rendered into English by the word "government", which when taken with the reference to the context means the present system of government. To refer to "Government" without the idea of a system underlying it is meaningless. Similarly I have used the word "Swarajya" in the commonly accepted sense, namely "self-government". The late Dadabhai used it in 1906 and in 1908 Justice Fletcher of the High Court of Calcutta held it to be perfectly legitimate. (See Cal. 34 I.L.R. p. 991). The word "Swarajya" has not only been used by political speakers and writers in this sense but even the King Emperor's proclamation holds it forth as the ideal to be attained. (In p. 51 of the *Indian Record* of January 1920, *vide* also H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught's speech at the inauguration of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly printed in the issue of the *Bombay Chronicle* dated 10-2-1921). By the bye I may state that the word "Swarajya" has been freely used in the Legislative Assembly debates both by Indian and English members with the same sense, e.g., in the discussion on *Rai Bahadur Muzumdar's* resolution so late as on 29th September 1921. (p. 1228 of Legislative Assembly Debates put up). I can quote hundreds of instances like that. What I mean, in short, is that there can be no sedition in advocating destruction of the present system of government with no popular control with a view to its being substituted or remodelled as Mr. Montagu said in his speech on the Mesopotamia Commission, by Swarajya or self-government or responsible government. (*vide* p. 416 of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu's *Speeches on Indian Affairs*).

Mr. Montagu in his speech on the Mesopotamian Commission delivered in the House of Commons on the 12th of July 1917, described the working of the India Office, as it then existed, in the following words :

"I say that this is a system so cumbrous, so designed to prevent efficiency and change, that in the light of revelations *it cannot continue to exist*" (p. 411 of Mr. Montagu's *Speeches on Indian Affairs*, put up). Granting that I did use the word "nasha", I meant to convey the same idea, *viz.*, the present system of government "*cannot continue to exist*" in view of the present needs of the country. That is the meaning of the word "nasha". I ask, what did Mr. Montagu, after he became the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, our late Viceroy, do in respect of the then Government of India? They practically "destroyed" *i.e.*, made non-existent, the irresponsible government that was then in vogue and succeeded in replacing it by what is termed as the government of partial responsibility. I want to go further and desire that

the present system be made "non-existent" in such a way as to be made capable of being replaced by Swarajya or full responsible government or the parliamentary form of government, having popular control over all the Departments of Government.

With regard to the sentences on which the charge is based, I would state as follows :

(1) I must have said something about establishing Swarajya in the place of the present system of government. But I have not said "we must destroy this Government". There is no equivalent for "we" and "must" in the Canarese notes. The word "nashta" appears in the notes. Its translation as "we should destroy" or "we must destroy" is not correct. If "Swarajya" is to be established in the place of the present Government, the latter must automatically disappear.

Even granting that it does convey the idea of destruction, there is nothing criminal in it by itself as long as the means of accomplishing it are peaceful. There is not one word in the whole speech where violence is suggested. On the contrary swadeshi, wearing of khadi and introduction of the charkha and peaceful suffering are advocated as the surest remedies for winning Swarajya. I shall refer to these statements later on.

(2) Yes, I may have referred to the native mis-government or maladministration which existed a hundred and fifty years ago in this country. And if I said that mis-government has again appeared, it is, I maintain, perfectly true. The word "beleendshahi" consists of three parts :

It means a system of government having no control or responsibility. Be means not ; leend means control or responsibility, and shahi means system of government.

It is a well known fact that there is a responsible section of public men in the country, which holds that the Mogul and Maratha Governments were better than the British, in that the nation as a whole was not so emasculated or impoverished as it is today. But it will be seen I did not go so far. My remarks as they stand convey an idea of a compliment to the present Government. In the sentence that follows, I asked all to try to remove this grievance—a perfectly legitimate object.

(3) Yes, I must have said this. The idea contained in the first extract is continued in more explicit terms in this extract. In the first extract the idea is the substitution of Swarajya in the place of the present system. Here it suggests the means of doing it. The means of accomplishing it is simply to bend the present Government. In fact I maintain that the country is now determined to bend the Government under the pressure of the popular will and make it accede to our demand for self-government. I think I did refer to Mr. Montagu's famous speech in the House of Commons describing the Indian Government as too iron, too wooden and too inelastic, and there are well known processes by which

wood and iron can be bent. (*vide* p. 407 of the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Montagu's *Speeches on Indian Affairs*).

By the term "taking of Swarajya" I had two alternative ideas in my mind. First, we are prepared to take it if Government are ready to give it. This is clear from what I said further on about Lord Reading. I said "if he (Lord Reading) wishes, let him give us Swarajya"; secondly, in case the Government be not willing to give it we are prepared to demonstrate by our movement of non-violent non-cooperation that we are fit to take it.

The next sentence that follows this extract is: "The only instrument that we have to use in dealing with Government is the non-cooperation movement. By this means alone Swarajya is obtainable. This is quite certain."

No assertion is now perhaps more common than that India is fit for self-government. While discussing this topic, apart from our inherent and traditional fitness for Swarajya, I was reminded of Mr. Gladstone's words: "it is liberty alone which fits men for liberty." This proposition like every other in politics has its bounds, but it is far safer than the counter-doctrine, "wait till they are fit". I gave expression to this idea without quoting the exact words and without mentioning the name of the author of these words.

(4) I must have dwelt upon the deception practised upon the people by a class of officials and British statesmen from time to time, who often have said many hopeful words to the ear but broken them to the heart. This was not the first time that the Government was charged for the breach of pledges. It is open to Government to palliate or plead extenuation in respect of the pledges which could not be carried out, but the people could certainly not be blamed for taking Government at their word. I do deny, however, that I said "we don't want this Government because it has been deceiving us from the beginning". What I said amounted to this, "we do not want this Government because it could not carry out the pledge given at the beginning." I referred to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and to Lord Curzon's repudiation of the same.

I also deny that I used the words, "let this Government be destroyed and let any other come in its place." I have already explained the word "destroyed"; and the words "let any other come in its place" are too wide of the mark to be uttered by me apart from a reference to self-government.

In support of my submission I may refer to the complaint lodged by the District Superintendent of Police, also to the translation put in by the Prosecution. The words "mattyawada daroo" are translated as "some other" and not "any other". The complaint also gives the same translation. That I meant no other than self-government is clear

from the context in which this extract appears. The Prosecution translation (Ex. 4) gives the whole thing as follows :

“There was injustice when there were Maharastra Kings before this. Government had promised that they would be very just, but they have not kept their words. Then how are we to believe them? We do not want this Government which has been deceiving us from the beginning (I explained about this). Let this Government be destroyed and *some other* come in its place. And for that purpose only we should go on with the non-cooperation movement with this Government and thereby we will gain Swarajya”. Further on in connection with the same subject we have the following: “When the higher officials are doing injustice it is better for us all to continue non-cooperation movement more vigorously and try our best to gain Swarajya”. Here the reference is clearly to the higher officials and also to Swarajya to be attained by non-cooperation. The topic ends with the sentence, “be sure you will get Swarajya before the end of December if you all only act up to the principles of Gandhiji”.

It must also be noted that the complaint gives the whole sentence, “let this Government be destroyed and some other come in its place and for that purpose only we should go on with non-cooperation with this Government and then only we will gain Swarajya”. This is all one sentence and when thus read it clearly shows that no other Government than Swarajya or self-government was referred to by the words *some other*. The charge as set out breaks this sentence into parts and gives only one part of it. I have already referred to the bad translation.

(5) I cannot trust myself to speak with necessary calmness on this topic. I do maintain that the greatest injustice has been done in the Dharwar rioting case as well as other picketing cases. I think I used the word, “Yama rajya” in describing the injustice that was going on at Dharwar. But I am positive that I did not make use of the expressions “Satanic Government or Ravana rajya”; for I have long since decided that to imitate parrot fashion Mr. Gandhi in the use of the words “Satanic Government or Ravana Rajya” is unbecoming to followers of his like myself. Of course the expression “Satanic” has been so often repeated with impunity and referred to by high officials, from Viceroy downwards, Anglo-Indian journals like the *Times of India* and in Government publications, that it has by this time lost half of its charm and therefore most of its sedition, if there was any, but I know I have always enforced it upon myself purely as a point of discipline that what is good for Mr. Gandhi is not necessarily good for me, for I have not yet completed, as he has, the process of self-purification which justifies a critic to say anything that he honestly thinks proper to be said of this Government. (*Vide* Viceroy’s speech at Calcutta Club dinner on 23-2-21 reported on p. 12 of the *Leader of Allahabad*, 27-2-1921; *Times of India* 2-11-1911).

I remember to have said "Government resents if it Mahatma Gandhi describes this administration as Satanic or Ravana rajya. What should I call the dispensation of justice that is going on at Dharwar? Is it Yama rajya?"

It will be seen from the notes of the speech that the alleged epithets Satanic, Ravana rajya, and Yama rajya were applied not to the Government nor to the authorities at Dharwar, but to the injustice that was being done there. The sentence runs thus "What should we call *the injustice* that is being done by it at Dharwar?" (Alli Dharwadadalli nadedda anyayakke yenu annalo. *Vide* Ex. 7 and Ex. 8). The allegation that I applied these epithets to Government is a later development.

Now what is the actual meaning of these words? Satanic Government: a Government which is not in essence what it appears to be. Ravana rajya: This reference is from Hindu Mythology. Ravana was a king of Lanka. He was a great devotee of Shiva, the third Godhead in the Hindu Trinity. By his devotion Ravana got extraordinary powers. He became intoxicated with it and imprisoned all Gods of lower order. The expression Ravana rajya means system of government where power is abused. Yama rajya: This epithet is the most innocent of the three. Yama is a deity in Hindu Mythology. It is believed this deity is invested with the duties of dispensing justice according to the karma or the actions of the doer. Yama is very relentless in the discharge of his duties. But he is not responsible for the punishments he inflicts or the rewards he bestows. He is bound down by the karma of the person concerned. When I used this expression I had before my mind's eye the unjust and disproportionate punishments that were inflicted on two pickets who were convicted and sentenced to six months' hard labour for the alleged robbery of thirteen annas belonging to a Bhangi who had visited a liquor shop. I was also reminded of the shooting of three persons and the indiscriminate arrests that were then going on. British justice is always characterised as *tempered with mercy*. But from what was going on at Dharwar it can hardly be said that any trace of mercy could be found there. There justice—granting there was justice—was as relentless as can possibly be found in the rule of Yama.

(6) In explaining the Congress resolution on non-cooperation I must have referred to the non-payment of taxes to Government as that is the ultimate category in the programme as laid down by the Indian National Congress; but I am positive that I did not advise the immediate non-payment of land revenue, because I am conscious that by doing so I should be violating the discipline imposed upon me as a Congressman, as a President of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee and as a member of the All-India Congress Committee, in as much as the responsible authorities of the Congress have so far studiously refrained from

advising that step to be taken. It should be remembered that my speech was made on the 14th of July, 1921, that is to say when only the first item in what is called the Bezwada Programme, namely the collection of the All-India Tilak Swarajya Fund, had just been gone through.. The time for payment of land revenue had already elapsed in as much as land revenue was already collected in March and April. The time for payment of land revenue will come again in 1922, *i.e.*, after the Session of the next Congress. There could be no point in advising immediate non-payment of land revenue. I state further that even if I preached immediate non-payment of land revenue or any other tax, that is not sedition. It is a perfectly legitimate and constitutional method of drawing the attention of Government to popular grievances. (*Vide* the speech of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, *C.I.E.P.* 1106, book put up). Practised by people who are ready to suffer the consequences of their action, non-payment of taxes could be tantamount to nothing more than refusal to vote supplies by the Legislative Council. The extreme necessity of keeping peace and suffering consequences patiently is pertinently pointed out by what follows.

(7) I am positive that I did not say that Mahatma Gandhi has promised to hoist the Swarajya Zenda in Gujarat before December. The words are nonsense to me, and I could not have said anything like it, though I must have referred to the statement so often made by Mahatma Gandhi that Swarajya would be established within a year or even in December next if certain condition of his were fulfilled. Hoisting the Swarajya Zenda is equivalent to attaining Swarajya. It is a common expression in all vernaculars. There can be no sedition in the idea even as it is.

(8) In this case I am positive that the reporter has obviously made a mess, if he has not fabricated anything out of his subconsciousness. I say it is an insult to my intelligence for anyone to allege that I advised the expulsion of Europeans from India and that I had calculated its cost to be so cheap as seven crores of rupees. I wonder where this magic number could have come from. I might have referred to the sixty crores of rupees which represent the value of foreign cloth imported in India. And it is a common enough polemical argument of the day that if you strike at the piecegoods trade of England and other European countries, you practically strike at the evil effects of the material civilization of Europe. Probably the reporter has given, in this statement, a crudely distorted view of what I might have said on this subject of boycott of foreign cloth. The Marathi equivalent of sixty crores is sath koti. Not knowing the Canarese equivalent for sixty and as it is not unusual to use Marathi names for figures in Canarese, I might have said "sath koti". This might have created some confusion with sat koti, *i.e.*, seven crores.

Moreover this statement, extraordinary as it is, is wholly disconnected with the context. The preceding sentence relates to the contingency of Government servants joining this movement. Then this statement comes in abruptly. It is connected with the following sentence dealing with the transfer of Mr. Painter, by the conjunction "and", thus making the whole thing incongruous. Lastly, it cannot be sedition. Government established by law in India consists of both Indians and British and not Europeans. There was no evidence to support this statement in the Magistrate's Court as well as in this Court.

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VII. Though not connected with the charge laid against me, I deny that in that speech of mine I charged Mr. Painter or the District Superintendent of Police as abettors of murder. In course of my speech while relating the Dharwar incidents I referred to the telegram sent by the President of the District Congress Committee, Dharwar, in which they are charged with abetment and an independent inquiry was pressed for. It may also be noted that no witness excepting the Mamlatdar has proved this allegation in the Magistrate's Court and in this Court.

VIII. Besides the statements referred to in para (VI) the notes contain statements which are either untrue or absurd. The following are some specimens :

(1) I have not as yet become the disciple of Gandhi.

(2) Tilak had foretold that India would see auspicious day on 1-8-1920 (1-8-1920 was the day of Tilak's death. Surely it cannot be termed auspicious).

(3) Just then Shivalingappa *with three police* fired. (Some confusion with three that were shot dead by the firing of police who were not less than a dozen).

(4) Mahatma Gandhi's object is not to secure Swarajya.

(5) He (Lord Reading) had replied us to see his object.

The following are specimens of statements which are clearly disconnected and do not fit in where they appear :

(i) There was Congress Committee Meeting held that day, *i.e.*, on 1-7-1921, under the Presidentship of Vinayakrao Joshi.

(ii) Look at the vast change that has taken place since 1914 to 1921 in the administration.

(iii) The Government gets profit of $17\frac{1}{2}$ crores of rupees from liquor and toddy shops.

(iv) I was under the impression that Belgaum stood first as regards non-cooperation movement in Karnatak but I am very glad to see that Dharwar people have superseded Belgaum people in this respect.

IX. I think I have stated what I honestly think about the state-

ments alleged against me on this charge. Now if I wanted to palliate I might draw the attention of the Court to some such sentences as the following which the Police Inspector has embodied in his report of my speech and which are in my favour, namely :

(1) Only means left with us to deal with Government is non-cooperation. We are sure to secure Swarajya by this means only.

(2) To secure Swarajya we must all wear khadi cloth made by hand and put charkhas in your houses.

(3) Be sure that you will get Swarajya before the end of September if you all only act up to the principles of Gandhi. (Whatever may be said of Mr. Gandhi, his opponents even cannot charge him of insincerity. Non-violence is his very life).

(4) If His Excellency Lord Reading wishes, let him give us Swarajya. (This clearly shows that I have not lost all hope of taking Swarajya from the willing hands of Government).

(5) Mahatma Gandhi would ask whether you would *patiently endure* all this. You will surely get Swarajya if you *calmly* tolerate all this.

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I leave it to the Court to judge whether the witnesses are endowed with such powerful mental calibre and strong memory as to remember and repeat in October and November the exact words of my speech delivered in July. It is significant that almost all witnesses repeat parrot-like only so much of my nearly three hours speech, as is contained in the charge.

X. Establishment of immediate Swarajya by the people of India, in place of the present system of government by all legitimate and peaceful means is the object of the Congress. Non-violent non-cooperation as set forth in its Resolution is a means to attain this object. If this is held as covered by Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code, I admit that I have no case. This is the clear issue in this case. If the finding be against me I have no doubt the law will have to be changed. The law of sedition has undergone many changes in this country. But I am sure this time it will be for the better, otherwise the law as it stands will be a dead letter in view of the awakened consciousness of the nation for its desire for Swarajya. "For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swarajya for their motherland", says His Majesty in his Royal message of this very year (*vide Bombay Chronicle*, dated 10-2-21, put up). I in my humble way, being loyal to the aspirations of my country, hope to realize that long-standing dream now and immediately. In the same message His Majesty describes the present Government as "the beginning of Swarajya". I am not satisfied with what is called the beginning of Swarajya. I want the beginning, the end and the whole

of it at once and immediately. How am I to get it unless I show by words and action that I am not satisfied with my present lot, giving my reasons, at the same time, why I am not satisfied? Is this sedition? Surely no law can be higher than the Supreme Law which confers on every nation the right of freedom of doing its duty of developing and evolving its own destiny in its own way.

In a highly controversial matter of this nature some reasonable latitude in giving expression to opinions must be shown to those who are engaged in the controversy. Colonel Wedgwood, M.P. in a book recently published called *Indo-British Commonwealth*, published in India by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, describes the British rule in India and other Asiatic countries in the following terms: (*vide Indo-British Commonwealth* by Col. Wedgwood, p. 124, put up; and *Times of India* dated 31-10-1921, put up). "Force, fraud, ruthlessness sanctioned by long usage, have become the established methods of dealing with these fat and helpless lands." No condemnation of the present Government can be stronger. Yet these words are taken at their proper value and neither the Colonel nor the publishers are hauled up for sedition. The whole political literature of recent times is full of such sentiments.

Reformation of the present Government can never be brought about by ignoring or overlooking its faults. Suppression of truth cannot, in the long run, conduce to the good of both the Government and the people. "Non-cooperation," to quote Mr. Gandhi, "teaches us to love our fellow-men in spite of their faults, not by ignoring or overlooking them".

In this connection it is worthy of note that Mr. C. F. Andrews, a well-known Englishman, goes further than the Congress and discusses in the papers the desirability of the complete independence of India, as the only solution of India's present difficulty (*vide Young India*, file, p. 8 of 20-10-1920, and p. 6 of 24-11-1920, put up). On the other hand Colonel Wedgwood's object in writing the book above referred to is, to quote his own words, "to show how England can insure peace by fitting the Empire to become the nucleus of world-union by becoming herself the centre of the Commonwealth of free peoples enjoying equal rights". So far as the present programme goes, the Congress is agreeable to and welcomes the solution of Colonel Wedgwood. But it must also be remembered, at the same time, that the desire to be in the British Commonwealth shall in no case be inconsistent with or in supersession of the supreme desire to rise to our full national height.

XI. It should also be noticed that the Conference was not open to all. The majority of the three hundred and odd that attended the conference consisted of delegates, who by signing the forms supplied to them by the Reception Committee had signified their acceptance of the object or the "creed" of the Congress. As the Conference was held under the

constitution of the Congress, the delegates must be expected to know the activities of the Congress. Those who were not delegates were either volunteers or visitors who held tickets for admission. With the exception of one or two visitors who held complimentary tickets, all were required to pay for their admission. It is not unreasonable to expect that those who paid for their admission and took the trouble of attending the Conference knew something of the Congress and its work. Thus it will be seen that none that had not already some idea of what was going to happen and was not in some way or other interested in the proceedings, attended the Conference.

XII. I only want by this statement of mine to knock out, if I can, the bottom of the pretence that my Navalgund speech was such an extraordinarily rash or impudent speech that Government, ordinarily tolerant enough, could not allow this one to go with impunity. I do not want to disestablish the relations which Government pretend to establish between the quality of my speech and its own judicial conscience in sanctioning this Prosecution. I can understand the psychology of the District Magistrate of Dharwar in asking for sanction as he was then in the vortex of the excitement caused by the heroics of Shivalingappa and which was likely to lead to a judgment of censure against himself, if an independent enquiry, for which I pleaded in my speech, into the Dharwar firing, were undertaken. But I fail to understand the psychology of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in sanctioning a prosecution upon such flimsy and obviously crude statements occurring in the summarized and garbled notes of my speech, especially as the Council is not devoid of legal and judicial talent.

I have no quarrel with Government if they want me to be sent to jail. It is quite natural for them to do so when they see and feel that the movement that is teaching us how "to behave like a nation" would not be killed by a policy which they had solemnly professed. But I honestly feel that whatever the injustice to me, injustice to this Court is still greater in as much as Government are putting the judicial conscience of this tribunal to an extremely severe test by practically inviting it to pass a judgment of sedition upon such weak, incoherent, invertebrate statements as are made to appear against me in this obviously distorted version of my speech.

I may assure Government that though the paths of patriotism may seem to lead but to jail, the paths of repression in India are surely not going to lead to the permanence of prestige or power of the bureaucracy. Prosecutions like the present one do incalculable harm, even from the point of view of Government, for they create the very things which it is intended to put a stop to. While Government may wield the power of sanctioning prosecutions, a humble individual like myself may at least claim the pri-

vilege to tell Government a simple home-truth in politics, which they in spite of the past and recent experiences, do not yet seem to have sufficiently understood.

“The speeches must be read as a whole in a fair, free and liberal spirit ; in dealing with them one should not pause upon an objectionable sentence here and a strong word there. They should be dealt with in a spirit of freedom and not viewed with an eye of narrow criticism. The case should be conducted in a free, bold manner and generous spirit towards the petitioner.” (19 Bom. L.R.P. 211 at p. 264 and 272).

XIII. From the intensive repression that is going on, it is quite clear that the Government are not appreciating the efforts that are being made, under most provoking circumstances, by Congressmen in keeping peace all over the country. I feel satisfied that Mahatma Gandhi has appreciated what little I have been able to do and has honored me in his Honours List. In his opinion, which he has published, I am on my trial for saying what he himself has been repeatedly saying and what Congressmen have been saying all over India during the past twelve months. Though the Government have launched this Prosecution against me, I feel happy that our revered leader has declared to the nation that my influence,—however insignificant it might have been, though he has good-heartedly styled it as “unrivalled in this Province” of Karnatak—was for peace. I feel glad that my activities have not in any way offended against my creed of non-violence and against the purity of this sacred movement. I was glad to find that since my arrest the movement has taken a deeper root in the minds of the persons that count of this province as well as those of the sister province of Maharashtra. This then is my consolation. In this war of righteousness, what more consolation a mere camp-follower like myself can aspire to? When I joined this struggle for freedom I knew that suffering, either self-imposed or brought about by others, was the price I would be required to pay. In fact its strength and beauty lie in cheerful suffering. I am enjoying both.

XIV. To the Court I will say that I am not going to trouble it with any further proceedings so far as I am concerned. I shall not call any witness on my behalf ; and acting in the same spirit of indifference I did not subject Government witnesses to any cross-examination with the exception of only one or two questions to the Mamlatdar and Inspector. I am content to allow Government to put the whole of their case before the Court, just in the manner they choose, for I feel rather the Government are on their trial than myself. And even in my statement I have honestly tried to put the facts as accurately as I know them and also without any malice towards any individual.

With regard to this statement of mine, I submit that it should be judged on its merits. A view that a statement of an accused person, in-

as much as it is not made on oath, has no value, is not, in my opinion, a sound proposition of law. Because if it is viewed only in this light it is as well as not recorded at all. The accused ought to be given full benefit of it. However, whatever may be the legal view on the point, I waive the privilege conferred by law on an accused person in his interest, and declare that I am prepared to make this statement on solemn affirmation and I am ready to undergo the test of cross-examination either from the Public Prosecutor or the Court or from both.

In case of my conviction any suffering that may be in store for me will, I pray, goad me on to complete the tapasya necessary to reach the ideal that is so dear to my heart. When I come out of jail, as I hope to, I am sure I shall see my country enjoying the hard-earned fruit of Swarajya. For this wholesale repression on the part of the Government on the one hand, and the readiness to suffer on the part of the nation on the other, are the sure signs of approaching victory. In case of my acquittal I shall deem myself a traitor to my country if I rest, till I see the present soul-killing methods of administration are so changed and reformed as to be made capable of being replaced by complete Swarajya, which alone is the ultimate salvation for both England and India.

15th Nov. 1921.

(Sd.) GANGADHAR BALKRISHNA DESHPANDE.

IMPERATOR *vs.* GANGADHAR BALKRISHNA DESHPANDE

JUDGMENT

In this case the accused is charged with having committed an offence under Section 124A, I.P.C. in respect of certain statements in a speech made by him as President of Dharwar District Conference held at Navalgund on July 14 and 15th, 1921.

It is an admitted fact that he presided at this conference and made a speech on July the 14th in favour of non-cooperation. Inspector Mahadeo Tukkappa was present and made a report of the proceedings, giving extracts from the accused's speech and those which preceded it. This report (Ex. 4) was sent to the District Superintendent of Police on the following day and forwarded through the District Magistrate to Government, who sanctioned the accused's prosecution. The accused states that he has not been fully reported and has been misrepresented with regard to certain statements. He pleads that the sanction of Government is invalid as it is in respect of his speech and not in respect of the notes taken by the Inspector, and that granting a sanction is a matter of discretion which Government could not have exercised as the whole speech was not before it. In general he pleads that whatever he might have said can be

found in the speeches and writings of many other persons who have not been prosecuted and does not constitute an offence under the Section.

Dealing first with the question of sanction, I find no force in his objections. There is no provision of law which requires Government to specify the exact words which are to form the subject of the prosecution. The order mentions the accused's speech, the circumstances under which it was delivered and the date and place of delivery, and that is in my opinion all that is required. It is not for the Court to inquire whether Government exercised its discretion rightly or not. The order granting sanction is sufficient for the purposes of the trial and the Court is not concerned with Government's reasons for granting it.

The question for decision is whether the accused is proved to have made statements in the course of his speech which amount to an offence under Section 124A, I.P.C.

My finding is in the affirmative, but both the assessors are of a contrary opinion.

The statements which form the subject of the charge are proved by the Inspector, who took notes at the time, and by five witnesses, two of whom, the Mamlatdar and Aval Karkun, also took notes, while the other three are unofficial witnesses. The accused admits that none of the witnesses bear him any ill will, but he challenges the accuracy of their memory, and in the case of the three unofficial witnesses he questions their ability to hear what was said. I see no reason however to doubt the general accuracy of the Inspector's report, which was dispatched on the day after the accused had made his speech, especially as it is corroborated by the evidence of the Mamlatdar and Head Karkun, who were admittedly present at the conference. It is complained by the accused that this short report cannot possibly contain a proper account of his speech which lasted from two to three hours, but the Inspector admits that he only noted important passages in it, and the evidence of other witnesses is to the same effect. They only noted what was specially said about Government. The matter is however considerably simplified by the fact that the accused himself practically admits making the statements attributed to him. He argues however that his speech should be read as a whole and he should not be judged on disconnected passages. In support of this he relies on 19 Bom. L.R. 211. In that case the accused was charged with making seditious speeches on the strength of certain passages contained in them and it was held that on reading the speeches as a whole they did not amount to more than fair criticism, though certain expressions used by him were objectionable. But what is the case here? The accused does not deny making the statements attributed to him, at any rate those that are of any importance in connection with the charge against him, but he merely denies their accuracy. He does not claim that they would have

another meaning if his speech were read as a whole, but he pleads that he has not exceeded the bounds of fair criticism. To quote from page 5 of his written statement, "I discussed the political situation of the day and criticised the present administration with a view to create and promote a desire for the attainment of Swaraj as early as possible even during the current year by means of non-violent non-cooperation as inaugurated by the Nagpur Congress". But that is exactly what the prosecution say he did, as can be seen from the passages referred to in the charge. The second passage, "About a hundred and fifty years ago bebandshahi reigned and it has now appeared again"; the first part of the fourth, "We do not want this Government because it has been deceiving us from the beginning"; and the fifth, "What should we call this British Government for the injustice going on in Dharwar? Are we to call it Saitani Government or Ravana or Yama Raj?" are his criticisms of the existing Government; and the first, "We must destroy the Government and establish Swaraj in our hands and bend down this Government"; part of the fourth, "Let this Government be destroyed and let any other come in its place"; and part of the sixth, "Do not pay land revenue to this Government," form his advocacy of the attainment of Swaraj by non-cooperation. So there is general agreement between the prosecution and the defence as to the purport of the speech. The only real question in issue is whether the accused's criticism of the present Government was fair political criticism or not. Before discussing this question it would be as well to point out that there has been to my mind some confusion as to what constitutes an offence under Section 124A. Although eight passages are mentioned in the charge, only three of them have any direct connection with an offence under this Section. The fact that the accused advocated the removal of the present Government and the attainment of Swaraj by non-cooperation would not amount to an offence under the Section even though the means advocated were unconstitutional. He is only guilty of this offence if in his speech he has brought or attempted to bring into hatred or contempt, or excited or attempted to excite disaffection towards Government. Consequently the passages in which he urges the removal of the present Government by means of non-cooperation and the establishment of Swaraj have no direct bearing on the charge against him. All we have to consider is whether in advocating non-cooperation he has exceeded the bounds of fair political criticism of the present Government. His criticism, as I have said, is contained in three of the passages taken from his speech. In these he is said to have referred to the recurrence of bebandshahi, to deception practised by Government, and to the grave injustice which had lately taken place in Dharwar. This it will be seen from his written statement, he admits, or at any rate does not deny, having done. He does not deny having stated that mis-government or maladministration had

again appeared in this country (*vide* page 8 of his written statement). On page 10 he says, "I must have dwelt upon the deception practised upon people by a class of officials and British statesmen from time to time who often have said many hopeful words to the ear but broken them to the heart." Later on he says, "What I said amounted to this, 'We do not want this Government because it could not carry out the pledge given at the beginning.' I refer to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and to Lord Curzon's repudiation of the same." He denies that he actually said, "We do not want this Government because it has been deceiving us from the beginning." But both the Inspector and the Mamlatdar say that he used those words or words to that effect, and I see no reason to disbelieve them. Even if we accept the accused's version, the general effect is in my opinion much the same, as Government are charged with not keeping their promises.

But by far the most important passage is the fifth, which refers to the great injustice which had lately taken place in Dharwar. The accused denies that he has been correctly reported. He denies making use of the expressions "Satanic Government or Ravana raj", and pleads that the Inspector's notes showed that the epithets used by him referred to the injustice done by Government and not to Government itself. The epithets which are taken from the report are sworn to by the Inspector and several witnesses, and the accused has neither cross-examined them on the point nor called witnesses to contradict them. On the other hand on page 12 of his written statement he admits referring to the injustice going on in Dharwar, and as regards the alleged difference between the notes and the passage as it appears in the charge, it seems to me that there is no real difference between calling Government Yama raj on account of its injustice and describing as Yama raj the injustice of which Government has been guilty.

It is therefore established by the evidence and by the accused's own admissions that he accused Government of maladministration, of broken promises, and of great injustice. Now is this fair criticism? There is nothing to show what reasons the accused gave in support of his first two charges, but as regards the alleged injustice the Inspector's notes contain sufficient detail. The accused said that the volunteers who were simply performing their duty for the good of the people had been unjustly accused of robbery, and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. The police had fired without authority on unarmed people, the Sub-Inspector had committed murder, and the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police had abetted it. The Sub-Inspector had been entrusted with the investigation, whereas he should have been suspended and prosecuted, and the District Magistrate was said to have been promoted. The accused alleges that this was a fair criticism, but I do not see how it can possibly

be so. The speech was made on July 14th, about a fortnight after the disturbance which had taken place in Dharwar. The whole case was then *sub judice*. Even that of the volunteers was not finally decided. It was open to them to appeal against their conviction and sentence. They could appeal to the Sessions Court and if necessary to the High Court in revision. Government was not responsible for their sentence, and the question of their guilt and punishment would be finally decided by the judicial authorities. As regards the riot, Government had deputed a Magistrate from another district to hold the committal proceedings, which actually commenced four days later. The accused cannot even plead that he had first-hand knowledge of the events to which he was referring. He belongs to the Belgaum District, and he has nowhere alleged that he was present in Dharwar on July 1st. Even the Special Congress Committee had not commenced its inquiry, and the accused was assuming facts to exist which had not been established by any evidence. This cannot possibly be called fair criticism. It can only be described as a malicious attack on Government.

The second and third explanations to Section 124A protect fair criticism of Government and its measures, provided that there is no attempt to cause hatred, contempt or disaffection. I have shown that the accused has exceeded the bounds of fair criticism, and there can be no doubt that he also excited or attempted to excite disaffection. One of the witnesses stated in answer to the assessors that after the speech he heard people talking in groups say that a big man had said that Government was bad and it might be so. Other witnesses say that this was the general effect of the accused's speech. It is not necessary for the prosecution to prove that the accused's speech actually excited hatred, contempt or disaffection. It is sufficient to show that he attempted to do so, and the attempt can be inferred from the natural impression which would be conveyed by this speech. When a person speaking to a large audience states that a Government has broken its promises, has been guilty of maladministration, and of the greatest injustice, the natural result would be to excite hatred and disaffection towards that Government and to bring it into contempt. The effect of such a speech would be heightened in a case like the present one when special reference was made to a very recent occurrence in the District about which there was the greatest excitement prevailing. This being the natural effect of the accused's speech, he must be held to have attempted to produce that effect whether he actually did so or not, and I find therefore that he is guilty of the offence with which he is charged.

His plea that all he has said can be found in the writings and speeches of others who have not been prosecuted is no defence. The only question I have to decide is whether an offence has been committed in this case, and the fact that similar offences may have been committed with impunity is no defence to the charge, though it should, in my opinion, affect the

question of sentence. The question of prosecuting persons for sedition is entirely in the discretion of Government, and it is not for me to question that discretion, though I cannot help expressing some surprise at the fact that no action has been taken in respect of another speech delivered at the same conference by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and reported on by the Inspector, in which the speaker is reported to have said that the present Government is fit to be called a Saitani Government, and it is our bounden duty to hate it.

No representation has been made by the Public Prosecutor as regards the question of sentence, and I regard this as a test case in which Government wish for a judicial decision that speeches like the accused's constitute a breach of the Criminal Law. Consequently I do not think that a heavy sentence is called for.

Finding and Sentence

Differing from both assessors I find the accused Gangadhar Rao Balkrishna Deshpande guilty of an offence under Section 124A, I.P.C., and sentence him to six months' simple imprisonment.

(Sd.) E. H. WATERFIELD,
Sessions Judge.

November 23rd, 1921.

IMPERATOR *vs.* GANGADHARRAO BALKRISHNARAO DESHPANDE

Opinions of Assessors

1. Mr. Venkatesh Trimbak Bapat is of opinion that the accused is not guilty.

"The witnesses are quite insufficient in number. There were 1000 persons present and the prosecution cannot produce at least a couple more of disinterested witnesses, even though some names have been suggested in the first report. The report is not satisfactory as only a few words have been taken out of a three hour's speech. The whole case stands on this report. I do not believe the witnesses. Those who stood outside could not have heard well. I understand destruction of Government to mean a change in the system. It is not seditious to call Government bad in view of the Punjab and Dharwar wrongs. I take "bad" merely to express disapproval. The whole speech is not before us, so we cannot be sure of the accused's meaning. I believe the accused's explanation of his statements".

2. Mr. Vaman Bhimrao Dharwar, is of the same opinion for the same reasons.

(Sd.) E. H. WATERFIELD,
Sessions Judge.

November 16th, 1921.

THE TRAGEDY AND LOOT IN RAMDURG STATE

On 7th and 8th April, 1939

A clear and unbiassed account of the events which led to the tragedy of the 7th and 8th of April 1939 at Ramdurg. (S. N. Angadi's articles to the Press; by courtesy of Marularadhya Sastry.)

In this small State, the flames of agitation flared up and culminated on the 7th of April, 1939, in an awful riot in which, according to press reports, eight police have been killed and 5 persons from the people's side have met their death. There is genuine mourning over this catastrophe. All sorts of versions are trickling out and it will naturally take some time to digest those reports and separate the chaff from the grain of truth. It is well known that there has been intense unrest in this small State of 33 villages since March, 1938. To obtain a true picture of the situation in Ramdurg State, it is necessary to peep into the background of the present agitation.

The Rajasaheb of Ramdurg was installed on the gadi in the year 1915-16. When he came to occupy the throne, the total income of the State, from all sources, was one lakh and a quarter. It seems from facts stated herein that this young prince came to the throne fully determined to increase taxes and thus swell the revenue of the State. Instead of heralding his regime with a few concessions to his subjects, he straightway started on an adventurous career of fresh taxation, as though the people were fat enough to justify any amount of blood being taken from them, without producing the least effect. The result was a sharp rise in the revenue of the State. From one lakh and a quarter, it shot up almost at one sweep to 2 lakhs and 10 thousand. All this happened within a very short period after he occupied the throne. The sheepish subjects groaned but tolerated it. There is nothing uncommon in this attitude of the people, since the same story is found in almost every Indian State where the long ago exploded theory of divine kingship prevails in its ugliest form. Ramdurg State is bordered by Badami taluk of the Bijapur district, Navalgund taluk of the Dharwar district and Parasgad taluk of the Belgaum district. These three taluks of British territory are notoriously susceptible to famine. It is clear therefore that the soil in Ramdurg State is far from fertile. Despite this fact, the land revenue of the State was raised during the regime of the Rajasaheb from Rs. 93,000 to Rs. 1,30,000, an increase of nearly 40% at one bound. Even the original survey rates of this State—I think this survey took place in the year 1890 or so—were much higher

than the rates in the adjoining British territory. If I mistake not, in the aggregate, they were higher by more than 10%. This would show that the original survey rates of Ramdurg State were crushing enough. But the Prince, goaded by a mad desire to increase the State revenue, increased the land assessment to a figure which seems staggering for a small State of 33 villages.

In 1922, the Bombay Government increased court fees and stamp duties as a temporary measure to meet financial stringency. The Rajasahab of Ramdurg took his cue from this and enhanced court fees and stamp duties in his State as well. The income from this source when he came to the throne was only Rs. 5,000, but since 1922, it has been more than Rs. 12,000, an increase of over 100%. Recently, again taking his cue from the British administration, he thought of levying an Income-tax. In this connection, he conveniently forgot that the limit of the assessable income in British territory is Rs. 2,000. It should be noted here that even this limit of Rs. 2,000 has been indirectly raised, from next year, by the adoption of the slab system. This system is intended to give relief to all those assesseees whose annual income does not exceed Rs. 8,000. Look at this picture and turn to the picture of the Income-tax in Ramdurg State. Here the limit has, from the beginning, been only Rs. 500. This was the limit until a few months ago when it was raised to Rs. 700 as a result of tremendous agitation by the Praja Sangh. This inhuman system, it will be remembered, is mercilessly worked in an area of 169 square miles. There is another item of taxation imposed on his hitherto uncomplaining subjects by this generous Rajasahab, and that item is grazing fees. The grazing fee in British territory before its abolition was about 4 annas per head of cattle. But in Ramdurg State it was Rs. 2 per head of cattle, and the proceeds of this tax were distributed in equal proportions between the State Treasury and the Local Board. This is not all. In one or two villages of the State where the cattle had to cross the Municipal limits, the fee came to Rs. 3 per head of cattle.

Is it possible for any people except these State subjects to tolerate such an autocratic tax? A paramount power until a year ago, or rather until recently, was pledged not to scrutinize the internal administration of the State under any circumstances. Is it not pathetic that it has been possible only in Indian States to exercise naked autocracy even without a whisper of protest from the unfortunate subjects? I honestly hold the view that even the so-called supernatural Herr Hitler would not dare to impose a tax like this, the extreme barbarity of which is self-evident. The armoury of taxes of a small State in India is so exhaustive that even a manure pit need not be left untouched. Our Rajasahab of Ramdurg has not hesitated to tax manure pits. What a wonderful specimen of humanity! It was thus that

the Chief of Ramdurg had the unenviable reputation of having increased his revenue from one lakh and a quarter to two lakhs and ten thousand. This increase works out at more than 60% enhancement of the revenue. The ferocity of the jump makes one stagger. This is the background of the present agitation. After the peak year, 1929, there has been world-wide depression and the slump in prices of agricultural commodities has been too much to bear. In fact, the agrarian unrest, particularly in India, has been very conspicuous since 1930. That is why we are hearing so much of suspensions and remissions and even of modification of rates of land revenue in British India under the Congress Ministries. In Ramdurg, in the whole history of its administration, the people have never known what suspensions and remissions of revenue mean. Since 1930 in the adjoining British territory, there have been suspensions, remissions and relief works for the benefit of the starving population of the area. Such concessions have been unknown to the Ramdurg administration.

Iron-handed methods of administration made the subjects tongueless. Unrest was there in a very acute form in Ramdurg State, particularly since 1930, but it was underground. It is only since March, 1938, that the people have become a little bold. And this boldness assumed external form from the Congress propaganda being carried on in the adjoining villages of Bijapur district. It was thus that last year in March, some villagers of Ramdurg State, being hit very hard by famine conditions, were emboldened to approach the Rajasaheb with a humble request that he be graciously pleased to suspend one instalment of land revenue, as owing to famine it was utterly impossible for them to pay the entire revenue. The generous Rajasaheb unceremoniously rejected even that heart-rending request. This unexpected refusal completely opened the eyes of the Ramdurg State people. The seed of discontent which had been withering underground for want of encouragement, began to germinate and soon found expression in the establishment of the Praja Sangh under the leadership of one Mr. Munavalli. The general political atmosphere in the country was favourable to starting an institution like this to voice the grievances of the subjects. The agitation in a premier State like Mysore and also the agitation carried on in other equally important States like Travancore and Hyderabad could not but produce a healthy political effect in a smaller State where the administration, on close and impartial scrutiny, is found to be simply inhuman.

The people, who had been groaning under the weight of a number of taxes, willingly and enthusiastically rallied under the banner of the Praja Sangh of Ramdurg. This institution since its inception has been carrying on agitation on a broad basis and has been pressing for the redress of many grievances. The pressure of the agitation was not felt by the head of the State until June last, when matters apparently reached a serious pass. It

was then that some leading members of the Congress moved in the matter, and on the 21st of June, 1938, a compromise was arrived at between the Praja Sangh and the Ramdurg Darbar through the intervention of prominent Congressmen from Dharwar and Belgaum. This compromise, had it been given effect to, on the spot and immediately, would have eased the situation considerably, and it is very likely that the agitation would have ceased, at least for the time being.

Under the terms of the compromise, the main grievance about the land assessment was given for decision to a non-official committee of 6 members. This committee unfortunately took rather too long a time to pronounce its decision. The delay seems to have been regarded with some suspicion, and therefore the agitation instead of ceasing, appears to have continued, though not as intensely as before. The committee was not unanimous in its decision. Half the members recommended that there should be a reversion to the rates of the original survey, which meant a reduction of about 23%, whereas the other three members insisted on a flat reduction of 33%. Another recommendation of the committee seems to have been that the limit of the Income-tax should be raised to Rs. 700 from Rs. 500. The important question, in my opinion, is whether there can ever be any scope for the levy of Income-tax in small States composed of a few villages. In view of the fact that the limit in British India is Rs. 2,000 this recommendation in respect of income-tax does not seem to have given any satisfaction to the Praja Sangh. This fact, coupled with the inordinate delay on the part of the committee in giving its decision, appears to have been responsible for the continuance of the popular agitation.

Just about this time, the services of a retired revenue officer were engaged by the Darbar for the post of Diwan. *Rao Bahadur* Koundinya went there in July 1938 as Chief Administrator. It seems that with his knowledge of the British administration, he was not at all satisfied with the Ramdurg administration which, by comparison, appeared a soulless system. It was bound to be that, since Rajasaheb, who is said to play the double role of an Indian Prince and a money-lender, cannot have soul at all. It was notorious that administration particularly in small Indian States has always meant undiluted dictatorship. What can be expected, except the gifts of oppression and repression at the hands of a prince who like king Midas desires that he be a solid block of gold?

Rao Bahadur Koundinya went there at a time when the people were extremely restive. The glass-house of illusions which he had fondly built for himself when he left for Ramdurg does not seem to have endured for more than a few months. It was an extremely hard task for him to take the people into confidence, and at the same time to placate his miserly Prince to whom rupees and pies alone counted. He went to Ramdurg

just about one month after the compromise of June 1938. The sequel to this compromise, which ultimately ended in the tragedy of the 7th April, 1939, clearly shows that it was mere pressure of circumstances that made the Prince agree to it, and that, in fact, he was writhing within himself about it, for he seems to have thought it a death-blow to his hitherto unquestioned authority. It appears he showed willingness to accept the rates of the original survey, but the new Diwan, after a study of the situation, and the assessment question, came to the conclusion that a 33 per cent reduction, and not a 23 per cent reduction, as recommended by half the members of this committee, was the minimum which the situation demanded. The Diwan's conclusion, it is learnt, even had the approval of the Resident. All this made the Chief chafe all the more. But circumstances were conspiring against him, and with a little tightening of the screw by the Resident, he could not but accept a 33 per cent reduction of the land revenue.

It was thus that about the middle of February last a final compromise was effected between the Praja Sangh and the Darbar, on the basis of a 33 per cent reduction. This satisfied the people, the Diwan, and even the Resident, but seems to have caused any amount of mental disturbance to the Prince. He was still writhing within. It should be remembered that the April tragedy occurred within less than a month of the compromise. Another very significant circumstance is that at just about the time that the compromise was effected, the Darbar appointed a new D.S.P. and made some addition to the strength of the police. There was a sudden change of Diwan. Recovery of the land revenue was attempted with the aid of the police. These are all ominous circumstances. They clearly indicate that the Chief was both mentally and physically rearming, with grim determination to show his hand. While violence, whether on the part of the people or on the part of Darbar, should be condemned in unmistakable terms, the circumstances surrounding the tragedy remotely and immediately deserve impartial investigation.

It is strongly rumoured that with the secret blessings of Rajasaheb, a rival institution called Suprajasangh has been recently started. This and many other things will surely come to light, if the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee appoints a trustworthy Committee.

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In my first statement under the heading "Ramdurg and its Affairs" which I wrote at considerable length I have been able to show in broad outline how the agrarian situation in Ramdurg had been fast developing for the worse since February, 1938, and from facts and figures I have further shown how the administrative policy was extremely oppressive. Since I wrote the statement, a good many details about the tragedy have

appeared in print. As a Congressman, I most unequivocally condemn the mob violence that broke out in the morning of the 7th April, 1939. Provocation, however extreme and however deliberate, is not and cannot be justification for it. For an unarmed people and even for an armed people, non-violence seems to be the only sovereign remedy. Mahatmaji is clearly of opinion that even the Satanic strength of people like Hitler and Mussolini should and could be resisted, by non-violence. It requires therefore no special emphasis in the case of small States which in size in many cases do not come to one-fourth of a taluka in British territory. The people of any State, provided they are keen about the achievement of their ultimate object, cannot afford deviation from the strict path of non-violence and truth. I therefore hold that the misguided violence of the Ramdurg people has done great harm not only to themselves but also to their brethren in other States and even to people in British territory. I differ not from those who condemn the violence but from those many others who are attempting, consciously or unconsciously, to paint the Prince of Ramdurg in bright colours and to give the tragedy a communal colouring. It is notorious that in Patwardhan States and also in many other States the administration has from the beginning been not only oppressive and tyrannical but ultra-communal. In these Patwardhan States especially, even Deshastha Brahmins and Saraswats are taboo for service. This is anti-nationalism with a vengeance. They are so aggressively communal in their outlook, and even the slightest criticism of their administration completely upsets the Princes and they are ready with a reply that those who pass criticism about unquestionable facts are themselves communal. Exceptions may be pointed out as a reply to their aggressive communalism but that will not meet the charge; that will only confirm it all the more. The paramount power having always been wedded to the doctrine of non-interference in the internal administration of a State, has never bothered to know whether the children of the soil are crushed or allowed to live like human beings. The truth of the matter is that the children of the soil in these Patwardhan States have been always treated with indescribable contempt in the matter of their well-being. A casual peep into the administration of any of these States will convincingly show that the sole aim of the administration is to fleece the people and not to offer any facilities to them. It is true that the pressure of the political atmosphere in British territory is having its effect in the adjoining States. But left to themselves, these Princes are the last persons to think of doing any good to their subjects. Even where local talent has been available for service in any one of the various branches of administration, it is not being made use of. It was a historical blunder to have allowed these small States to exist. In Europe the smallest state, which is probably Albania, has at least a population of a million. How can one think of

having States with a population of 10,000 or 20,000 and so on? Economically, it is the silliest idea. Oppression, repression and a perpetual ban on individual liberty and freedom of association are inevitable features of small States though as a matter of policy, they are also features of big States. Relief can come to the people only by the abolition of small States and by no half-hearted measures. The paramount power may give these Princes any amount of pension consistent with their dignity and position, but to allow them to exist in their present garb of independent sovereignty will be economic folly of the first order. Having said this much, let me turn to Ramdurg.

Ample evidence can be collected from details published in the newspapers that the situation in Ramdurg after *Rao Bahadur Koundinya* left has been handled most unwisely. If the handling of the situation were made the sole test of competence, one cannot escape the conclusion that the Prince of Ramdurg has shown complete incompetence to rule. Let me scan all the immediate events leading up to the tragedy. On the 26th February, 1939, there was definitely a compromise with the Praja Sangh. From the interview of *Rao Bahadur Koundinya* published in *Tarun Bharat* (a Marathi weekly of Belgaum) of the 18th April, 1939, it is clear that the Darbar showed over-anxiety to collect revenue in terms of the compromise immediately, in spite of timely intimation by Mr. Munavalli, the President of the Praja Sangh, that the Darbar should not attempt recoveries before the terms of the compromise were broadcast sufficiently among the people. His request was summarily rejected. The police were sent out to warn people and on the plea that a no-tax campaign was preached, two men were arrested and it appears tried. The case against them was not proved. This is the first indiscreet step in the long chain of equally unwise steps, ultimately leading to the tragedy of April 7th. About this very time the services of *Rao Bahadur Koundinya*, who had shown tact in handling the situation, were dispensed with. From information from a reliable source I am able to say that *Rao Bahadur Koundinya* courageously suggested in writing to his master that repressive measures were no remedy at all. The second indiscretion was the appointment of a D.S.P. without any justification. Besides being a burden to the State he could not but be an eyesore to the Praja Sangh, which was determined solemnly to carry out its part of the contract. Thirdly, the police strength was augmented. Fourthly, a flag-staff which had been standing there for a year all of a sudden became a red rag to the Darbar. It is significant that this flag-staff was standing on a road of 90 feet width at a distance of only about 5 feet from the roadside. The steps taken by the Darbar in connection with the flag-staff, besides being indiscreet are also provoking. Fifthly, the sequel to these unfortunate steps was the declaration of the Praja Sangh as an unlawful association; extremely strange

behaviour after a year's friendship with it. Sixthly, to add fuel to the fire, the President of the Praja Sangh, Mr. Munavalli, and three other leading members of that institution were arrested and locked up without any previous intimation to them and thus they were snatched away from the midst of their important duty of pacifying people, who had been somewhat enraged by the behaviour of the Darbar over the flag-staff, which had been standing in its old place without obstructing anybody or any traffic for nearly a year; and lastly, the intended march of the crowd towards Ramdurg was known to the Darbar if not earlier at least four or five hours before the tragedy. I wonder why steps were not taken to stop that march instead of leaving instructions to the police in the jail to fire rounds if the crowd approached. This enumeration of the indiscreet steps adopted one after another with alarming rapidity will provide proof positive that the whole situation was handled foolishly by the Prince and his officers. None of them showed ordinary discretion or ordinary wisdom. It is therefore clear that the change of Diwanship at an extremely critical moment was a blunder of the first magnitude. The press reports and other evidence show that there has been indiscriminate looting by Pendaris. It should be ascertained who these Pendaris are and whether they are members of the Praja Sangh. The history of the Suprajasangh, the secretary of which is issuing leaflets thinking that the gullible public will swallow whatever is offered, must be thoroughly explored. As far as information is available at present, this rival institution sprang into existence some eight days prior to the arrival of the Political Resident at Ramdurg. The sudden birth of this institution gives room for all kinds of misgivings. The time of its birth clearly shows that it was intended to prove to the Political Resident that the Praja Sangh was not representative in character. Another dastardly aim underlying its birth seems to be to divide the people. In conclusion, as regards details of the looting and outraging of modesty, etc. I can only speak after visiting Ramdurg, which I intend shortly.

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At the end of the second article, I said that I would like to reserve my judgment about looting and outraging of modesty until I had personally visited Ramdurg.

On the 25th April, 1939, I visited Ramdurg. I was there for nearly 5 hours, from 12-30 to 5-30 p.m. As soon as I went there I told the people that I would like to see the jail buildings, the guest-house, and the road by which the crowd made its way to Ramdurg on the 7th. Two gentlemen accompanied me in my car, and together we went round the town, seeing everything that must be seen to allow of a correct judgment.

After seeing the jail buildings, the guest-house, the Badami road and the toll-bar, I went into the heart of the town. I went through the Wea-

vers' Street, and came back to the Old Bazar, from where I proceeded to Gandhi Chowk. I had to be on my feet for nearly an hour, for I wanted to see the scene of looting and also the place where the flag-staff stood before its removal. Being required to go from one looted shop to another, it naturally took me a pretty long time. I think, in all I visited more than fifteen looted shops. The bazar and almost all streets in Ramdurg present the appearance of a cemetery; fourteen annas of its population having left the town—I do not know whether for good. I was further told that Sureban, another big town of the tiny State, is completely emptied. This woeful tale of emigration, on a wholesale scale, extends to another ten villages. So it is not surprising if Ramdurg State today presents the appearance of a wild jungle.

But to turn to the story of riot and loot. On the 7th of April, 1939, the crowd which is variously estimated at 1,000 to 4,000 men, came from the direction of Badami road, shouting cries of "Jai". Some distance away from the jail buildings, which are situated close to Badami road, there is a guest-house. I was not allowed to enter the compound, much less to see the inside of the guest-house. From the place where I stood, however, I could see broken glass windows. The compound, which was admittedly not entered by the crowd, is in perfect order. Alongside the road, there were new railings, some of which have been cut and the iron bars of which have been removed; and the lamp-post in front of the toll-bar has been cut. The iron bars of the jail gate bear four or five clear, well-defined and deep bullet marks. The total casualties in the riot were 8 policemen killed, and 4 killed and 20 injured among the crowd. Ten of those injured have bullet wounds, and their condition was very serious for some time. They are now said to be on the way to recovery. From the bare facts mentioned here it is possible to draw conclusions, but I purposely abstain from drawing them, lest my attempt to do that might prejudice the work of an inquiry committee. I therefore confine myself to drawing the pointed attention of the public to one vital fact, namely, that the new D.S.P., the Diwan, and the Magistrate, Mr. Kadkol, were definitely aware of the approaching crowd. The Prince also must have been aware of it. That is why he surrounded himself with all the police except those in the jail buildings. The D.S.P., it is said, had gone some distance in the direction of the approaching crowd in the early hours of the 7th April. At about 8 a.m. the D.S.P., who is a very old man, went through the bazar to let the people there know that a big crowd was coming towards Ramdurg. The shopkeepers were warned not to stay outside and to remove sticks and bamboos, if any, from the front of their shops. The information was broadcast by blowing a bugle in all the main streets. The crowd, it is said, actually reached Ramdurg at 1 p.m.

Why the crowd was not prevented from entering the limits of Ram-

durg must be explained. It is very probable that, having heard of the happening of the previous day, the crowd were anxious to have a glimpse of the faces of Mr. Munavalli and the three others who were in the lock-up as guests of the Prince, having been arrested the previous day after the Praja Sangh had been declared unlawful.

Supposing the D.S.P. had taken Mr. Munavalli with him in his car in the direction of the crowd, can anyone dare deny that the ghastly tragedy could have been easily prevented? Why this obvious step was not taken is a mystery.

Were the officers, civil and police, raw, inexperienced young men? That does not seem to be the case. Most of the important officers are retired men of the British service. One of them, Mr. Kadkol, is known to us intimately. He had been Chief Officer of the District Local Board, Dharwar, and had served as First Class Magistrate and Mamlatdar at Bailhongal, Belgaum district, and at Sindagi taluka. It will not be very difficult for the Resident to secure the confidential records of the British officers. The knowledge of their records may help the Resident to appreciate the entire situation, as it went on developing, in a clearer perspective.

The tragedy was over at about 2 p.m. The looting which followed it began at midnight the same day and was finished by 3 a.m., to be followed again by another bout of looting from 10 a.m. in the morning to 6 p.m. in the evening of the next day.

I can without fear of contradiction maintain that the two days, the 7th and 8th of April, 1939, are the blackest days in the history of Ramdurg State. On the 7th night between 9 and 10 p.m., the local police went about the town telling the people that there was going to be an infantry parade and that they had better shut themselves in. The people, who in consequence of that day's tragedy had become extremely nervous and panic-stricken, were at their wits' end. The parade, though thus trumpeted, never took place. It is significant that false news about a military parade was broadcast, and was broadcast at a time when the normal thinking power of man had completely left him. It is true the military went there, but it is equally true that it never paraded. The people, on the other hand, being already terror-stricken by the day's tragedy, took the news seriously and actually shut themselves in under these circumstances. It was about midnight that the spirit of indiscipline and lawlessness in its naked form was shown. Loot began in a systematic and selective manner. Here the question is likely to be posed, as to who were the authors of the horrible crimes. They were no others than the State Police. Aided by the local hooligans, they indulged in an orgy of loot unprecedented in character. The world's history may not furnish a parallel to this event. Recently we have known enough of the persecution of Jews in Germany. The barbarity exhibited on the night of 7th April cannot be equalled

even by German methods of persecution. The latter are open and known in advance. There is sufficient openness even about military raids. But here at Ramdurg, the dastardly crime of looting was perpetrated on an innocent population lulled to confinement by an effective dose of scare. The loot first began in the Old Bazar. The shops of the prominent members of the Praja Sangh had been singled out for the first attack. These shops are all situated in the Old Bazar. Girdharlal is a member of the Working Committee, and his shop is the 5th or 6th shop from house No. 556, where Mr. Kadkol, the Magistrate, was residing up to the 20th April, when he left his old residence for a new one in the Fort. Chanabasappa Bembalagi is said to be the Vice-President of the Praja Sangh. His shop was broken open and the two wall cupboards were completely destroyed and all the contents looted. The owner of the shop having left the town, I could not learn the precise amount of property looted, but it is said to be worth more than 15,000 rupees. The shop of Mr. Pattan, who was in the lock-up with Mr. Munavalli, the President of the Praja Sangh, was also looted. I have only to mention that cloth worth Rs. 10,000 to 12,000 was removed from Mr. Girdharlal's cloth shop. The looters showed a sense of proportion, in that property worth only Rs. 2,000 was looted from Mr. Pattan's shop. In all about forty shops were looted, and that is substantial work for two days. On the night of the 7th April, only seven shops seem to have been looted, the procedure being selective and systematic. Two lathis, bearing the numbers 42 and 46, were shown to me. One of them was left in Bembalagi's shop. I do not remember the shop in which the other was left. Why should the police and their friends care about these poor lathis when, as if in substitution for them, they were getting cash and gold? Whatever they could lay their hands on was theirs. It is mentioned already that about 40 shops were broken into and looted. I think the entire loss, in terms of money, by reasonable computation, may not be less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs.

The second day's loot was most indiscriminate, and equally brutal and ghastly. It was done in broad daylight. Complete anarchy prevailed. Those who, out of sheer desperation, resisted, were beaten and the looting continued. Blacksmiths assisted the police in breaking open the iron safes, and four were successfully broken. One grocery-shopkeeper, on seeing me, burst into tears and stretched himself at my feet. He seemed overwhelmed with grief, having lost all the contents of his shop, easily estimated at Rs. 10,000. Four hundred oil tins were removed from his shop. His blank look suggested that he was out of his mind, and apparently he entertained an illusion that I could be of use to him. Those who were witnesses to this ghastly scene have provided me with the names of the policemen concerned in the nefarious dacoity. Whether in this tragic setting it is possible to think of justice through State officers, I leave

it to the disinterested and impartial public to judge. It is a harrowing story of open looting by the State police. The question for consideration is whether the police acted in defiance of constituted authority. Complaints about the looting have been lodged with the Resident. On going to Ramdurg, I learnt that he had been there on the 17th instant. It is said that he did not see the looted shops. Probably he was over-busy and must be thinking of future plans.

The happenings are sufficiently heart-rending, and from what I have seen at Ramdurg, I do not hesitate to say that the people who have left the State will not return to it. It is impossible to restore confidence in the people in the present circumstances. The situation demands at least two things immediately so that a proper atmosphere may be created for an impartial inquiry. One is that the administration of the State must be taken over by the Paramount Power at once. Secondly the Prince and the officers must be made to leave Ramdurg immediately pending an impartial inquiry into all the issues involved and emerging from the happenings at Ramdurg.

I have said nothing so far about outrages on modesty. From newspaper reports, it is abundantly clear that there were cases of assault on innocent and respectable women. I did not ask the people assembled any question about assault on women's modesty, thinking that information might be volunteered. I was mistaken. I should have known that the sense of self-respect and status always stands in the way of Indian people being too open about such matters. The history of the looting, so completely inhuman, satisfies any inquisitive mind as to what must have happened during those two days of deliberate anarchy. It is no use trying to be descriptive, since the frightful events of those two black days defy description. It is said that on the 9th the Police Sub-Inspector of the State left service and went home. This is a very significant circumstance, and a thorough inquiry into the cause of his leaving might help to unravel the story of the looting.

One word more about the so-called Suprajasangh, and I have done. It sprang into existence like the magician's mango-tree. Membership is being vigorously canvassed. People who neither own house nor land within the limits of Ramdurg State are its protagonists. It is a blessed institution in that it enjoys the secret blessings not only of the Prince, but of many others whose sole aim is communal domination.

Munavalli's public speech at Mudenur on 18-1-1939

The following throw light on the unhappy events at Ramdurg

Condemning Dewan's Proclamation

We have sent applications to the Dewan Saheb protesting against the press communique issued by him. He replied that those applications were illegal as the proclamation was issued after consulting the Committee. So I have come here to say a few words to you on that subject.

The proclamation is issued without consulting the members elected by the Praja Sangh. It has caused injustice to us. It is said that the proclamation was issued after consulting the committee (Gangadhar Rao Deshpande's Committee) that was appointed before, although the five members were called and asked to reduce the assessment. The members on that committee returned without coming to a final decision on the land assessment. Then the matter was discussed with Mr. Koujalgi and it was agreed to get the assessment reduced after explaining the difficulties to each other. Accordingly, our people went to the Palace, and there the Raja-saheb told us that a resolution would be passed about the reduction of assessment after discussing with the members elected by us. Accordingly, we elected five members. They were called for 2 or 3 days, papers were even shown to them, but the members were sent back without doing anything. Further this proclamation was issued. This was as it were an insult to them after they had been called. We are as it were slapped and kicked. We shall not remain quiet until we take revenge upon it. The Dewan says that these men were elected only for the work of looking into the papers, and that the Durbar had given the decision about the reduction of assessment in consultation with the first committee. But this committee was appointed after the first committee ceased to function. The first committee is as it were dead, and so, until the decision is given in consultation with our committee, we are not to pay the assessment. (He asked the people if they would give their consent to it. All gave their consent by clapping their hands). The Durbar has arranged to make arrests by recruiting additional police. Still, don't be afraid to face whatever they may do to you. But don't pay the land assessment. We want responsible government, which is a more important thing than this. We should be in readiness till we attain it. That alone will do us good. The present administration is unjust. We do not want this kind of administration which harasses the ryots without looking to their welfare. The welfare officers are harassing and troublesome to the ryots. Such mean officers should go away. If we want to drive them out, we must

have responsible government. On its attainment they will go away. There is no other goal but to attain responsible government. In a few days, the Durbar is going to enact two laws, *viz.*, one for the arrest of suspects, and another for the arrest of foreigners for making speeches here. Don't be afraid of that. Say on solemn affirmation that you won't be nervous. (All clapped their hands). At present the Oundh Durbar has given democratic government. We must also take it for ourselves. The income of Oundh State is $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs; and the Rajasaheb takes only Rs. 36,000 for his expenses. The remaining amount has been entrusted to the people. The income here is $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and the Rajasaheb takes Rs. 60,000 out of it for his expenses. He has forgotten to look to the welfare of his subjects. How mean he is who still says that he will squeeze his subjects. It is not possible for us to get happiness until autocracy goes away. Let us take responsible government. There is no doubt that we shall get happiness after we attain it.

From :

The Chairman,
Ramdurg Enquiry Assistance Committee,
RAMDURG.

To

Justice J. D. Davar, Bar-at-law,
Presiding Officer,
Ramdurg Enquiry Court,
RAMDURG.

Sir,

I have the honour to bring the following facts to your kind notice in the hope that you will be pleased to take necessary steps.

I may not repeat here that the said Committee was formed to assist your enquiry for, as in the view of the Committee, the State subjects were terror-stricken and quite afraid of leading evidence in your Court. Thus the object of the Committee is only to bring all the materials relevant and necessary for the purpose of your inquiry. I may be permitted to add that the Committee has been trying to the best of its ability for the same.

But I regret to observe that our Committee does not find an assuring atmosphere. This is especially so, since the Committee has begun leading evidence on behalf of the people.

In every village, policemen are kept and they are keenly observing and watching the movements of those who are ready and likely to come forth as witnesses for the people. The police are reported to be taking down the names and sometimes giving threats also.

The Police are further reported to have been parading in the villages singing songs said to be indecent ones.

It is also reported that the police, a military detachment, and State officers, high and low have begun to parade the streets of the town of Ramdurg for the past two or three days.

The subjects terrorised and terror-stricken, it may be seen how all these actions on the part of the State servants will strike fear into the people's minds. Thereby the Enquiry Officer is indirectly kept away from good many materials relevant to the Enquiry.

If this sort of thing continues unchecked, it will be impossible to lead evidence on behalf of the people and the object of having a fair enquiry is bound to be frustrated.

In view of all these adverse circumstances, the Assistance Committee is shortly meeting to consider the present position. In the meanwhile, I humbly request you to advise the Durbar, to stop the police and other officers from going on with their terrorising activities, as mentioned above. And I further request you to please move the Durbar to postpone the alleged regular investigation and stop arrests so that there will be a free and thorough inquiry, which is the common concern of all parties, Durbar, people and this Court.

RAMDURG.
27-7-1939

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Chairman,
Ramdurg Enquiry Assistance Committee,
Ramdurg.

From :

The Chairman,
R. E. Assistance Committee,

To

Justice J. D. Davar, Bar-at-law,
Presiding Officer of the Enquiry into Ramdurg
Riots,
RAMDURG.

Sir,

With reference to my petition and reply from the Durbar Counsel, I humbly state as under :

1. When I presented the petition your Lordship was pleased to say that unless there will be concrete instances of the police having maltreated or harassed any people, such prayers cannot be considered.

2. Of course the reply of the Durbar is what it should be.

3. Mr. Angadi argued today that he was ready with instances of persons maltreated, that they were present in Court to-day and that they

should be examined. He also brought to the notice of the Court an instance of maltreatment to an undertrial prisoner Channayya and he should be brought to the Court and examined.

4. Your Lordship was pleased to say that your Lordship had no power.

5. I made my request only because the assurance of immunity from arrest would be meaningless if according to my request, there would be no further arrangement as prayed for in my petition.

6. I believe that an order might have been passed below my petition to the effect that the Court had no jurisdiction.

7. I hope that you will kindly order the authorities concerned to supply to undersigned with a copy of such order and oblige.

RAMDURG.
29-7-1939.

I beg to remain, Sir
Your most obediently,

FEARFUL EXCESSES IN RAMDURG

Statement by Sardar Veeranna Gowd and
Hallikeri Gudleppa 17-4-1939

A clear picture of the happenings at Ramdurg: a statement by Sardar Veeranna Gowd and Hallikeri Gudleppa. (Translated from Sarana Sandesha of 17-4-39.)

Sardar Veeranna Gowd and Hallikeri Gudleppa have issued the following statement after their tour of Ramdurg:

Consequent on the recent flagstaff incident, many things happened in Ramdurg, especially the killings, looting and outrages on women on 7th; and we visited Ramdurg to ascertain the truth about these outbursts of savagery. From the moment of our reaching the place people came to us in large numbers and stood before us as if dumb, tears flowing from their eyes and unable even to speak in the midst of their choking sobs. It was a piteous sight. The people of Sunnala had run out of their homes with only the clothes they wore, and were sitting on the roadside starving, and we could see their plight. At about 8 in the morning we entered Ramdurg. Those whom we first met were the police. They did not hinder us from proceeding. We went along the bazar street looking into the shops which had been looted. From there we went to the Mamlatdar's house.

After a brief conversation with the Mamlatdar, we proceeded to the jail. There were signs of the tragic happenings on the 7th. A part of the building had been burnt down. Marks of the blood which had flowed

when policemen were killed there could clearly be seen, and we were grieved at the dastardly murder which had taken place.

We now tried carefully to ascertain the circumstances which had led to this ghastly murder. For this we had to go through the streets of the town. They were completely deserted, and the town had the appearance of a plague-stricken place. There were people inside a few houses, and some of them lay with gunshot wounds. A few had been seriously wounded, and they had no medical relief. Officers of Government had not cared to look at them. There was consternation everywhere. The circumstances which formed the prelude to the ghastly incendiarism and murder at the jail, as we were able to find out after an extensive inquiry, are the following :

Measures of unrestrained Governmental repression, arrest of respected leaders like Munavalli, declaration of the Praja Sangh as unlawful, the police going about the streets of Ramdurg using foul words of abuse—all these spread among the surrounding villages like wildfire. Irresponsible people circulated rumours that Munavalli and others were being made to starve in prison, even that they had been killed. When such rumours reached the villages, people from those parts began to pour into Ramdurg demanding that the old flagstaff must be replanted in its place and they must be permitted to see Munavalli. When they approached the jail and demanded the release of their leader, Munavalli, it is said that the police started firing on them from inside the jail.

Many people were wounded by this firing, and we are told that one or two were killed. The people were enraged by this, and burnt the jailor's house, the jail stores, the office and the gate. The authorities of the jail now released Munavalli and other leaders and brought them outside.

As soon as he came out Munavalli tried hard to have the fire extinguished. He then addressed the mob. He told them that it was quite wrong on their part to have indulged in incendiarism and riot, and exhorted them to be calm and non-violent. The people were at once appeased. Munavalli then proceeded to Devangamath, taking with him the jail Superintendent. Some among the crowd followed them. The others stood in groups in the open field in front of the jail, and were about to return to their villages:

Just then a lorry-load of policemen arrived from Rajwade, and began to fire upon the people, who were quite peaceful. Three or four people fell down dead. This provoked the people to desperation, and they rushed into the jail and in their blind fury killed the policemen they met. If only Munavalli had been brought out and allowed to speak to the people when they came near the jail, they would have been appeased and the incendiarism would not have taken place ; and later, if the police had not

indulged in unprovoked firing, there would not have been the rush into the jail and the murder of policemen.

After this we came to the bazar street. We saw a large number of people with gunshot wounds. We heard accounts of the brutal beating of Bembalgi Siddaramappa and his wife. We then inspected the looted shops. We were told that, between the night of the 7th and the morning of the 9th, at least 30 shops had been looted. They broke into Magundappa Menasigi's shop and carried away goods worth eight to ten thousand rupees, and tore the business documents. The poor man is now mentally unstrung. In many shops the iron safes have been broken open and the contents carried away. Account books have been burnt. The doors of looted shops are left open; the people are panic-stricken and do not know what to do. All business men openly say that Mussalmans, Pendaris, Marathas also joined in this looting. The loss is estimated at 2 lakhs. It is said that the articles looted are still in the town. Traders say that these articles can be recovered and restored to the owners if a diligent search is made.

Still it is a deplorable fact that, whatever the provocation, the people did not follow the path of non-violence and indulged in heinous acts of incendiarism and murder. The Government and the people have both to learn a lesson from this episode.

Statement of Marularadhya Sastri

Marularadhya Sastri explains how outsider interference in the affairs of Ramdurg needlessly complicated a simple question and made the people suffer ultimately. (Translation of an article written to the Lokamatha of Hubli by Marularadhya Sastri)

It was published in the newspapers that a compromise between the Rajasaheb of Ramdurg and his subjects was effected through the efforts of the six members of the Enquiry Committee appointed on 21-6-38 on behalf of the Deccan States Conference. Sjt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, one of the members of the Committee, has issued his own statement. Many people reading in the news-columns that the agitation in Ramdurg State, in spite of this, has not ceased and that it is being again carried on, are curiously asking me the truth about this. So I think it better to publish the facts concerning this.

The above mentioned members of the committee came to Ramdurg on 5-6-38. Nobody should here forget that this committee was appointed not with the intention of effecting a compromise but only to report on the situation. These members visited Ramdurg, Sureban and other villages and studying the situation there expressed their utmost satisfaction

to see discipline and unity maintained. Deshabhakta Shankarao Deo and Sjt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande gave highly inspiring speeches in many public meetings. People were therefore satisfied. Deshabhakta Shankarao Deo saw the Rajasaheb on 6-6-1938 and then calling some members of the Praja Sangh and some villagers who had come there on that day, told them that their Rajasaheb was asking him anyhow to pacify the agitation and that he (Deo) would interfere in this matter provided they would abide by him. Sjt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande also told them that Deo was like God and an associate of Mahatma Gandhi and that it behoved them to keep confidence in such a man. He also assured them that both of them would try their best for their welfare. Thereupon some people began to reason among themselves in the spirit of honouring the words of such high personages. Some began to object to such delegation and some assented to it on condition that their demands should be satisfied. I was the man who opposed it most. I was of opinion that no outsider should intervene in this matter. I did not consent to it for five or six hours. Great efforts were made to obtain my consent. Sjt. Andaneppa Doddameti, one of the committee members, tried his best to win me over. At last after discussion on each of the demands of the Praja Sangh, we outlined the limits for compromise and I gave my consent. The President of the Praja Sangh gave his word of consent to the committee of six, when Sjt. Andaneppa Doddameti declared that compromise would be made on those conditions and not otherwise. This authority was given to them on consulting some members but without getting a resolution passed in the managing committee or in the central body (of the Praja Sangh). When this committee was entrusted with this task they discussed as to what demands should be placed before the Rajasaheb and then came to a certain decision. They called me and Sjt. Munavalli and handing over a typed copy of their discussion, told us that those demands would be placed before the Rajasaheb, and that in case of his non-compliance—better if he complies with them—they would tell him to have his own way. They asked for our opinion, which really they ought not to have done because it was once entrusted to them. I was of opinion that they were justified in giving their own verdict after consulting the Rajasaheb like us. We gave our approval though there was no satisfaction of the demands to the extent we desired. It is heard that they placed it before the Rajasaheb and that the latter took a period of eight days for consideration. After the lapse of eight days, the members of the committee called by the Rajasaheb returned of their own accord and saw him. They returned on learning that a public statement would be issued on the 21st. At the time of their return and prior to that they were showing us signs of full success to our cause. Deshabhakta Shankarao Deo many a time declared that most of our demands (literally 12 annas and below 14 annas in a rupee) would

be met. Thinking that there remained nothing for discussion and the publication of a statement of assent on the part of Rajasaheb was the only thing left, I went to Sitimani to attend the District Congress Committee meeting to be held on the 21st or 23rd. I read in the *Samyukta Karnatak* (a Kannada daily of Belgaum) the conditions of compromise and I was greatly surprised and equally pained to see that the conditions which we assented to were not there at all. On the 24th I went to Sureban and learnt all the facts. All the villagers had come to Ramdurg on the 21st and the members of the committee had struggled hard to get their approval for the conditions already published. The villagers were refusing and anyone who spoke against was silenced for one reason or another. Interpreting the clapping of a few hands out of pressure as the assent of all, the members went to the Darbar. Some leaders of the village people only were there. The Rajasaheb announced in his speech the concessions he was extending to the people and laid all the guilt at the doors of the agitators. I am intending to write a separate article to let the public know how hollow, shallow, unprincipled and partial is this publication. After the publication was issued, a public meeting was held at Gandhi Chouk (square). The audience reflected how sullen and hateful they were towards the members of the committee. Sjt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande praised the Rajasaheb for his magnanimity and began to explain the implications of the compromise. Immediately the people created a row, said whatever they could, and dispersed. Then Sjt. Andaneppa Doddameti came down from the platform, folded his hands to the people saying that their dispersal would mean an insult to high persons, stopped them from going, and implored them in many ways to hear patiently though they dissented. Thereupon some returned and took their seats. Sjt. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande and Sjt. Munavalli thought that the people had by their very insulting behaviour disapproved of the proposals. At that very time a messenger from the Rajasaheb came with a document for taking the signature of Sjt. Munavalli. Then Sjt. Munavalli, it is said, questioned the people as to whether he should sign the document. The people sat silent and did not reply. Construing silence on their part as consent to the proposals, Sjt. Munavalli signed the document. The people being discontented took their way to their villages. All the people were now waiting for me. On the 24th I explained to them in the public meeting held at Sureban about the implications in the conditions for compromise. The people had made up their mind to carry on the agitation and they are now carrying it on with more vigour. The Mamlatdar Saheb is touring for the collection of Local Fund, and wherever he goes, people confront him with disapproval for that compromise and refuse to pay even a single pie. The facts stand like this. The subjects of Ramdurg State being driven to a desperate condition have resorted to this agitation.

'They have made up their minds to carry on the agitation till a satisfactory solution is found. So I appeal to the public to sympathise with and help them in all possible ways.

Marularadhya Sastri's letter to Gandhiji about the interference of outsiders in the affairs of the State.

From :

Marularadhya Sastri,
BIJAPUR.

To

Mahatma Gandhiji.

Sub : *Affairs of Ramdurg State*

DEAR BAPUJI,

I read your article in the *Harijan* of the 4th March 1939 about the agitation in Ramdurg State, a small state in the Bombay Karnatak and I may be permitted to inform you that the article came to me as a great surprise. In this article you have been pleased to refer to a note submitted to you. In that connection, I may say that the note contains certain mis-statements and half-truths.

In this connection I wish to place the following facts for your kind perusal :

(1) I am an humble Congressman from the year 1930 and the people of Bijapur District know full well the nature of the service that God has enabled me to render for the Congress and the nation. I propose to write to you on a later occasion my own experiences in public life, the relation between our District Congress Working Committee and that of K.P.C.C. under the guidance of Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande and the consequent relations about the affairs of Ramdurg State. I now confine myself to the Ramdurg agitation. I claim to have some share in the agitation by the subjects of the Ramdurg State, and in this connection, I have already addressed to you a letter dated 13-5-38 and I have also kept a copy of it herewith for your kind perusal. I am born in Ramdurg and I have got some interest in the State. So, when I visited the Ramdurg State to enquire into the grievances of the subjects of the said State, the people there strongly urged me to help them by starting the Ramdurg Sansthan Praja Sangh. I accepted their invitation on the condition that the people there should agree to carry on agitation on non-violent and peaceful lines. Accordingly, the Praja Sangh was started and it is not correct to say that it was started at the instance of Mr. Yalagi.

At the first instance, the State Sowkars were not enthusiastic about the agitation but in view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of

the subjects joined the Praja Sangh they had no other alternative but to join the said Mandal of their own free will. The said Praja Sangh met on 13-5-1938 at Sureban, a village in the State, and Mr. Munavalli was elected as the president of the Mandal. The said meeting formulated certain demands such as introduction of responsible Government in the state, revision of the taxation system on the British India model, etc. The said demands were presented to the Chief.

I may assure you that an intensive agitation on absolutely non-violent lines was carried on and this fact has been stated in my previous letter dated 19-5-38. The Chief Saheb got alarmed. It became absolutely impossible for him to suppress the agitation. Curiously enough, the Dewan Saheb began to pay constant visits to Mr. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande of Belgaum. Mr. Deshpande desired to come to the State if invited by the Sangh. Fortunately or unfortunately the Mandal did not stretch any invitation to him. I was once informed by Mr. Gangadhar Rao himself that he has been approached by the Rajasaheb to intervene in the affairs and that he would like to visit the State if urged by the subjects and it pained me to inform him that the subjects of the State were not inclined to tolerate outside intervention as the question was purely between the subjects and their Rajasaheb. Being not contented with this, Mr. Gangadhar Rao tried to induce some other leaders of the Ramdurg agitation to invite him into the State. Thus he began to try all possible methods to get a scope to enter the State territory.

The conference of the Deccan States peoples was held at Sangli on 22-5-38 under the presidentship of Sardar Vallabhabhai. I attended the conference along with certain representatives of Ramdurg Praja Sangh. It was there that I had to undergo a very painful experience. Serious attempts were deliberately made by some responsible gentlemen to poison the minds of the conference people about the Ramdurg agitation and to see that the resolution about the Ramdurg repression was not passed in the conference. Some Brahmin gentlemen (the Ramdurg Rajasaheb happens to be a Brahmin) began to attribute communal motives against me and carried on a propaganda that Marularadhya Sastri being a non-Brahmin is leading an agitation out of communal animosity in a Brahmin State. Now dear Bapuji! I fail to understand how the question of communal interest comes in when an agitation against the State ruler is involved. Let me earnestly assure you, that it is not a communal movement nor that of the so-called Leftists—as some persons please to call it—but it is a genuine movement of the oppressed people against an autocratic ruler.

The Sangli conference appointed Sjt. Sankarao Deo and others only to make enquiry into the conditions prevailing in Ramdurg State and to report to the conference. The said committee visited the State and after an enquiry issued a statement on 7-6-38 that the agitation in the State is

carried on in a nonviolent and disciplined way. They also delivered inspiring speeches against the autocracy of the ruler of the State. Subsequently, the article in the newspapers written by Messrs. Andaneppa Doddameti, rightist M.L.A., and myself would go to show that things began to drift against the interest of the subjects of the State. (The translated copies are herewith attached).

At any rate the subjects of the State were completely dissatisfied. Their interest was disregarded. The so-called settlement did not in the least remove the economic grievance of the subjects. There was no hope of any constitutional advance. In short, there was great apprehension in the minds of almost all the subjects about their future.

Serious attempts were again made to condemn me in the Ramdurg agitation and out of disgust for such incidents, I resigned the membership of the Praja Sangh and left the State and since then I have not taken any part in the agitation.

Thus you will see that the President of the Praja Sangh entered into a pact with the Rajasaheb disregarding the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the subjects. It is out of place to discuss the reason why the president of the Praja Sangh did so. The discontentment did remain the same. Without any intervention or help from any of the outsiders, the no-tax campaign which had already been started before the settlement, still continued. It is not correct to say that an attempt is now being made on behalf of the Ramdurg Praja Sangh to terrorise the ruler into further concessions. On the other hand the Rajasaheb of Ramdurg, it appears, is resorting to various kinds of ways to persuade the outside Congressmen to help him in his hour of need.

The writer of the note addressed to you refers to a resolution of the Karnatak P.C. Committee about the Ramdurg affairs. It passes my comprehension as to how the resolution of K.P.C.C. is binding on the subjects of the State, the members of the Praja Sangh.

Now the question arises, what should be the attitude of the Congressmen of Karnatak outside the Ramdurg State? Should they help the ruler or the subjects? Should their energies be directed to support the Rajasaheb against the wishes of the subjects of the State or should they remain indifferent? If I know the mind of the subjects of the Ramdurg State correctly, I am strongly of opinion that the State subjects there are not in need of any support of outside Congressmen. What they resent is the undue partiality, the undue interference, of these so-called Congressmen of Karnatak in support of Rajasaheb. Your valued advice on this question is earnestly sought by me.

Now, Bapuji, your article about Ramdurg affairs has come to us like a great shock. Are we to understand that the Congressmen of Karnatak should enter the State and carry on agitation in favour of the so-called

settlement which does not benefit them in any way, or are we to remain indifferent with due deference to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the subjects of the State? The note addressed to you appears to be written by one who wants to enter the State uninvited to carry on an agitation in favour of the Chief Saheb. Bapuji, the nation admires you. The Indian people have complete faith in you. But for heaven's sake do not believe in those who are prompted by the Rajasaheb. If you will be pleased to spare some time, your visit to Ramdurg State is most welcome. A short enquiry by you will convince you that the agitation there is carried on in a disciplined and non-violent way.

Let me humbly appeal to you to advise the Congressmen of Karnatak not to side with the Rajasaheb when the subjects of the Ramdurg State resent their interference. Hoping that you will be pleased to do the needful.

Yours sincerely,
MARULARADHYA SASTRI.

MYSORE STATE

SPECIAL BRANCH ABSTRACTS FOR THE YEAR 1932

Political Activities January 1932

The popular fight against autocratic rule in Mysore from January 1932 to the end of 1939, gathered from Government records, illustrating how the Government tried to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds at the same time.

Bangalore: As a protest against the arrest of Congress leaders, Nehru J, Sherwani, and the deportation of Gaffar Khan, a partial hartal was observed in Bangalore City on 27th and 28th December 1931, at the instance of the City Congress Committee, and most of the shops were closed.

On the evening of 28th, a public meeting was held under the chairmanship of K. Shamanna. Over 3,000 people were present. Many who spoke exhorted the audience to be prepared to abide by the decisions of the A.I.C.C.

News of the arrest of Gandhi and Patel at Bombay was received at Bangalore on 4-1-32 and the City Congress Committee requested the public to observe hartal and attend the meetings to be held at Dharmambudhi tank. On the evening of 4th and 5th meetings were held under the presidency of S. Venkatapathia. Messrs. Bhashyam, Seetharama Sastry, T. T. Sharma, V. Venkatappa, K. Krishnamurthy and others exhorted the public to join Civil Disobedience movement and to boycott foreign goods. Partial hartal was observed.

In pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to observe 26th January as 'Independence Day' the students of the Central College and the Intermediate College, Bangalore and some other schools struck work. The strike was peaceful throughout.

The Bangalore District Congress Committee held a meeting in Dharmambudhi tank in the evening under the presidency of S. N. M. Razvi. Messrs. K. S. Shamanna, G. R. Swamy, V. S. Narayana Rao and others addressed the gathering. The necessity of deputing volunteers from Mysore State to British India to break the laws of the country was explained and people were urged to boycott the British goods. The message of Sardar Sardul Singh, Dictator, I. N. C. was read at the meeting. On the 29th January, the District Congress Committee arranged to observe 'Peshawar Day' in honour of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and his

band of Red Shirts. Flowers made of red khadi cloth called 'Peshawar red flowers' were sold during the day. Students went on strike and foreign cloth was burnt. In the evening a meeting was held, K. Shaman-na presided. The people were requested to use only swadeshi goods.

Bangalore District: Hartal observed and meetings held at Magadi and Kanakanahalli towns on 5-1-32 and processions passed through the principal streets. At Kengeri, Hoskote, Vadigenahalli, Nelamangala town, hartal was observed. In all these places portraits of national leaders were taken out in procession. Speeches were made on the life and greatness of Gandhiji and urging the people to join the Congress. The arrest of Congress leaders was condemned.

On a report of the District Superintendent of Police, Bangalore District, the District Magistrates passed an order under Section 39 M.P.R. prohibiting Govindan (who has been expelled from C. & M. Station) and Changalaraya Naidu of the Nehru Sevashram, C. & M. Station, from delivering speeches in and around Bangalore City. They were arrested and handed over to the C. & M. Station police.

Agrarian unrest: A large number of persons from Maddur came on a deputation to the Dewan in connection with the contributions and other taxes relating to the irrigation of lands under the Irwin Canal project. They returned on 5-1-32.

The Proprietor, Select Picture Palace, refrained from exhibiting the film styled 'Mahatmaji's reception at Bombay after Round Table Conference' as per direction of the Superintendent of Police.

The City Municipal Council adjourned its meeting on 9-1-32 as a protest against the policy of alleged repression and particularly the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders.

On 29-12-31, a meeting in connection with Swami Shraddhananda was held.

From the 27th of last month, there have been political and religious meetings every day. The language of some of the speakers was intemperate. N. D. Srirangachari speaking on the 4th instant said "India is now in the hands of robbers and murderers and the leader of such robbers is Willingdon."

On 8-1-32, a public meeting was convened by the Students League on Subbarayanakere Maidan as a protest against the arrest of Congress leaders at Bombay. L. V. Rajagopal, Agaram Rangiah, Tagadur and others delivered speeches urging the boycott of foreign goods, encouraging swadeshi, removal of untouchability and to arrange peaceful meetings and hartals, whenever necessary.

Chitaldrug: On the evening of 29-12-31, there was an open air meeting at which Hardekar Manjappa spoke on the present political situation in British India.

D. S. Mallappa vehemently spoke on the necessity for "Responsible Government" in the Mysore State. He declared that Government does not attach any value to the opinion of the members of the Representative Assembly and Legislative Council. People should strive hard to see that responsible Government is established as early as possible so that public opinion may be valued and not disregarded as at present. The trend of his speech was almost the same as that of the one made by him at the first Prajapaksha Conference held in Channapatna on 13-9-31.

On 15-1-32 during the visit of the Dewan to Shimoga at a meeting of citizens convened to discuss town improvements Messrs. Narayana Iyengar, Jayathirthachar and Siddaiya made vehement speeches complaining of the highhandedness of the police on 6-1-32 and demanded immediate punishment of the officers concerned. Mr. Durgappaiya and Pandit, Secretary District Congress Committee, also spoke on the same subject and they wanted the local hospital to be named after H.H. the Maharaja instead of after Col. McGann.

Mr. Narayana Iyengar made a reference to the conduct of the police in the address presented to His Highness on the 16th at Khadi Bhandar.

Kolar District: The towns of Chickballapur and Bowringpet observed hartal on 6-1-32 as a protest against the arrest of Gandhiji.

Swadeshi towels on which the effigies of Gandhi, Bhagat Singh and others are shown and the words "Boycott British goods" are written are being sold by shopkeepers at Kolar. They were warned by the police and have undertaken not to sell any more such towels (February 1932).

Agrarian unrest: February 1932. One Muninarayanappa and another Hanumanthappa of Bijavana village in Devanahalli taluk are reported to have instigated the villagers of Bijavana and Harehalli not to pay the land revenue.

Mysore District: On 9th February a meeting was held to celebrate the anniversary of the late Motilal Nehru.

The Mysore District Magistrate has by an order prohibited the erection of a flagstaff and the hoisting of Congress flag within the limits of Tagadur village and five miles around it for a period of six months.

Kadur District Government officers: Sub-Assistant Surgeon T. M. Veenayagam, Head Master Krishna Rao, Octroi Mustaddi Virupiah and Sanitary Maistry Venkatarayappa of Birur are reported to be in sympathy with the Congress movement and they are said to be encouraging the Congress members to defy the police and orders of the District Magistrate and to take processions, etc.

It is learnt that Krishna Rao has been warned by the Educational authorities on a former occasion to desist from taking part in political movement. (The above Government officers were transferred to Sulibele and Thirthahalli respectively as a punishment.)

Tumkur District: A meeting was held in the compound of Gatti Gurusiddappa's Choultry on the 29th January in connection with 'Peshawar Day'. Gubbi Hutchappa, Setlur S. K. and Puttamuddiah delivered speeches on the activities of Gaffar Khan and his followers and they advised the audience to boycott the foreign goods and wear khadder. It was also urged that Muslims should unite with Hindus and follow the Congress creed.

Chitaldrug District: The members of the Khadi Vastralaya at Davangere have started propaganda work by distributing pamphlets and by means of writing on the walls of houses and shops requesting the public to use Indian goods only and to give up the habit of drinking.

On the morning of 21st January, Kasal Srinivasa Sastry, Bellada Siddalingaiah and Sivagangiah of the Khadi Vastralaya accompanied by volunteers visited the foreign cloth shops and requested the merchants not to sell foreign cloth and they came to an agreement with the merchants that the present stock should be sold away within four months and no fresh consignment of foreign cloth should be received.

On the 4th February, Bellada Siddalingappa of Khadi Vastralaya and others went to Keroji Rao's shop and asked him to sign an agreement not to get any more foreign goods and to dispose of the present stock within four months. On his refusing to do so, they picketted his shop for a day and on his signing the agreement the next day the picketting was stopped. All the piece goods merchants dealing in foreign cloth except three are stated to have signed the agreement.

On the evening of 6th, a public meeting was held. Bellada Siddalingappa spoke about the boycotting of foreign goods and the progress achieved so far. He then read out the terms of agreement already arrived at with some of the merchants and expressed the hope that such of the merchants as had not yet given their consent to the agreement would do so shortly. He concluded his speech by expressing the idea of Gandhiji that the way to attain Swaraj immediately was by boycotting foreign goods.

The cloth shop of Murigappa was picketted for a few hours in the morning and evening on the 9th instant as he refused to sign the agreement regarding the disposal of foreign goods.

The picketting of foreign cloth shops at Davangere has stopped since the 12th February on which date cloth merchants Murigeppa and Veerachand entered into an agreement with the members of the Khadi Vastralaya that they would not get any fresh consignment of foreign cloth. Some members are watching the Railway Station premises and the Octroi office to find out if foreign cloth is being received in the town.

Bellada Siddalingappa and Sivagangappa members of Khadi Vastralaya have been warned by the District Superintendent of Police.

Kolar District: Printed leaflets in Kannada advocating the use of swadeshi and boycotting of foreign goods were distributed in Bowringpet and Kolar towns.

Kadur District: On the night of 9th February the portraits of Gandhiji and other leaders were taken in procession on a palanquin decorated with a Congress flag. The police stopped the procession as the prohibiting orders of the District Magistrate preventing the exhibition of the Congress flag was still in force.

On the evening of 16th February, a public meeting was held, Hosakoppa and others spoke, advocating the use of Indian made goods and the boycott of foreign articles.

Activities during March 1932

Bangalore City: Two meetings, one on the 3rd and the other on the 4th, were held under the auspices of the District Congress Committee. S. N. M. Razvi, K. Shamanna, V. S. Sanjeeva Rao, Belur V. Venkatappa and T. T. Sharma made speeches condemning the action of the Central Jail authorities in Bangalore for the brutal treatment given to the political prisoners there. Resolutions were passed (1) condemning the brutal action of the jail authorities, (2) praying Government to abolish the system of flogging, (3) requesting the Government to conduct an impartial and independent enquiry regarding the flogging incident in the jail, and (4) to send the above resolutions to His Highness, the Dewan and Chief Secretary.

Bangalore District: Leaflets on the 'Revolutionary Students in China' and 'extent of gold exported from this country' are being distributed at Yelahanka and other places.

Under the presidency of V. Venkatappa, a conference of about 300 ryots of Manchenahalli took place at Manchenahalli, Channapatna taluk, on the 6th March. The conference opened with the singing of national songs and the speakers exhorted the gathering to be united in their efforts to get their grievances redressed. They cited the attempts made by the ryots of Mandya and other taluks as an instance in point. Veeranna Gowda appealed to them to be as undaunted and non-violent as the Bardoli and Shivapur ryots. In conclusion, he referred to the punishment of whipping as an example and said that the pernicious rules should be done away with.

V. Venkatappa who presided emphasised the need for changing the constitution of the Government and the Legislature and suggested "Walk Outs" by the members of Representative Assembly and Legislative Council and non-cooperation with the Government whenever their prayers were ignored.

Mysore District: On 28-2-32, Ramdas of Hyderabad residing in Mysore City hoisted a Congress flag in Subbarayanakere in defiance of the prohibitory order of the District Magistrate. He was sentenced to 2 months simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 50.

There were three political meetings on the 3rd, 4th and 5th, the first two for protesting against the whipping in the Central Jail and the last for advocating swadeshi and condemning the repressive measures adopted by the British Government.

On the 15th instant a meeting was held at Mandya to protest against the cruel treatment accorded to the political prisoners in Central Jail. K. Veeranna presided.

Tumkur District: On 29-2-32, a public meeting was held, S. K. Setlur and Subramanyam spoke condemning the action of the Jail authorities in Bangalore in connection with the whipping of the political prisoners, and the hardships to which they were subjected. Resolutions were passed to the same effect. On the 4th a public meeting was held to celebrate the second month of the incarceration of Gandhiji. Ranga Iyengar and others spoke on swadeshi and prohibition.

Chitaldrug: Foreign cloth was collected and burnt at Davangere on the Holi feast day (21-3-32).

Hassan: L. S. Iyer of Bangalore delivered a lecture at Saklespur on the aims and objects of the Buy Indian League and appealed to the people to encourage Indian goods and to open a swadeshi cloth shop.

Kolar: Leaflets printed by the Swadeshi League, Bangalore, advocating the use of jaggery instead of foreign sugar and urging the boycott of foreign goods were distributed among the students of Bowringpet High School.

On 27-2-32, a procession was taken out by the students of the local Municipal High School and A. V. School shouting slogans and advocating swadeshi.

Government Officers: Ramaswami Iyengar, school master, Ramakrishnaiya, registration clerk, Thippeswamy, Patel, Krishna Rao, Taluk Sheristedar, Sanitary Inspector Narasappa and Shanbogue Narayana Rao, all residing in Molakalmuru, took active part in the inauguration of the opening of a Hindi class and swadeshi cloth stores at Molakalmuru.

Govindaraja Mudaliar, Sub-Assistant Surgeon of Ajjampur, is reported to be associating with the Congressmen of Birur and said to be decrying the police as they closely watch the movements of agitators.

Political activities during April 1932

Hartal was observed in the city on 24-4-32 to protest against the arrest of Sarojini Naidu. All the shops of Hindus were closed. A meet-

ing was held, S. N. M. Razvi presiding. Resolutions were passed condemning the repressive policy of the Government of India in preventing the holding of a normal session of the Indian National Congress, and congratulating Gowramma on her suffering and incarceration at Siddapur.

Miscellaneous: A dramatic troop of Kudligi taluk in Bellary district staged social dramas at Nayakanahatti Jatra on 24th and 25th, one of the dramas being "Present Situation". Scenes were depicted intending to preach temperance, use of swadeshi and eulogizing the life of Gandhi.

The dramatic company has since arrived at Chitaldrug, and the District Superintendent of Police has asked the proprietor not to stage such dramas.

Activities from May 1932 to December 1932

Bangalore City: A meeting was held on 13th May to commemorate "Sholapur Day". Speeches were made on the Buy Indian League and the incidents of Sholapur riots were briefly narrated.

In commemoration of the 47th session of the Indian National Congress held at Delhi on 24th April the District Congress Committee convened a meeting on the 24th May. S. N. M. Razvi presided. K. Shamma translated into Kannada the five resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress.

T. Subramanyam, who went to Bagalkote for presiding over the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, was sentenced to 6 months R.I. and a fine of Rs. 100 under the Criminal Law Amendment Act (July 1932).

In response to an appeal issued by Pandit Malaviya, to observe the All-India Swadeshi Day on the 29th May, a procession was taken out in the main streets of the City.

In the evening a meeting was held and speeches on swadeshi movement were delivered.

The flagstaff which had been fixed by the City Congress Committee in the Dharmambudhi tank since 1931 was got removed by the Municipal authorities on September 3rd, 1932.

Special meetings were arranged by the Congress Committee on the 18th and 19th instants in connection with the announcement made by Gandhiji that he would fast unto death if the Depressed Classes are to be dissected from the Hindu community and given separate electorates as per the Communal Award.

On the 19th instant prayers were offered to God to give long life and prosperity to Gandhiji and resolution proposed by C. Rajagopalachari, the Acting President of the Indian National Congress, was adopted.

Hartal was observed in the City.

The Mysore State Youth League convened a meeting on the 24th

September with Bhashyam in the chair. Resolutions were passed appealing to the British Premier to modify the Communal Award and incorporate joint electorates for the entire Hindu community including Harijans.

The first anniversary of the Mysore Anti-Untouchability League was celebrated on the 18th December under the presidentship of V. P. Madhava Rao, A. V. Thakkar, General Secretary of the All-India Anti-Untouchability League, addressed the gathering. Resolutions were passed requesting Government to throw open all Hindu temples to untouchables, to allow them to make free use of all wells, tanks, roads and schools, to grant them free lands and thereby improve their economic position, etc.

Bangalore District: In commemoration of the commencement of fast by Gandhiji, processions and meetings were held on the 20th September at various places in the district like Thyamagondlu, Kanakanahalli, Anekal, Channapatna and other places. Most of the shops were closed in all those places. Prayers were offered at the temples. Students refrained from attending schools.

Hassan District: On the 20th September, the day of the commencement of fast by Gandhiji, a procession consisting of a few lawyers, students and members of depressed classes was organised. The procession ended by going to the temple belonging to H. V. Rangaswamy where the depressed classes were allowed to offer prayers and perform Mangalarthi.

A meeting of Adikarnatakas was convened in the temple of Harijanakeri at Davangere on the 18th December presided over by Srinivasa Rao. The meeting ended with Bhajana and distribution of flowers.

Shimoga District: The Police Inspector, Shimoga, received in his office by post on 18th August a Kannada bulletin No. 27 dated 15-8-32 from Sirsi Siddapur. It is a vehement appeal to the Veerasaiva community in Sirsi Siddapur to join the political movement and attain Swaraj. A similar bulletin has been received by the District Superintendent of Police.

On August 23rd, another bulletin under the heading "Adhunika Angreji Ashadabhuthi" has been received through post by the Inspector and District Superintendent of Police. They were posted at Mysore and Holenarsipur respectively.

On that eventful day of 20th September, the day when Gandhiji commenced his "Fast unto death", hartal was observed in most parts of Shimoga District, like Tirthahalli, Agumbe, Sagar, etc. At Thirthahalli, Raghavendra Rao with students and Adikarnatakas bathed in Tunga and prayer was offered. Clothes were distributed to the Harijans and speeches advocating the boycott of British goods were made. Similar meetings were held in other parts of the District.

Smt. Gowramma delivered lectures on "Swadeshi" in various parts of the district.

Kolar District : On 20th September, many Hindu shops in Chickbalapur were closed. The local deities were taken out in procession through the town along with the photo of Gandhiji. There was also Bhajana and worship in the temples.

Activities for the year 1933 collected from Special Branch Abstracts for the year 1933:

Independence Day at Bangalore : 26th January. The Bangalore District Congress Committee observed the 26th January as "Independence Day". K. T. Bhashyam hoisted the Congress flag in the compound of C. V. Narasimha Iyengar. In the evening a meeting was held under the presidentship of S. K. Venkataranga Iyengar and the declarations noted in a Kannada leaflet issued by Kallana Gowda Patil, the 7th Dictator of Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, demanding complete independence were read out.

All-India Swadeshi Exhibition at Chikmagalur 29th January

The Superintendent of Industries has been asked by the Departmental officer not to take part in the All-India Swadeshi Exhibition proposed to be held at Chikmagalur from the 29th instant.

The District Board, Kadur, organised an All-India Swadeshi Exhibition at Chikmagalur on the 29th of January. In order to prevent the hoisting of Congress flag on that day, the Kadur District Magistrate passed orders under Section 39 M.P.R. prohibiting such hoisting for a period of six months from 26th January.

The All-India Swadeshi Exhibition was opened at Chikmagalur on the 29th January. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao addressed the gathering. He appealed to the audience to encourage swadeshi and boycott foreign goods. Messages wishing success to the exhibition received from P. C. Ray, Jamal Ahmed, M. Venkatakrishnaiya and others were read.

Swadeshi propaganda at Mysore, February : Smt. Gowramma and her brother-in-law Srinivasamurthy delivered lectures at Mysore on the use of khadi and said that vast sums of money were flowing every year to Britain and that if the same amount were used in India for the manufacture of khadi and other industries the condition of the starving millions would be improved, and condemned the action of the police in molesting people who worked towards the encouragement of the use of khadi and Indian industries. The following slogans were displayed on a sheet at the meeting :

1. Every minute no less than 2 men and 4 children die in India.
2. Why? For want of food and clothing.

3. Remedy lies in your hands by taking to swadeshi.
4. Make war against unemployment with the weapons of swadeshi.

Publishing of unauthorised pamphlets at Bangalore :

The police searched the Indian Press and Makkala Pustaka Press on 15-2-33 and found copies of pamphlets styled "No tax campaign in Karnataka—A brief survey", ready for disposal to Sirsi, Siddapur, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and other foreign places. Cases have been registered against these presses under the Mysore Printing Press and Newspaper Regulation Act. Raghavan sentenced to a fine of Rs. 240 or S.I. 6 months. (June 1933).

Meeting at Mysore City 19-2-33 :

A meeting was held in Town Hall with Smt. Kameswaramma in the Chair. Subbamma, Kaveramma, Venkatakrishnaiya and Agaram Rangiah spoke on the national movement in India. The first two recounted their jail experiences, making a special mention of the incidents relating to the removal of "thali" of Subbamma by the police and exhorted the audience to sacrifice their comforts for the sake of Motherland.

T. Prakasham at Mysore :

Mr. Prakasham delivered lectures in some parts of the country and dwelt mostly on the encouragement of swadeshi.

Successful termination of Fast by Gandhiji—May 1933 :

To offer prayers for the successful termination of fast by Gandhiji, public meetings were held in various parts of the State. Processions with the portrait of Gandhiji were taken out in the streets. Bhajana is being performed in various places.

Third Session of the Mysore State People's Congress 10th May 1933 :

The third session was held at the Majestic Theatre on the 10th instant under the presidency of K. T. Satyanarayana Setty.

Fast by Tagadur Ramachandra Rao :

Tagadur Ramachandra Rao commenced fasting from the 15th of May in connection with the removal of untouchability in the State. He is said to have sent a telegram to His Highness requesting him to allow the untouchables to enter the Muzrai institutions of the State. He broke his fast on the 20th.

Meetings as a sequel to the arrest of Gandhi in August 1933 :

Meetings to protest and condemn the action of the Government in

arresting Gandhiji were held in various parts on the 3rd of August. At Bangalore the students of National High School struck work and went in procession. In the evening a meeting was held. C. N. Narasinga Rao, Venkatapathiah, K. T. Bhashyam and others spoke. It was decided to form a volunteer corps in Bangalore in order to send volunteers to British India to take part in the Civil Disobedience. Such meetings were held at other parts like Tiptur, Tumkur, Mysore, etc.

Extension of prohibitory order at Mysore :

The prohibitory order under Mysore Police Regulation 39, which expired on 29th July, was extended by a further period of six months at Mysore.

Arrest of S. Venkatapathaiya—7th August :

In pursuance of a warrant issued by the District Magistrate, North Kanara, S. Venkatapathaiya was arrested by the Bangalore police and handed over to the Commissioner of Police, C. & M. Station. He was taken to Karwar.

A meeting to protest against his arrest was held at Mysore and Bangalore.

Resolution of Law Association, Bangalore, September 1933 :

The following resolution was passed at a special general meeting of the Law Association held on 14th September :

“That this meeting of the Law Association, Bangalore, is of opinion that the summary arrest and surrender of Shri S. Venkatapathaiya is an abuse of legal process and a violation of the fundamental rights of citizenship of the Mysore State.”

Activities for the year 1934, collected from S.B. Abstract for the same year:

Gandhiji's visit to the State—January 1934 : Gandhiji arrived at Bangalore on 4th January and toured many parts of the State. Wherever he went, he was enthusiastically welcomed by the population and presented with purses.

At Goribidanur in Kolar District, he was presented with a purse of Rs. 500 and address by the local Municipal Council and the District Board, Kolar, enclosed in silver caskets.

At Doddaballapur, he was greatly welcomed by the townsmen and presented with an address. Three purses by the public, one by the ladies and one by Thimma Reddy, were presented. The total value amounted to about Rs. 300.

Gandhiji visited Tumkur on 4th January and he was presented with a purse of Rs. 1,000 and an address on behalf of the people of Tumkur

District. Gandhiji addressed the gathering and thanked them for the purse which was presented and said that he would expect everyone to help him wholeheartedly in his anti-untouchability movement.

Gandhiji left Tumkur for Bangalore on the same day. On the way he was presented with a purse by the people of Kyathsandra village. The people of Thyamagondlu and Nelamangala village presented Rs. 200.

At about 4-15 P.M. on the 4th January, he arrived at Bangalore and after visiting the Seva Samaj at Malleswaram, went to the house of V. Ramalinga Mudaliar where he was presented with a purse of Rs. 1000.

On the same day at about 10.P.M. he left Bangalore for Mysore.

On the 5th January, Gandhiji visited the Ashram at Tagadur, where he was presented with a purse of Rs. 100.

He next went to Badanval and visited the Khadi Spinning Centre and Depot and received purses of Rs. 155 and Rs. 25 each by the public and Ramamandiram of Badanval respectively.

He next arrived at Nanjangud, where he was presented with address by the Municipality and the Harijans.

He addressed the gathering on the uplift of Harijans and the throwing open of several temples and wells to them, and appealed to them to blot out untouchability. The total amount collected at Nanjangud was Rs. 1480.

At Mysore, Gandhiji visited several Harijan colonies and the Adikarnataka Hostels.

On the evening of 5th January, he attended a mass meeting of about 8000 people and addressed the gathering on the uplift of Harijans and the eradication of untouchability.

The City Municipality presented an address enclosed in a silver casket, while the citizens and other bodies presented purses with addresses. The total amount of purses and other collections at the meeting was Rs. 2424.

On the 6th January, he left Mysore for Bangalore and visited various places on the way. He visited Mandya, Maddur, Shivapur and Somana-halli and received purses amounting to about Rs. 815.

He arrived at Channapatna and visited the colony of Harijans where he was presented with a purse of Rs. 125 by the Harijan Sevak Sangha.

At the High School compound, Gandhiji was presented with a purse of Rs. 500 and an address by the citizens.

At Closepet, the Municipality and citizens presented him with an address and a purse of Rs. 469.

At Kengeri, he visited the Gurukulashrama. The public of Kengeri presented an address and a purse of Rs. 108. A purse of Rs. 200 was also presented by Naganna.

Leaving Kengeri, Gandhiji arrived at the National High School

grounds at 5-30 P.M. The students of Bangalore presented an address and a purse of Rs. 1000. In the course of his reply to the address, Gandhiji advised the students to interest themselves in the uplift of the Harijans.

On the 7th January, he visited several public and private institutions and the localities of Harijans in Bangalore City, including the Bangalore City Municipal Office, and received addresses and purses in some of these places.

In the evening, he addressed the large gathering that assembled at the National High School grounds, where the citizens of Bangalore presented him with an address and a purse of Rs. 7,500.

The silver caskets presented to Gandhiji by the Municipal Council and the District Board were auctioned along with other articles. A sum of Rs. 1,960 was realised, besides the total amount of Rs. 10074 presented to him in the shape of purses today in several places in the city.

Gandhiji arrived at Davanagere on 3rd March and was received by the Municipal Council and the leading persons of the town.

The ladies of the Mahila Samaj, the District Board, Chitaldrug, the Municipal Council, Davangere, and the Yuvaka Sangha presented addresses and purses. On the same day he left for Harapanahally.

At a meeting organised in the Town Hall, Mysore, Sarojini Naidu spoke on the removal of untouchability and the adoption of Hindi as the lingua franca of India. She also delivered the inaugural address of the University Union at Mysore.

Lala Lajpat Rai Day, 17-11-34

The members of the Youth League, Mysore, and the District Congress Committee Bangalore, celebrated "Lajpat Rai Day". Several people spoke on the social and political activities of the great patriot.

Mr. Rajachandra Rao, ex-judge of the Mysore High Court, has published in the form of a booklet an open letter to the Indian Princes and the subjects of Indian States under the name of the "Present Condition of the States and their Subjects." (11th December 1934).

Rajendra Prasad, accompanied by Kripalani and Hukkerikar, General Secretary of the I. N. C. and Secretary of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, respectively, arrived at Bangalore on 6th May, 1935.

On the 7th May, he addressed a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bangalore District Congress Committee, at the maidan of the National High School. Addresses by the District Congress Committee and the Youth League were presented to him.

In the course of his joint reply to the above addresses, he said that the Congress has not ignored the States people and it has by a resolution

of its own demanded full self-government for the States, and it has urged the Princes to give rights of citizenship and self-government to their subjects. He added that a strong organisation is required to work for Swaraj in and outside the States.

On the evening of the 7th May, he arrived at Mysore and addressed the citizens.

Bangalore: The Golden Jubilee of the Congress was celebrated for four days, commencing from the 28th December, 1935.

The proceedings commenced on the morning of 28th December with the hoisting of the Congress Flag in the compound of C. V. Narasimha Iyengar and the National High School by K. A. Venkataramiah and Sampathgiri Rao respectively. On the morning of 30th December, Gangadhara Rao Deshpande opened the Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition arranged in the Vokkaligara Sangha Hall. Photos of the national leaders were taken in procession in a decorated ratha through the principal streets of the City.

In the evening a public meeting was held under the presidency of K. P. Puttanna Chetty. After reading the message of the President of the Indian National Congress, D. V. Gundappa, Karnad Sadasiva Rao, Subbarama Setty and others addressed the gathering. Such functions were held on the other three days also.

Mysore: On the 19th December, 1935, the Municipal Council, Mysore, resolved to spend Rs. 100 on the celebration of the Golden Jubilee. A sub-committee was formed to carry out the function.

On the evening of the 28th December, in connection with the celebration of the Jubilee, a public meeting was convened in the Town Hall, A. Krishna Rao presiding. N. O. Srirangachar, Valliulla, Kameshwaramma and others spoke on the occasion.

A resolution conveying the support of the members of the Municipal Council to the aims and objects of the Congress towards gaining political, economic, social and religious freedom was passed.

The next day, sweets and khaddar clothes were distributed to the Harijan boys.

The Golden Jubilee was celebrated in other parts of the State also during the week, by conducting processions and holding meetings. Congress flags were hoisted in private premises.

SPECIAL BRANCH ABSTRACTS, 1936

Celebration of Independence Day

Bangalore : In connection with the celebration of "Independence Day" the Congress Flag was hoisted by K. A. Venkataramiah on 26th January in the compound of S. Venkatapathaiah's house. This was followed by the reading of the Purna Swaraj resolution and the singing of national songs.

Mysore City : The members of the City and District Congress Committee observed Independence Day.

Prohibitory order in Chitaldrug :

As it was apprehended that the Congress Flag would be hoisted on the 26th January to celebrate Independence Day, Section 39 M.P.R. was promulgated at Chitaldrug on 25th January, prohibiting the hoisting of the Flag for a period of two months.

Extension of Prohibitory Order at Mysore :

The Order under M.P.R. 39 prohibiting the display of the Congress Flag having expired, it was extended for a further period of six months from January 1936.

Strengthening of Congress at Mysore :

On 12th August 1936, a meeting of the workers and sympathisers of the Congress was held in the house of K. Shamanna, Advocate. N. S. Hardikar, S. K. Venkataranga Iyengar, Tiwari, K. T. Bhashyam, P. R. Ramiah and many others were present. It was proposed that members to the Congress should be enlisted from all parts of the State and that some representatives of the Bangalore District Congress Committee should visit every district in the State to enlist members. Accordingly, some members of the District Congress Committee like K. A. Venkataramaiya, B. N. Gupta, P. R. Ramaiya and others are touring the State to enlist members for the Congress. A District Congress Committee was opened at Chitaldrug with Kasalu Srinivasa Setty as President.

Section 144 served on Tagadur Ramachandra Rao :

Tagadur Ramachandra Rao has been prohibited from entering Bogadi village and its surroundings within a radius of three miles for a period of two months from 20th September, under Section 144 Cr.P.C., as his activities tend to promote hatred between Christians and Adikarnatakas.

Hardikar's tour in the State, October 1936 :

It must be said that it was largely due to the efforts of N. S. Hardikar that Congress began to gain wider influence in almost all parts of the State. He toured the entire State in the month of October and enlisted members for the organisation. He visited Chitaldrug District during the last week of September and delivered lectures about the principles of non-violence and exhorted the people to become members of the Congress. He addressed the Negur Youth League of Doddaballapur and appealed to its members to work for the cause of freedom and said that to achieve this aim they should shake the foundation of the British rule in India.

He visited Kankanahally and delivered a lecture over which P. R. Ramaiya presided. Hardikar said that Mysoreans should not be contented merely because they have an Indian Prince, who is only the servant of the Europeans, and appealed to the audience to become members of the Congress and help to get rid of the foreigners by non-violence.

Such meetings were held at Anekal, some parts of Hassan and Kadur District.

The total number of members at Mysore City rose by thousands. At Kankanahally, it is reported that 300 people have enlisted as members.

Activities for the year 1937 :

The Congress Election Campaign Day was inaugurated on the 16th January with the hoisting of the Congress Flag in the compound of S. Venkatapathiah's bungalow by Kamaladevi.

As it was expected that Smt. Kamaladevi would address a public meeting in the evening, the District Magistrate passed an order under Section 39 Mysore Police Regulation prohibiting her from making any speeches for a period of six months. The order was served on her on the 16th January.

In the evening a public meeting was held, K. T. Bhashyam presiding. D. P. Karmarkar, Seetharama Sastry and others exhorted the audience to support the Congress candidates. Kamaladevi was also present and gave a written message which was read by the president. She referred in her message to the prohibitory order against her and stated that highhandedness of the Government on a constitutional campaign designed to agitate for a more democratic form of Government might result in greater agitation and stronger resistance on the part of the public.

On the 17th January, Kamaladevi with Karmarkar and others left for Mysore and delivered speeches at Mandya, Closepet, Channapatna and appealed to the public to support the Congress candidates.

They arrived at Mysore the same evening. As it was expected that Kamaladevi, Bhashyam, Tagadur Ramachandra Rao and Karmarkar would address the public, the District Magistrate, Mysore passed orders

under Section 144 Cr. P.C. prohibiting these people from making any public speeches or to take part in any procession in Mysore City for a period of one month from 17th January.

At 7 p.m. a meeting was held in Mysore. Messrs. Seetharama Sastry, Veeranna Gowd, Rangaramiah and others spoke about the election of Congress members to the legislature and the local bodies and appealed to the public to become members of the Congress.

Independence Day Celebrations

Bangalore: In order to prohibit the celebration of Independence Day, the District Magistrate issued on the 25th January an order under Section 39, Mysore Police Regulation, prohibiting the holding of meetings etc., within the limits of Bangalore City and five miles all round from the 26th to 31st January.

In defiance of the above order K. Shamanna and G. R. Swamy addressed a public meeting on the evening of 26th January in the compound of S. Venkatapathiah's house. They were arrested and produced before the City Magistrate and later released on bail.

Mysore: On the 23rd January, the District Magistrate passed an order under Mysore Police Regulation 39, prohibiting the exhibition of the Congress Flag in any public place within the limits of Mysore City and five miles around it for a *period of one year* from the 23rd January.

The same Magistrate on the 24th January, passed another order under the same section, banning the celebration of Independence Day within the limits of Mysore City and five miles around it for a period of one week from 25th January.

The orders were served on all members of the local Congress Committee and given publicity.

Tagadur Ramachandra Rao addressed a letter to the District Magistrate, Mysore, communicating his intention to disobey the prohibitory order on him, and also distributed printed leaflets informing that he would deliver a speech and observe Independence Day on the 26th January in violation of the order of the District Magistrate.

On the 26th January, he left home to go to Subbarayanakere maidan for delivering speech and reading of Independence pledge in spite of warnings to desist from so doing. Consequently, he was dealt with under Section 50 (3) of the Mysore Police Regulation and removed. He was released the same day after the occasion was over. Proceedings under Section 107 have been instituted against him.

Kankanahalli: Section 144 Cr. P.C. was promulgated and served on the members of the Congress Committee, prohibiting the celebration of Independence Day.

Tumkur: Independence Day celebrations were banned and Section 39 Mysore Police Regulation issued.

Chitaldrug: The students of the local High and Middle Schools struck work. They held a meeting and observed Independence Day.

National Convention, 2nd May, 1937

A Convention of the members of the Congress in the State was held at Bangalore on the 2nd May. Workers from different parts of the State attended. S. Venkatapathiah presided.

After due deliberation the Convention is ascertained to have passed the following resolutions:

1. To form a Central Congress Board in the State styled "Mysore Congress Board" to guide the policy and work of the Congress in the State in and outside the Legislature with 15 members. Venkatapathiah, Nijalingappa, B. N. Gupta, A. G. Ramachandra Rao, K. T. Satyanarayana Setty, V. S. Narayana Rao, Visweswara Gowda, Bhopalam Chandrasekhariah and 7 others with S. Venkatapathiah to constitute the above "Mysore Congress Board".

2. To agitate for responsible government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja in a constitutional way.

3. All the members of the Legislature belonging to the Congress party must wear khaddar.

4. A separate block to the Congress party must be got in the Legislature.

5. The Congress party must agitate for adult franchise in the State.

Prohibitory order on Hardikar at Chitaldrug:

Dr. Hardikar with Uma Bai of Kundapur and other leaders of the Congress were touring Chitaldrug District enlisting support for the Congress. In the course of his lectures at Davanagere and Molakalmuru in the 2nd week of May Dr. Hardikar explained the aims and objects of the Indian National Congress and said that the people of Mysore who are said to be free under His Highness the Maharaja are not really free and that His Highness is a slave to the British and so the State subjects are slaves doubly, and for the removal of this slavery the people must fight by co-operating with the subjects in British India. He appealed to the people to join the Congress.

In order to prevent his further tour and making speeches the Government served prohibitory orders on him. At Challakere, Section 144 Cr.P.C. was promulgated. The First Class Magistrate, Chitaldrug, passed an order under Section 144 Cr.P.C. directing Dr. Hardikar to abstain from making any public speeches within the limits of the taluks of Chital-

drug, Hosadurg, Challakere, Malakalmuru and Jagalur for a period of 2 months from 16th May. Similar orders were passed at Holalkere and Davanagere against Dr. Hardikar.

Section 45 at Bangalore :

An order under Section 45 Mysore Police Regulation prohibiting processions was promulgated by the City Magistrate, Bangalore, for a period of 6 months from 19th June.

Arrest of G.R. Swamy :

On 30th June, G. R. Swamy addressed the City Magistrate that he would defy the order under Section 45, in case it was not withdrawn before the 1st of July. He was arrested on the 2nd and remanded to the Central Jail as he failed to furnish sureties.

Section 144 on M. R. Masani :

In connection with the Mysore State Youth Conference arranged by the National Youth League, Bangalore, M. R. Masani, socialist leader of Bombay, arrived in Bangalore City on the 24th of July. He was received at the City Railway Station by Savoi Aswatha Rao, Secretary of the League, and others. The order of the District Magistrate under Section 144, prohibiting Masani from taking part in the activities of the youth conference, was served on him immediately after he arrived.

Section 144 at Kengeri and Anekal :

As there was information that Mr. Masani would visit Gurukulashram at Kengeri and deliver speeches, an order under Section 144 Cr.P.C. prohibiting Masani from delivering speeches in the limits of Bangalore taluk for a period of one month from 24th July has been issued. Similar order was passed at Anekal in Bangalore District.

The Mysore State Youth Conference, 25 July, 1937 :

The Mysore State Youth Conference met at Bangalore on 25th July with N. D. Srirangachar in the Chair. T. Siddalingiah, Parthanarayana Pandit, K. A. Venkataramaiah, V. S. Narayana Rao and many others were present. Mr. Srirangachar read the speech of Masani. Mr. Masani viewed the instruction given to brother Congress members not to take up the cause of the subjects of the native States as a mistake ; Provinces and States were both parts of the same imperialist system functioning in different ways. He emphasised that the Congress should interest itself in the problems of the people of States also. He classified the evils prevalent in the native States as follows : " Absence of civil liberty, inequality before law, wasteful expenditure, forced labour and existence of slavery," and explained them by giving instances.

Regarding the fair name of Mysore, he said, "I do not deny that Mysore may shine by comparison with such States as Patiala, but that is not much of a compliment. It is in this progressive State that workers on the plantations still live in conditions bordering on serfdom and in the most degrading poverty. It is in this State that the National Flag is illegal and to fly it is a crime. It is in this State that meetings cannot be held in your own city without a license from the police. It is in this state that national leaders like Smt. Kamaladevi, Dr. Hardikar and Sri Hukkerikar have been served with orders restricting their freedom of speech or movement." He exhorted the youths and said that they were a class fit to lead the workers, who are potentially the best revolutionary material, and asked them to play an important part in the progress of the country.

Lastly he drew the attention of the youth to the call of the All-India States People's Conference for the holding of demonstrations in all the States for the assertion of civil rights and liberties of all the people. He further urged the youths to see that on 1st August, meetings were held throughout the State and an agitation launched and maintained, so that it would force the authorities to restore them the measure of freedom to speak and meet together to which they were accustomed. He finally asked them not to wait for leaders to lead, as they were the youths, theirs was the future, and theirs was the leadership.

After the speech was read, the following resolutions which had been passed at the Subjects Committee were unanimously passed.

1. That all the Youth Leagues in the State should be affiliated under the name "All-Mysore State Youth Federation" with its headquarters at Bangalore.

2. Condemning the action of the Government in passing orders under Section 144 Cr.P.C. against Mr. Masani.

3. Condemning the action of Government in promulgating order under Section 45 Mysore Police Regulation in Bangalore City.

4. Sympathising with the Spanish revolutionaries in their fight against imperialists to achieve independence.

5. Condemning the action of the police in ill-treating A. Lakshminarasimhiah and S. N. Gupta.

6. Deploring and condemning the speech of the Dewan at Closepet and opining that the remarks passed by him are uncalled for.

7. Expressing faith in the All-India Congress Committee and its work.

8. To hold Youth Conferences every year.

9. Responsible government should be established in the State.

Savoi Aswatha Rao and S. V. Narayana Murthy were elected as convenor and secretary respectively of the All-Mysore State Youth Federation.

Celebrations of Tilak Day and 'Fundamental Rights Day' in the State 1-8-1937, Bangalore City

A joint meeting of the National Youth League and the Janajagrathi Sangha was held on 1st August. S. Ramaswami presided. K. A. Venkataramiah, G. R. Swamy, Vajapeyam Venkateshaiya, W. H. Hanumanthappa, V. S. Narayana Rao and a few others were present.

After a brief speech of the president on the life of Tilak, N. Ramamurthy addressed the meeting. He said that the people of India were denied their fundamental rights and that the people of the State were living under tyranny and that they should fight to get rid of such rule.

Venkataramiah said that they were in no way better off than the people of Hyderabad and that the Nizam might be compared with the autocrats of the 16th or 17th century. He added that there is in Hyderabad the Nizam-ul-Mulk and in Mysore the Amin-ul-Mulk.

The President then read the resolutions prescribed by the Congress Committee for the celebration of the Fundamental Rights Day and said *that they should break the order under Section 45 Mysore Police Regulation*. S. V. Narayana Murthy and Savoi Aswatha Rao agreed to defy the order.

At 2.25 p.m., S. Ramaswamy, Savoi Aswatha Rao, and S. V. N. Murthy appeared in the City Market Square to defy Section 45. People assembled and they began to read the typed matter, which ran thus: I now stand before you in defiance of the order of the City Magistrate under Section 45 and feel glad to address this day. We assembled here after taking the unwarranted and reprehensible orders of Government into our hands. It will not be long before we see the citizens of Mysore strive and succeed in establishing a democratic form of Government. For that we shall have to proceed with a spirit of sacrifice, service and determination." They were arrested and produced before the City Magistrate the next day and later released on bail.

The same day, another meeting under the District Congress Committee was held to celebrate the day. Messrs. Bhashyam, V. S. Narayana Rao, K. A. Venkataramaiah and many others were present. B. N. Gupta presided. The following resolutions were passed:

1. Congratulating the A.I.C.C on having accepted offices, and wishing that the fair name of the Congress should be protected and some good done to the public.

2. Congratulating Messrs. G. R. Swamy, Sambaji, S. V. N. Murthy, S. Ramaswami and Savoi Aswatha Rao on having defied the order under Section 45 Mysore Police Regulation.

3. Condemning the action of the Government in passing prohibitory orders to curtail the liberties of the people.

4. To carry agitation to force the Government to withdraw the prohibitory orders.

Another meeting under the auspices of the Mysore State Civil Liberties Union was held on the same day, in connection with the celebration of Tilak Day and Fundamental Rights Day.

Mysore City :— Tilak Day and Fundamental Rights Day was celebrated by the District Congress Committee at Mysore, Sri S. Rangaramiah presided.

Shimoga District :—Orders under Section 39 Mysore Police Regulation were passed, barring the hoisting of Congress flag, holding of meetings and taking out processions in any public place in Shimoga and Kumsi Taluks for a period of three months from that day.

As a sequel to the above order the celebration of the day was restricted to the premises of the Congress Office. The Congress Flag was hoisted in the compound of the Congress Office and a meeting presided over by Somappa was held in the Congress building. Puttananjappa, Parthannarayana Pandit, Vasappaji spoke on the life and work of Tilak. The prohibitory orders in the State were condemned.

Chitaldrug District :— At Chitaldrug town, on the morning of 1st August, the Congress Flag was hoisted by S. Nijilingappa in the compound of Jayadeva Hostel. On the same evening, a meeting was held in the premises of Khadi Vastralaya under his presidentship. The prohibitory orders in the State and the speech of the Dewan at Closepet was condemned.

"Council of Action" appointed. A private meeting of the Mysore State Congress Parliamentary Board was held on the 8th August in the house of S. Venkatapathiah. Members from all parts of the State attended. Siddalingiah, Bhashyam and others spoke vehemently condemning the speech of the Dewan at Closepet, and the action of the Government in having gagged Mr. Masani. The various prohibitory orders were also condemned.

Discussion took place on the feasibility of sending a batch of Congress workers to defy the order under Section 45 Mysore Police Regulation. But it was later resolved to appoint a Council of Action. A resolution was passed "to take immediate and suitable action with a view to safeguard and protect the elementary rights of the people of the State, a Council of Action of the Board may be appointed to take such prompt and suitable measures as may be deemed necessary and suitable". T. Siddalingiah, Sitaramma Sastry and Tagadur Ramachandra Rao were appointed as members of the "Council of Action".

Andamans Detenus Day 14th August 1937

The Andamans Detenus Day was observed throughout the State on

14th August, and resolution "showing sympathy to Andamans prisoners on hunger strike and desiring their immediate release" was adopted at public meetings held in all places.

Students defy Mysore Police Regulations 45 at Bangalore, 19th August

The Janajagrathi Sangha organised a strike of students on the 19th instant to observe the day as "Section 45 M.P.R. Day."

The students of all the colleges and schools in the city struck work. They went in a body and proceeded towards the Court of the City Magistrate, where some of the members who had defied the prohibitory order were being tried. They shouted slogans and wanted to enter the City Magistrate's Court in a body to show their resentment of the Order but they were stopped by the police. The District Magistrate arrived at the spot and advised the students to return to their schools. But the students did not disperse.

At the United Mission High School, the Vice-Principal, A. E. Walden, booted and beat a student. The students rough-handled Walden and damaged some furniture. Walden wrote an apology letter and gave it to Gopal.

At 2 p.m. the students gathered in the St. Joseph's College fields and held a meeting. The following resolutions were passed unanimously :

1. This meeting of the students of Bangalore City condemns the unwarranted and illegal order of the City Magistrate under Section 45 Mysore Police Regulation, which is an encroachment upon the rights of citizenship.

2. This meeting sympathises with the prisoners in Andamans who are on hunger strike and requests the Government of India to repatriate them immediately.

3. This meeting condemns the action of the Vice-Principal of the United Mission High School and also the attitude of the police in roughly handling the students.

4. This meeting congratulates the three comrades who have defied the order of the City Magistrate.

The meeting terminated with slogans "Down with Section 45", "Vande Matharam."

On 25th August, T. Siddalingiah interviewed the Dewan-in-charge and put forth the following demands :

1. All restrictive orders under the M.P.R. and Cr.P.C. promulgated in various places in the State restricting public meetings and processions be withdrawn.

2. Orders under Section 144 Cr.P.C. against individuals of the State and outsiders be rescinded.

3. Proceedings in all cases that arise out of the above orders directly or indirectly and pending before courts of law, including the security proceedings, be stopped.

4. Proceedings in the case under Section 124 (A) be not proceeded with.

5. No victimisation of students for their collective absence from schools as a protest against these orders.

6. An assurance be given that the Government would not interfere with the legitimate and constitutional activities of the Congress or any other party or parties and also that there would be no interference or restrictions placed in the exercise of the fundamental civic rights of the citizens including that of press and platform.

(Mr. Siddalingiah has issued a statement to the Press regarding this interview).

The Congress office was searched and some files of correspondence seized.

On the 28th September, 1937 an extraordinary meeting of the Tumkur Bar Association was convened, when the attitude of the Magistrates and the police in the State with regard to the passing of prohibitory Orders against Congressmen was condemned.

“Repressive Day” 12th October 1937.

A public meeting was held at Bangalore on 12th October, under the auspices of the City Congress Committee, to observe the “Repressive Day”. Ramalal Tiwari presided. Mr. K. A. Venkataramaiah, K. Shamanna and others spoke. The following resolutions were passed unanimously.

1. Expressing sympathy of the public towards the three persons in jail.

2. To work for the establishment of responsible government. Such meetings were held throughout the length and breadth of the State. The repressive policy of the Government was condemned and it was resolved to fight till the achievement of responsible government.

Under Section 124A Bhashyam and Thimma Reddi were arrested on 15th October 1937.

Protest Meetings in connection with the arrests.

Protest meetings were held at various places in the State to condemn the action of the Government in arresting Bhashyam and Thimma Reddi. Resolutions congratulating the two leaders and condemning the repressive policy of the Government were passed unanimously.

Hartal was observed in various parts of the State and the students struck work. Speeches were delivered condemning the action of Government and the high-handedness of the police.

The District Magistrate, Shimoga, passed orders on 26th October, under Section 39 Mysore Police Regulation, prohibiting Parthanarayana Pandit.

Arrest of Nariman and Firing at Bangalore 24th and 25th October.

The Bangalore City Congress Committee and Mysore Students' Association had arranged a meeting on the 24th and Mr. Nariman was to address the meeting. In view of his objectionable speeches delivered at Mysore and other places, a prohibitory order under Section 39 was served on Nariman prohibiting him from making any speeches in the limits of Bangalore City.

But in the evening, he suddenly made his appearance on the platform and began addressing the students. A few minutes after, he was removed by the police and remanded to the Central Jail.

On the 25th the mob became unruly. They began storming police stations. Fire was opened in self-defence and peace was restored.

The District Magistrate, Bangalore, passed an order under Section 144 Cr.P.C. prohibiting the holding of meetings and assembling of 5 or more persons in or near any public place in Bangalore City for a period of one week.

Section 144 at Bangalore and the deportation of B. N. Gupta

In view of his subversive activities, a deportation order was issued against Mr. Gupta to quit the State within 24 hours after the service of the said order. The order was served on him at 9-30 p.m. on 28-10-37 and he left for Madras the next day.

Suppression of the Press. The Government have in their order No. 1158-61/C.B. 14-37-3 dated 26th October 1937 withdrawn permission granted to M. L. Srikantiah to edit and publish *Janavani*.

Protests against the arrest of Nariman and the police excesses.

Hartal was observed in various parts of the State and the students struck work. Speeches were delivered condemning the action of Government and the highhandedness of the police.

Section 39 on Congress leaders at Shimoga.

The District Magistrate, Shimoga, passed orders on 26th October, under Section 39 Mysore Police Regulations, prohibiting Parthanarayana Pandit, Vasappa Jogi, H. Siddaiah, Bhoopalam Chandrasekharaiah, Mari-swami Hiremutt, and B. R. Puttananjappa from delivering any public speeches in Shimoga Town for a period of two months.

Section 144 at Mysore.

On the ground that public meetings in the Town Hall would cause disturbance and annoyance to the public who would go there to hear radio music, the District Magistrate, Mysore, passed orders on 29th October, under Section 144, prohibiting the holding of meetings for a period of two months from that date. The order was served on Congress leaders.

Arrest of Congressmen.

In connection with the disturbances at Bangalore, 12 Congressmen were arrested for various offences under the Indian Penal Code.

1. C. B. Monnaiah, 2. M. Ramamurthy, 3. Mariswami Hiremutt, 4. B. M. Seenappa, 5. B. N. Boranna Gowda, 6. G. R. Swamy, 7. Jayaseelan, and five others.

Meeting of the Bar Association, 5th November 1937.

An in-camera meeting of the members of the Bar Association of Bangalore was held on 5th November. Many of the leading members were present. Mr. C. V. Narasimha Iyengar was elected to preside over the meeting. After discussion, the following resolutions were passed.

1. Serious disturbances occurred in the vicinity of the Civil Courts on 25th October 1937, and a large number of members of the Bangalore Bar were eye-witnesses thereof, and actively participated in restoring peace.

2. The Government have issued a communique which contains several statements on important points which are opposed to or inconsistent with facts within the knowledge of many of the members of this Association.

3. Certain citizens of Bangalore City issued a manifesto published on or about the 28th October containing several incorrect suggestions of fact and this Association apprehends that by reason of the fact that the President and Secretary of this Association are among the signatories to the said manifesto (though not in their official capacity) the said manifesto is likely to be regarded as representing the view of this Association.

4. This Association views with great concern the police firing which took place on the 25th October without any Magisterial order.

5. And the cry of self-defence put forward in the Government communique in regard to the said police firing is inconsistent with facts within the knowledge of a number of members of the Bar.

6. This Association requests the Government to appoint an independent Committee to enquire into the occurrences which took place on the 24th and 25th of October in Bangalore City with special reference to the conduct of the police.

Sentences of Congress Leaders :

In the cases against Bhashyam and Thimma Reddi, under 124 (A) I.P.C. the City Magistrate, Bangalore, sentences them to 18 months R.I. and a fine of Rs. 1,000 and in default to undergo R.I. for three months.

As the accused Mr. Siddalingaiah and two others refused to furnish securities in the case under Section 108 Cr.P.C. against them, they were remanded to the Central Jail to undergo S.I. for one year from 8th November 1937.

Walk-out by the students : 19th January.

Nearly 150 students walked out of the quadrangle of Maharaja's College, Mysore, on 19th January, when the Dewan began his speech on the occasion of the University Union Day.

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Criticisms of Dewan's speech at Sahitya Parishat on 17-2-1938.

Meetings were held in various parts of the State during the first week of March and the Dewan's speech criticising Congressmen and leaders like Sinha and Nehru, was condemned.

Decision to establish Mysore Congress.

A meeting was held at Mysore in the house of Mr. Lakshminarayana Rao on 28th February 1938. The meeting was not open to the public and the press. All the Congressmen of the State were present.

It was ascertained that the meeting passed resolutions to establish an independent organisation called the "Mysore Congress" to establish responsible government in the State. It was resolved to hold a convention in Mysore District during the 1st week of April to decide the future programme. Mr. Siddalingaiah, President of the Congress Board, was authorised to continue the suspension of disobedience of orders till the convention was over.

The following resolution was passed at the meeting: "That an organisation known as the 'Mysore Congress' shall be formed in Mysore; it shall be an autonomous organisation for the State of Mysore; every Mysorean who is a member of the I.N.C. in the territory of Mysore is entitled on application to be a member of the organisation; its creed shall be the attainment of full responsible government under the aegis of His Highness and securing of a guarantee of civil liberty for the people of Mysore by legitimate and non-violent means". (Vol. 1. 1938. 1. 280).

The meeting condemned the observations relating to Pandit Nehru and Krishna Sinha and the local Congressmen made by the Dewan in his speech at Karnataka Parishat on 27th February 1938 (S.B.A. 38. Vol. 1.p. 219).

Demand for reforms in Mysore as old as 1906.

A public meeting was held at Bangalore on 6th March. Mr. Manjappa Hardikar of Bijapur spoke on the occasion. He referred to the Deportation Orders being in vogue since 1906 when he was editing a paper, *Dhanurdhari*, in Davangere, during the time of the then Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao, that they then alone urged for the appointment of a committee to consider the question of reforms and deplored why people should have kept quiet till now, and he hoped that the people would be granted responsible government and Mysore would set an example to other States. (S.B.A. 1938, Vol. 1. p. 248).

Suspension of Government officials.

Schoolmasters Gangi Reddi of Royalpad, Subba Rao and Channappa of Rampura, Kolar District, were suspended for having taken part in Congress activities. (Vol. 1.p. 310).

Congress Working Committee Meeting 7-4-1938.

At the Congress Working Committee meeting held on 7th April 1938, Mr. Siddalingiah explained that he requested the Dewan for the recognition of Mysore Congress, written assurance regarding the recommendation of the Committee for granting responsible government, appointment of Congress members in the Constitutional Reforms Committee as selected by the Mysore Congress Board, declaration of the policy of the Government as responsible government. He also requested that the members of the Constitutional Reforms Committee should be so selected that their views and political standing should be acceptable to the Congress.

He said that he also told the Dewan that Gandhiji asked him to see the Dewan and apprise him of those points.

He further stated that the Dewan refused to recognise the Congress and also to declare their policies of responsible government but said that as stated by K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, nothing precludes the Constitutional Reforms Committee from recommending to the Government the grant of responsible government consistent with the situation and environment of the State.

The Working Committee discussed all these in the light of the reply given by the Dewan to the demands of the Congress and decided to non-cooperate with the Committee and also instructed the Congress members not to co-operate with the Committee. (Vol. 1., 1938. p. 326).

Violation of prohibitory orders and the 'Flag Satyagraha'.

On the 17th April morning, a party consisting of Messrs. Parthananarayana Pandit, K. Hanumanthaiah, Ramalal Tiwari and others started from the Congress Office, Bangalore, in procession. Mr. Pandit unfurled

the Congress flag and began exhibiting the same in violation of the District Magistrate's order passed on 23rd December 1937, prohibiting the hoisting etc., of the flag for a period of 6 months under Section 39 Mysore Police Regulation. He was arrested, Lalithamma, G. R. Swamy, B. M. Seenappa, M. N. Sitharamaiah and Tiwari similarly unfurled the flags they were carrying and they were also arrested.

Orders under Section 39, M.P.R. prohibiting Mr. Hanumanthaiah and Guruva Reddy from making any speeches in public in the limits of Bangalore City and within a radius of five miles for a period of 2 months, have been served on them. (Vol. 1, p. 357-8).

Hartal on 18-4-38 to protest against the arrest of leaders at Shivapur.

Public meetings were held on the 18th instant and peaceful hartal observed in most of the places in the State, including villages and towns. (Vol. 1. p. 359-65).

Special Branch Note on "Viduraswatha Tragedy".

The Amildar Magistrate, Goribidnur Taluk, promulgated orders under Section 144 Cr.P.C. prohibiting the hoisting of the National Flag and the holding of public meetings at Viduraswatha, in view of the subversive activities carried on by the Congress during Jatra festivities.

On the 22nd April, 8 persons who defied the prohibitory orders were arrested and charge-sheeted under Section 188 I.P.C.

On the 23rd, two others were arrested for similarly disobeying orders and showing a defiant attitude. The large gathering assembled at Viduraswatha where the Congressites had arranged to convene the meeting showed a determined attitude to set at naught the orders and began speaking contemptuously of the Government.

On the 24th, as a result of the arrests on the two previous days, the president of Congress Committee, Goribidnur, addressed Ramachar, President of the Congress Committee, Kolar, to organise a procession on the 25th.

In response to the above Ramachar arrived at Goribidnur on the evening of 24th. Handbills were widely circulated, inviting volunteers and other persons to come up to Viduraswatha to express sympathy with the people arrested and gather to counteract the dishonour, which was supposed to have been circulated at Hindupur, Idagur, Maralur, Ramapura, Goribidnur Shandy and other places adjoining Viduraswatha.

As a result of this Congress propaganda, and a procession organised by Ramachar at Goribidnur, and taken to Viduraswatha on the morning of 25th, the gathering swelled in numbers, estimated at 7000. In defiance of the orders, the hoisting of the flag was done by other persons (boys) who were misguided by the so-called prominent leaders. Messrs. Ramachar, Venkataswami Gowda and others were evidently scheming heads and

did not want to burn their fingers in the same fire. Later developments necessitated the police to open fire which was purely done as a measure of self-defence and to the extent absolutely necessary.

As regards the exaggerated versions that have appeared in several papers, it is learnt that Ramachar, who took particular care to save his own skin, himself dictated a letter at Bangalore railway station to all the press correspondents in the City that the number killed was 32, and injured 48, which as per particulars so far definitely ascertained has been found to be false, and there were only 10 deaths and 6 injured apart from the number of police officers injured. (Vol. 1. p. 375).

Resolutions of the Working Committee: The following resolutions were passed by the Mysore Congress Working Committee at Shivapura on the 26th April 1938 and at Bangalore on the 27th.

At Shivapura :

1. This meeting expresses its sincere and heartfelt condolence to the bereaved families and sympathises with the injured at Viduraswatha.

2. This Committee learns with grave concern and horror the indiscriminate firing resorted to by the police on innocent jatra gathering of devotees and thereby causing appalling loss of life and serious injuries to many and strongly condemns the high-handed and inhuman action of the police in this connection.

At Bangalore :

1. This Committee condemns the arbitrary and autocratic action of Government in deporting Mr. Monnaiah on the 24th instant.

2. This Committee congratulates the Congressmen who had been incarcerated for hoisting the national flag both in public and private places and otherwise upholding the honour of the flag since Shivapura Convention.

3. This Committee regrets to note that the policy of Government in respect of hoisting and exhibition of national flag, is undoubtedly and highly obstructive towards the activities of Mysore Congress.

4. The Government of Mysore have not hitherto clearly stated its policy regarding fundamental rights, such as freedom of speech, association and press. Several leaders of Congress had to suffer imprisonment on the above issues. Government however released them unconditionally without defining their policy. On the other hand prohibitory orders are being issued and renewed indiscriminately. Hence this Committee strongly condemns such indiscriminate policy of Government and declares that Congressmen are at liberty to defy such prohibitory orders in order to vindicate fundamental rights and maintain their self-respect and

5. Further resolves that every Sunday morning from 1st May 1938 be observed as "Flag Saluting Day". (Vol. 1. p. 376)

Prohibitory order on Congressmen.

Orders under Section 39 M.P.R. were promulgated by the District Magistrate, Bangalore, on Sitarama Sastry, N. N. Chandur, Veeranna Gowda, and N. C. Thimmareddi, prohibiting them from delivering speeches etc., in the limits of Bangalore City for a period of three months from 23-4-1938. (p. 377).

Deportation order.

The order of Deportation on Monniah was served and he was sent to Coorg on the 25th April. (p. 377).

Prohibitory orders.

On the 27th instant, the District Magistrate, Bangalore, promulgated orders under Section 39 M.P.R. prohibiting Gundappa Gowda, Mariswamy Hiremutt, S. Rangaramiah, T. Ramachar, Srinivasamurthi and Smt. Yashodhara Dasappa, from delivering speeches in the limits of the City for a period of two months. (p. 378).

On the morning of 28th instant, about 9 batches of persons left in procession from the Congress Office with flags and placards in contravention of the prohibitory orders promulgated by the City Magistrate under Section 144 Cr.P.C., two days ago (orders to be in force from 6 a.m. on 28th April 1938 to 6 a.m. on 30th April 1938).

In all 44 persons were arrested and remanded to jail. (p. 378).

Hartal on 28th April.

In order to condemn the Mysore Reforms Committee, Hartal was observed on 28th April in all the parts of the State.

At Bangalore Hartal was observed on the 28th instant. K. Hanumanthaiah, K. Nanjappa and N. D. Shankar were arrested under Section 151 I.P.C. in the early morning of the 28th, detained in custody and let off the same day. (p. 379).

Prohibitory orders on Congressmen.

On the 25th instant, the Ex-officio First Class Magistrate, Bangalore Sub-Division, passed orders under Section 144 Cr.P.C. against the following individuals, prohibiting them from engaging themselves in activities of subversive character likely to mislead the masses and disturb the public tranquility within the limits of Anekal.

1. Sitarama Sastry, 2. Thimma Reddy, 3. N. N. Chandur, 4. Veeranna Gowda, 5. Mohammed Sait, 6. Rajagopal Iyengar, 7. Gundappa Gowda, 8. Parthanarayana Pandit.

The Magistrate, Doddaballapur, passed orders under Section 144 Cr. P.C. on the above individuals on the 27th instant. (p. 380-1). Orders

under Section 144 Cr.P.C. were passed by the District Magistrate, Mysore, prohibiting Messrs. Veeranna Gowda, and N. C. Thimma Reddi from delivering speeches in the Mysore District for a period of two months from 24th April (P. 382).

Similar order has been served on Sitharamasastry, Mohamed Sait and T. S. Rajagopal Iyengar (P. 383).

Messrs. K. Hanumanthaiah and Veerappa have been prosecuted for having hoisted the Congress flag on 27th April and 28th April at the Satyagrahashrama, Shivapur. (P. 382).

Prohibitory orders were passed at Yelandur on the 27th April under Section 144 Cr.P.C. banning the hoisting of Congress flag for a period of one month.

On 28th April some people went in procession carrying a bier containing an effigy made of gunny bags and a cardboard was fixed on which "Constitutional Reforms Committee" was written. The procession was stopped by the police.

In the evening a meeting was held and Sri Agram Rangiah, T. S. Subbanna and others spoke condemning the formation of the Constitutional Reforms Committee and the incidents of Viduraswatha. (Vol. 1. P. 384).

Visit of Sardar Patel and Acharya Kripalani.

Sardar Patel and Acharya Kripalani arrived at Bangalore on the 6th May morning. Important Congressmen received them at the City Railway Station and a large gathering had assembled to see them.

They visited Viduraswatha on 7th May. On their way they delivered a speech at Doddaballapur exhorting the people to be non-violent in their struggle for freedom. At a public meeting convened at the Municipal Gardens at Bangalore on the 8th instant, they addressed a large gathering of about 20,000 persons. Matters relating to the Viduraswatha incident and the Committee of Enquiry constituted by the Government, the flag issue, representation of the Congress in the Reforms Committee and other allied matters.

Sardar Patel and party left for Bombay on the 9th instant. The leaders of the Congress are reported to be not feeling satisfied with the intervention of Sardar Patel. At the same time they do not want to incur the displeasure of either Patel or Gandhiji. (p. 410).

Meeting of Working Committee: The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress met on 26th and 27th June 1938 and passed the following resolutions:

1. The Working Committee notes with considerable disappointment (a) that the Government have not as yet seen their way to withdraw the deportation orders on Sri. B. N. Gupta and C. B. Monniah though the

said order came under the category of "prohibitory orders" referred to in Government order of the 17th May 1938 and in spite of the assurance given, when the matters was definitely brought to the notice of the Government by the President of the Congress.

2. The non-withdrawal of some prohibitory orders in Mysore State.

3. The curtailment of the liberty of the press by the prohibition of *Prajamata* on unjust and untenable grounds and the attempt at the forcing of new press legislation in spite of the overwhelming popular opposition to the same by the general public and the constitutional bodies in the State.

4. The disciplinary action taken by the Government in the case of some patels and shanbhogues who were alleged to have participated in or shown sympathy with Congress activities.

5. The non-return of files of the Congress office seized by the Government last year and the wrong and unauthorised utilisation of the same before the Ramesam Committee by the Counsel for Government.

The Working Committee are of opinion that all the above are in contravention of the terms expressed or implied by the settlement recently arrived at with the Government and are alien to the spirit of the same and are not conducive to the continuance of the atmosphere of goodwill, sympathy and co-operation. The Working Committee hopes that Government will do all that is necessary in the light of the above to implement in full the terms of the settlement and generally in accordance with the spirit of the settlement.

2. The Working Committee congratulates the people of Mansa and Ramdurg on the happy and successful termination of the heroic satyagraha struggle that had been launched by them for the redress of their grievances.

3. The Working Committee condemns in general the deprivation of civil liberties in Hyderabad State and the prohibiting orders on Dr. Pattabhi in particular and trust that the people of Hyderabad will seriously devise ways and means for resisting such encroachments on civil liberties. (Vol. 11. p. 469-70).

Mysore State Student's Conference 15th and 16th October.

The Mysore State Student's Conference was held at Mysore on the 15th and 16th instants. On the 15th instant, the Conference was declared open by Sri. K. T. Bhashyam. Sarat Chandra Bose delivered his Presidential address.

The Conference adopted the following resolutions.

1. This conference declares its faith in the principles of non-violence and truth. The Conference pays its homage to Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

2. This conference strongly condemns the repressive policy of the Government of Travancore and sympathises with the Congressmen in their heroic stand in their struggle for freedom.

3. This conference requests His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore to inaugurate a new constitution for Mysore with full responsible government, to repeal the Press Act, to restore civil liberties, and to encourage the growth of trade unions.

4. This conference declares its allegiance to the ideal of independence for India as enunciated by the Indian National Congress. As the Federal part of the Government of India Act is retrograde morally, politically and economically, the conference supports the Indian National Congress in their efforts to resist Federation and to combat the Government of India Act.

Other resolutions refer to the matter of education, etc.

In his concluding speech, Sarat Chandra Bose exhorted the students to "Rest not till you attain the freedom of the country and till you become completely independent".

Public meeting addressed by Sarat Bose. On the evening of the 16th instant, addresses were presented to Sarat Chandra Bose by the members of the City Municipality, Mysore District and City Congress Committees and the Civil Liberties Union. In his reply to the addresses, Mr. Bose referred to the British imperialism in India and the necessity for having a united front in their struggle for independence. "British Imperialism quaked when Mussolini raised his high-heeled boots. It quaked when Herr Hitler shook his toothbrush moustache. British Imperialism has begun to quake in the presence of what is known as Sabarmati in the past and called today as Segaon. It has begun to quake not because of the individual leaders of the Congress but they find today that Congress has ceased to be a congress merely of the so-called educated but it has become a "living organisation of the people of India." He further observed that if there is the will to be free, down to the peasant, then the British Imperialism or princely imperialism will bow down their heads before them. (p. 691).

Sarat Chandra Bose addressed a public meeting at Bangalore on the 18th October.

Instructions to observe "Viduraswatha Day"

The Secretary of the Mysore Congress sent instructions to all the Congress Committees in the State to observe the 20th instant as "Viduraswatha Day" by conducting processions, holding public meetings and passing resolutions framed by the Congress on the Viduraswatha Enquiry Committee Report and observing hartal that day. (p. 762).

Observance of "Viduraswatha Day"

In response to the appeal made by the Congress, "Viduraswatha Day" was observed in all parts of the State, including villages, on the 26th of October.

Rumour of Ramesam's letter to Mirza: Speaking at Viduraswatha on 26-10-38 in connection with the observance of Viduraswatha Day, K. C. Reddy referred to "a fairly authoritative rumour that Justice Ramesam wrote a letter to the Dewan immediately after the tragedy at Viduraswatha promising that he would exonerate the conduct of Government in the tragedy." (Vol. II. p. 796).

Meeting of All-Mysore Congress Committee at Tumkur

The meeting of the All-Mysore Congress Committee was held at Tumkur on 3rd November under the Presidentship of Mr. Siddalingiah. (p. 810-13).

(SPECIAL BRANCH ABSTRACTS FOR THE YEAR 1939)

Hamilton Building Satyagraha Committee

To chalk out the programme of work in connection with the removal of the name word, "Hamilton Building", a committee has been formed with Tagadur Ramachandra Rao as convenor, and Messrs. A. N. Satyanarayana Rao, M. N. Jois, Subbaraya Upadhyaya, and others as members. (January 1939).

On 6-1-1939, a public meeting was held at Mysore with Lakshminarayana Rao as President. In the course of his address he stated, "Many capable people occupied the office of the Inspector General of Police and vacated. Nothing has been dedicated to them. Now the Central Police Station that is in Dodpet is named as 'Hamilton Building.' Many people do not know the intention of the Government in naming that building in that manner."

A. N. Suryanarayana Rao in the course of his speech said, "When Sir Mirza had gone over there, the mason had printed only 'Central Police' and he was on the point of completing the words 'Central Police Station'. Then he asked the mason to remove the name and reprint it as 'Hamilton Building'. I do not know the reason for his coming at that time."

Speaking at the same meeting Shri H. C. Dasappa observed that the name Hamilton Building has brought discontent to all people. The person who was responsible for bloodshed is hated by one and all, and to commemorate the name of such a man is bad.

Recalling the Nariman disturbances he observed that the firing was resorted to without the order of the Magistrate and that Mr. Hamilton said he would put down the Congress movement by shooting even 50 people in that connection.

Referring to the dominance of foreigners in important posts of Government, he said "There are many Europeans who occupied important posts, particularly the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja, the Chief Justice of Mysore, the head of Electrical Department, principals of Medical, Central and Maharaja's Colleges, etc". He continued that at the time of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, there was no room for foreigners and now that policy is not pursued as the Government wants the help of British Government.

The following resolution was passed :

"This meeting of the citizens of Mysore, held in the Town Hall Maidan on Friday the 6th January 1939, severely condemns the action of the Government in naming Doddapet Police Station as 'Hamilton Building' and requests that it should be removed immediately." (S.B.A. 1939I—Vol. I. p. 17-18).

Demonstrations during Viceregal visit

A batch of Congressites headed by Thimmarayappa of the Cubbonpet Congress Committee, Bangalore, led a procession on the morning of 13th January, shouting slogans "Get back, Viceroy", "Go back, Viceroy". Similar processions, headed by S. Ramaswami, N. D. Shankar and others passed through different parts of Bangalore City and appealed to the public not to participate in the sight-seeing of Viceregal procession but to attend a public meeting arranged at Banappa Park on that day.

Under the Presidentship of S. Ramaswamy, a public meeting was convened at Banappa Park the same day. N. D. Shankar, Savai Aswatha Rao and others addressed the gathering on the significance of the viceregal visit, which they alleged would bring back the memory of the slavery of millions and the domination of the British. (Vol. I, p. 25).

26th January 1939

Independence Day was observed in all parts of the State and independence pledge was taken by the people.

Arrest of Tagadur Ramachandra Rao, 13-2-39. In connection with Hamilton Building Satyagraha, proceedings under Section 107 Cr.P.C. were instituted against Mr. Rao. As he refused to furnish security, he was remanded to the Jail.

The Hamilton Building Satyagraha commenced from 15-2-39. Every day, two persons are offering satyagraha from morning till evening. A procession with the satyagrahis started from Subbarayanakere Maidan with a pot containing chunam and brush and crying slogans "Down with Hamilton". After the evening, a public meeting is held and the satyagrahis for the next day chosen.

The following individuals were the satyagrahis on the dates noted against them.

- 15-2-39 — Subba Rao Upadhyaya and M. Shama Rao.
- 16-2-39 — M. N. Venkatappa and H. Hanumanthiah.
- 17-2-39 — Chickarudrappa and Narayana Gowda of Budigere,
Devanahalli Taluk.
- 18-2-39 — U. Kenchiah, Arakere, Srirangapatna Taluk.
S. S. Chakravarthi, Saligram, Krishnarajasagara Taluk.
- 19-2-39 — M. B. Chandrasekhariah and P. V. Krishniah Naidu of
Mysore.
- 20-2-39 — P. E. Ramiah Naidu and M. S. Subbegowda of Mysore.
- 21-2-39 — M. S. Krishnappa Gowda and B. Siddappa Gowda of Mysore.
- 22-2-39 — M. S. Srikantiah and C. S. Narayanaswamy of Krishnaraja-
sagar Taluk.
- 23-2-39 — C. Linge Gowda of Channapatna ; Timmegowda, Maniyur,
Nagamangala Taluk. (p. 134).
- 24-2-39 — Javarappa Gowda and M. G. Lingachar, Mysore.
- 25-2-39 — S. D. Narayana Rao and S. Ramaswami of Mysore.

The satyagraha continued till 31-3-39. People from many villages in the State offered satyagraha and courted imprisonment. Many of the satyagrahis were arrested.

Proceedings under Section 107 were instituted against (1) A. N. Suryanarayana Rao, (2) Subba Rao Upadhaya (3) M. N. Jois on the 14th and 15th instants. They were remained to jail as they refused to furnish security.

Prosecutions under Section 108 Cr.P.C. were launched against Javarappa Gowda and he was ordered to execute a bond for Rs. 200 with two sureties for a like sum for keeping the peace for a period of one year. As he declined to give security, he was ordered to be detained in the Jail. (p. 190).

Prosecutions were launched against many of the satyagrahis under the Mysore Police Act, and they were convicted to various terms of imprisonment. Ninety-eight satyagrahis were convicted during the period and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment extending from two months to a year (p. 199 to 201).

Section 39 M.P.R. on Congressmen.

Section 39 M.P.R. was passed against Adirajiah, Gubbi Hutchappa, Santhoji Rao and others of Magadi Taluk, Chikkabyrappa, Siddalingappa of Doddaballapur, D. Ramiah, Shivarudrappa of Bangalore and others of Nelamangala Taluk, on 11th April 1939 by the Sub-Division Officer, Dod-

daballapur, as they were taking part in the anti-drink propaganda in Nagamangala Taluk. The order extends for a period of two months. (p. 262).

'Viduraswatha Convention' 12th April to 18th April.

The Convention at Viduranagar commenced from the 12th inst. and terminated by the 18th instant.

The District Magistrate, Kolar, addressed a letter to Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Camp, Viduranagar, on 15th April 1939 intimating that the Government considered that the holding of the All-Karnataka Socialist Conference in the State was not desirable in the public interest and that she would do well to refrain from attending the meeting or making any public speeches.

In reply to above Kamaladevi wrote the same day, that it was strange to expect her to refrain from attending meetings or making public speeches anywhere in the State; that it was a tall request and most uncalled for and that she would strongly protest against arbitrary restrictions, for it was the common and elementary right of a citizen to attend and address public meetings. (p. 286).

Congratulatory messages received from Subhas Bose, Pandit Nehru, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, V. V. Giri, Thanu Pille and others were read out at the open session. There was a congregation of about 7,000 persons consisting of merchants, ryots and students. (p. 287).

(Details of the speeches and the resolutions passed at the Convention have already been noted).

'Congress Week' 17th to 23rd May.

The President of the Congress has appealed to the public to observe the "Mysore Congress Week" from the 17th. He has requested the people to take out processions and hold public meetings for a week to observe,

- May 17, Repression Day.
- „ 18, Patriots' Day.
- „ 19, Harijan Day.
- „ 20, Khadi Day.
- „ 21, Ryots and Labourers Day.
- „ 22, Anti-Drink Day.
- „ 23, Responsible Government Day. (page 347).

In response to the appeal made by the President, Congress Week was celebrated throughout the State. Meetings were held in all the places in the State. Resolutions condemning the repressive policy of the Government and demanding responsible government immediately, were passed.

Satyagraha in Chitaldrug District (Sept. to Nov. 1939).

The Satyagraha Camp at Chitaldrug was declared open by Mudlagiri Gowda on 12-9-1939. Picketing of toddy shops commenced from the next day. The picketing was very peaceful and orderly. Satyagraha by cutting date-trees commenced at Turuvanur, Chitaldrug taluk, from the 18th instant. S. Nijalingappa, N. N. Chandur, Vasudeva Rao, P. S. Srinivasa Murthiachar, Bellari Siddamma and Nagarathnamma proceeded from Chitaldrug to Turuvanur to organise the satyagraha and lead the volunteers. Rajasekhariah Hiremutt, who styled himself as the first dictator, and 4 volunteers from Turuvanur offered satyagraha by cutting trees. The volunteers assaulted the Excise staff who tried to prevent the cutting of the trees. Fifteen persons including S. Nijalingappa, Srinivasa Murthiachar, N. N. Chandur and Srimathi Bellari Siddamma were arrested and a case under I.P.C. 148, 145, 353, 447 and 426 was filed against them.

Activities of Congress during December 1939.

T. S. Sampathkumaran of Kolar District who was released on 30-11-1939 from custody under M.P.S. Act was re-arrested by the Chikaballapur Police under Section 409 I.P.C.

Sarvajnamurthi of the same District who was similarly released from K.G.F. was shadowed up to Udipi by the Kolar Town Police since he had been ordered to quit the State for one year.

Defiance of Prohibitory Orders at Mysore Continued.

Defiance of prohibitory orders continued in Mysore during the week from 2nd to 9th December. Prosecution was not resorted to by the police in some cases. Anjanappa of Kankanahalli was arrested and left at Channarayapatna. A. Shivanna of Mysore was left beyond Periyapatna. Volunteers going on Prabhat Pheri on 2nd December, shouting slogans, were arrested and left at Nuggehalli in Channarayapatna Taluk. At Channarayapatna they went in procession. They were arrested again under Section 151 Cr.P.C. and left near Markonahalli.

A. Ramanna against whom an order under M.P.S. Act had been passed in October and who had been out of view since then, suddenly appeared at the Town Hall maidan on 2-12-1939 and defied the prohibitory orders. He was sentenced to 6 months R.I. and a fine of Rs. 50.

On 9-12-1939, C. B. Monniah and S. Narayana Rao defied the orders. It had been announced earlier on that day that a famous Congress worker would defy the orders. People had assembled in large numbers. A person with long hair and dressed like a Sikh was seated along with S. Narayana Rao of Bangalore in the crowd. The former suddenly got up from the crowd and cried "Inquilab Zindabad" and then

announced to the audience that he was Monniah and continued his speech. He contended that it was his duty to fight for independence and vehemently condemned the action of the Government in treating him as a foreigner.

S. Narayana Rao and Monniah were sentenced to 6 months R.I. and a fine of Rs. 50 under Section 188 I.P.C.

C. B. Monniah was also sentenced to 2 years R.I. under M.P.S. Act.

Defiance of prohibitory orders continued during the week 14th to 20th December. S. K. Viranna of Tumkur, Anjanappa of Chickballapur and Puttarangappa of Chamarajanagar defied the orders. No action was taken against them as they were not persons of any status.

Mahadev Desai at Bangalore.

Mr. Desai arrived at Bangalore on 12th December. He was received by Congress leaders at Bangalore. In the course of the day, he visited the Victoria Hospital and the Central Jail. He toured in different parts of the State and met a number of Congress workers both in Jail and outside. He visited Holenarasipur, Hassan, Shimoga and Harihar, Davangere, Kolhal, Turuvanoor, Chitaldrug and many other places.

Petitions were presented to Desai, regarding police atrocities, by some Congress workers at Kolhal, Hampapur, Turuvanur, Thornaghatta, Chitaldrug and Kasthurirangappanahalli.

At a public meeting held at the Municipal Gardens, Bangalore, on 17th December attended by about 10000 persons, Mahadev Desai, Bhashyam and Yasodhara Dasappa, addressed the gathering. Mr. Desai explained that the object of his visit was to see and know things personally, and he expressed his thankfulness to the Dewan for having afforded all facilities to him. He said that he interviewed several persons including those in Jail and all classes and kinds of people and that he would place the material before the Dewan and Mahatmaji but that he was prohibited from divulging the details at this stage. He was of opinion that it was no dishonour if the Congress suspended its movement and took up constructive programme.

"Deliverance Day"

In response to the appeal made by Jinnah to observe December 22 as Deliverance Day, meetings were held in the mosques at Bangalore, Mysore, Bhadravathi. No speeches were delivered but prayers were offered.

Prosecutions

On the 25th December, proceedings were instituted under Section 107 Cr. P.C. by the Tarikere police against (1) T. C. Basappa, and (2) T.

V. Narasingappa of Tarikere who were participating in objectionable activities.

Action under 107 Cr.P.C. was taken against Messrs. K. T. Bhashyam and Govinda Reddi by the Hiriyur police in view of their proposed propaganda tour in the district. They arrived at Javagondanahalli in Hiriyur taluk on the morning of 29th instant. In spite of every persuasion to desist from carrying on the propaganda, they stated that they would not give up the tour. They were therefore arrested and produced before the Ex-officio First Class Magistrate, Hiriyur, for further proceedings under Section 107 Cr.P.C.

Mariswamy Hiremutt of Shikarpur, who was said to be absconding since 15th October 1939, was arrested on the 28th December for offences under Section 145-426, 109 and 114 I.P.C. He was sentenced to 4 months R.I. and fine of Rs. 100.

The Government in their order dated 21-12-1939 have sanctioned the stationing of punitive police at Byrapatna, Channapatna taluk, at a cost of Rs. 122 per month.

(Order No. P. 4304-6|Pol. 109-39-2 dated, Bangalore,
20|21-12-1939).

A unique instance of distortion of history to serve personal or group interests.

MUSLIM POLITICS

File No. 4 of 1946.

Copy of the Memorandum presented to the Cabinet Mission in Delhi on 27-4-1946 by Syed Nazimullah (Secretary General, Young Muslims Organisation, Mysore State, Channapatna). Published in "Dawn" dated 3rd May 1946.

1799, the year in which Srirangapatam fell to the British, happened to be the year of founding the existing Mysore State and of installing in power the present dynasty. Before this the Raja of Mysore was a Palligar of 33 villages having descended from a Viceroy of Vijayanagar Empire. The Moghul Emperor at Delhi was the Paramount authority in those days subsequent to the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire. This Palligar paid a yearly subsidy to the Moghul through the Governor of the Province of Sira. Hyder Ali by his personal efforts rose from a sepoy in service of the Raja of Mysore to the Governorship of the Province of Sira In the meantime, the Pallegari of Mysore which was a vassal of the Moguls automatically became subordinate of Hyder Ali. But as Hyder Ali had served under the Mysore Raja, he respected him so much that even

without a demand he recognised the sovereignty of the Raja over the 33 villages and did not in any way interfere with his internal administration. The subsidy that was being paid the Sira Subedari was waived.

Hyder Ali's state was a theocratic State a Muslim State was thus carved excluding the areas administered by the Raja The independence of the State was recognised by the Moghul Emperor at Delhi, by the Caliphate at Constantinople and by several other European and Asiatic countries by their diplomatic relations with the Muslim State. The very style of the name of the State "Sultanate Khudadad" which recognises the Islamic theory of Paramountcy is a further argument that this State was recognised as a Muslim State internationally. The Palligari of Mysore had voluntarily aligned itself with the state in its foreign policies and defence so much so that it became the Protectorate of this Muslim State.

The East India Company had no right by any code of morality or existing international customs to conquer territories, administer them, dispose them off or constitute itself a body charged with responsibility of governing a people. Its actions are therefore void and cannot be construed to be anything beyond a plunder by an organised gang of bandits.

In the case of Mysore, there are many more arguments besides this. One such is that the conquest of Seringapatam reduced this Muslim State to the status of a vanquished nation, but under no international custom does a vanquished nation constitute a chattel transferable from one to another at the will of the conqueror. The Palligar who was recognised by the Company as the ruler of Mysore was not entitled to that privilege firstly because he was an alien to this Muslim State and for this reason he must be construed to be a representative of E.I.C. acting under the authority and on behalf of Company. Secondly, the British have admitted this as their policy in regard to Mysore and given effect to that policy from time to time in the administration of the State and later in their direct assumption of authority to rule the State as a province of British India under a commissioner.

This rendition proves that the British never intended to recognise the present ruling family as the rulers of Mysore.

The transfer of responsibility of governing India to Indians naturally necessitates consideration of historical facts summed up above. That this is Muslim State and should be recognised as such by the powers that be, is the most logical demand under the circumstances. The Muslims of Mysore are prepared to share the responsibility of governing the State with non-Muslims If the institution of Kingship is retained, Muslims demand that some direct descendant of Tipu should be installed on the throne of Mysore and he by a proclamation shall grant

full responsible Government to his people with certain absolutely necessary safeguards and residuary powers for the protection of Muslim interests.

Other matters arising out of this change may well be left to be adjusted between the Government that will be constituted on the lines and the neighbouring Governments and people. *If the demands of the Mysore Muslims are ignored in the new scheme of things they will be severely suppressed, exterminated and hounded out. Oppression and persecution of Muslims have already started and they will have nobody whose sympathy, support and help they could claim except world opinion.* (Passage in italics omitted in "Dawn".)

The official representatives of the State Muslim League have disassociated themselves from the above Memorandum.

Extracts from Statement.

"The demand referred to in the memorandum submitted by some persons whose names are not mentioned over the head of the Mysore State Muslim League is preposterous.

"The demand contained in the Memorandum finds no support either with the State Muslim League or with Muslims of Mysore as a whole. . . "

Copy of the news item in "Hindu Outlook", a Hindu Mahasabha Weekly of New Delhi, dated 7th May 1946.

MYSORE CONSPIRACY

"The Muslims of the Mysore State are in a conspiracy against the present Maharaja of Mysore and are trying to convince the Cabinet Mission that the State was originally a Muslim one belonging to Hyder Ali. They want a descendent of Tipu on the throne and want the constitution which will give Muslims parity with Hindus."

Report of Inspector General of Police regarding Nazimullah dated 28th May 1946.

Enquiries reveal that Syed Nazimullah is the author of the Memorandum submitted to the Cabinet Delegation. During his stay in Delhi they are learnt to have interviewed and had consultations with the following gentlemen :

Messrs. M. A. Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, Maulana Azad, Sir Mirza Ismail, Preston Gover (A.P. of America).

It is learnt that Mr. Jinnah's opinion was not very encouraging. Mr. Asaf Ali seems to have told them that it had no locus standi and was not representative in its character

They claim to have met Sir Mirza but did not succeed in drawing

him into discussion about Mysore and much less securing his opinion. Mr. Preston Gover seems to have said that he would send the matter for publication in the American Press after finding out the real value of the Memorandum.

From Inspector General of Police to Chief Secretary dated 3rd June 1946.

A copy of the Press Statement issued by Syed Najmullah, and forwarded to the Editor of 'Visvakarnataka' for publication is enclosed.

Press Statement.

I most emphatically assert that every word of the Memorandum is based on unquestionable historical facts and live documents

From Inspector-General of Police to Chief Secretary dated 7th June.

Recommends the prosecution of Syed Najimullah under Sec. 124A IPC.

From Chief Secretary to Inspector-General of Police dated 29-7-1946.

Pending further instructions, action in the matter be suspended.

From Chief Secretary to Inspector-General of Police dated 6-8-1946.

. I am desired to state the question of prosecuting Syed Nazimullah be dropped.

Residency letter dated 21st March 1947.

. H.H's Government state that a close watch is being kept on the activities of the persons.

Observance of 'Direct Action Day' by Muslim League on 16th Aug. 1946

TRANSLATION OF A NOTICE ISSUED IN URDU

Notice to Muslims of Bangalore City. "According to the directive of the Quaid-e-Azam, the All-Mysore State Muslim League has decided to observe 'Direct Action Day' on Friday, 16th Augst 1946. Conveyance drivers will observe complete Hartal, Meat stalls will remain closed, Professional workers and labourers will observe Hartal and shops and factories in the City will remain closed. After the Friday Prayers the following resolution will be moved and adopted.

Resolution.

This meeting of the Muslims whole-heartedly supporting the decision of the All-India Muslim League Council taken at its Bombay Session assures the Quaid-e-Azam that Musalmans are always prepared to obey the commands of Quaid-e-Azam; views with extreme displeasure the activities of

the Congress which they consider as an obstacle in the path of Muslim freedom. This meeting also views with greatest displeasure the attitude of the British Cabinet delegation and the Viceroy who have gone back on their word in not having considered the Muslim demand for Pakistan and warns the British Government that it would be solely responsible for the consequences."

In Mysore, it was the lawyers who first undertook the work of opposing the autocratic rule of the Dewans and tried to expose the hollowness of the pretensions to democratic administration by the rulers. The Government promptly arrested them and after a trial, they were debarred from legal practice. A few of the judgements in such cases are appended.

List of Advocates who were debarred from practice during the
Freedom Movement
(The Orders made by the High Court and the statements by them)

<i>Si. No.</i>	<i>Case No.</i>	<i>Name of Advocates</i>	<i>Page No.</i>
1.	C.P.65/39-40	Shri T. Ramachar	2 to 14
2.	C.P.67/39-40	„ K. Sampangiramiah	15 to 21
3.	C.P.68/39-40	„ K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar	22 to 31
4.	C.P.69/39-40	„ H. C. Dasappa	32 to 54
5.	C.P.70/39-40	„ S. Rangaramiah	55 to 63
6.	C.P.71/39-40	„ M. Govinda Reddy	64 to 77
7.	C.P.72/39-40	„ K. Henjarappa	78 to 84
8.	C.P.76/39-40	„ T. Subramanya	85 to 90
9.	C.P.21/40-41	„ S. Nijalingappa	91 to 96
10.	C.P.29/40-41	„ M. Mahabala Rao	97 to 98

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Tuesday the 12th day of March 1940.

Present

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

and

MR JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

Civil Petition No. 65 of 1939-40.

In the matter of the Charge under Section 12 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act framed by the District Magistrate of Kolar in C.M.,—C. No. 12 of 1939-40 against Mr. T. Ramachar, Advocate, Kolar, who was

convicted under Section 73 of the Mysore Police Act by the Senior Assistant Commissioner and First Class Magistrate, Kolar Gold Fields, in C.C. No. 164 of 1939-40, on his file, in respect of an offence committed on 14-8-1939 under circumstances that brought his conduct under Section 11 clause (f) of the said Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act and referred by the said District Magistrate to the High Court for enquiry.

Read also the statement filed in Court on 8-3-1940 by Mr. C. V. Narasimha Iyengar for Mr. T. Ramachar, in the matter.

Heard : Mr. C. V. Narasimha Iyengar
for Mr. T. Ramachar.

Mr. Mirle N. Lakshminaranappa
Government Advocate for
Government.

JUDGMENT

The Chief Justice :

The District Magistrate of Kolar has submitted to this Court a report under the Legal Practitioners' Act against the Respondent, an Advocate of this Court, to the effect that he was convicted on the 18th of August 1939 by the First Class Magistrate, Kolar Gold Field of an offence punishable under Section 73 of the Police Act and for that offence was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months. It was found in the trial of that case that on the 12th of August 1939 the District Magistrate had issued an order under Section 39 of the Police Act prohibiting the Respondent and others from speaking at public meetings or delivering harangues at Robertsonpet or within five miles of Robertsonpet for two months from that date : a copy of that order was served upon the Respondent about mid-day on the 14th of August 1939 : on the evening of that day about 6 o'clock the Respondent came in procession with others towards the place in Robertsonpet where he had arranged a meeting for that evening : he was stopped by the police ; but, though warned by a Police Inspector, he insisted that he would deliver a speech and proceed to Robertsonpet to do so. He was then arrested under Section 51 of the Police Act and convicted, as I have mentioned, of an offence punishable under Section 73 of that Act. At the trial of the case in the Court of the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field the Respondent refused to plead. After he had been convicted he did not appeal against his conviction.

Mr. Narasimha Iyengar, who appears for the Respondent before us, has contended that in these proceedings he is entitled to go behind the conviction of the Magistrate, against which his client did not appeal, and show to us that there was not sufficient evidence to support his client's con-

viction. I agree with the contention of the learned Government Advocate that in proceedings such as these, based upon a conviction in a Criminal Court, it is not open to the legal practitioner concerned to contest the propriety of his conviction. That was the view of their Lordships of the Privy Council in regard to similar proceedings in *the matter of Rajendro Nath Mukerji*, 22 Allahabad 49, and *Advocate General of Bombay v. Phiroz Rustomji Bharucha*, 59 Bombay 676. But I may add that for practical purposes it is obviously too late for the Respondent to contend now that he was not properly convicted. When he was tried for the offence in question, he chose not to put forward any defence. After he had been convicted he chose not to appeal against his conviction. It is obviously unreasonable for him now to try to persuade us that he had a good defence but that he was foolish enough not to put it forward. I may add too that we have allowed the evidence in the trial in which the Respondent was convicted, or the essential parts of it, to be read to us, and there can be no doubt that the Respondent's conviction was properly supported by the evidence in that case.

It was suggested I understood by Mr. Narasimha Iyengar in the course of his arguments that the prohibitory order issued by the District Magistrate to the Respondent and others under Section 39 of the Police Act was an unnecessary order. I agree again with the learned Government Advocate's contention that it is not our business to investigate the necessity of that order; nor can we properly do so. But on the face of it that order appears to be a very reasonable and proper one. The District Magistrate mentions in the order that in the neighbourhood where the Respondent and others proposed to hold a political meeting there were sixty thousand excitable labourers. Can anyone suggest that it was unreasonable for the District Magistrate, if he thought, as no one denies he thought, that the holding of a political meeting at that place would be dangerous to the public peace, to issue an order to prevent that danger? None of us here can profess to be unaware that there have been occasions on which there have been very serious disturbances of the peace in the Kolar Gold Field, where there is such a large labouring population, an excitable population as the District Magistrate puts it. The order which the District Magistrate issued under Section 39 of the Police Act appears to me to have been an order which in the circumstances no reasonable man would have wished to disobey. In the course of a written statement, which the Respondent has put in, he has told us that from July of last year onwards up to the 14th of August the political association, to which he belongs, had held more than a hundred meetings; and we have been informed in the course of this case that a considerable number of those meetings were held in the Kolar District. The District Magistrate did nothing to interfere with them. When he found it necessary in his opinion to prohibit such a meet-

ing in the Kolar Gold Field, there is no reason whatever to suggest that he did so except because he thought it was necessary for the preservation of the public peace, which it was his duty to preserve.

Like everyone else an Advocate of this Court has a right to his own political opinions. He has a right to express those political opinions in any peaceful and lawful way. He has a right to try to convert others to his opinion by persuasion. If he believes that a change in the law or the constitution would be for the public benefit, he has a right like anyone else to advocate that change in a peaceful and lawful manner, to try to convert public opinion to his view and to try to persuade those who are in authority to make the changes which appear to him beneficial. But no more than any other members of the public has he a right to break the law or to disobey a lawful order merely because he does not happen to like it or thinks it unnecessary or even unwise. And in the matter of observing the law it is clear in my opinion that a higher standard is required of an Advocate of this Court than of a private individual. An Advocate of this Court holds himself out as an expert in the law, as one ready to assist private persons to enforce and defend their legal rights. By joining his profession he has made himself part of the machinery for upholding law and order. In that sense it is a much more serious thing for an Advocate of this Court or any legal practitioner deliberately to break a law or disobey a lawful order.

Mr. Narasimha Iyengar suggested that the fact that the Respondent has been convicted in this case does not show any moral turpitude on his part, nor does the act of which he was convicted. I do not think I can agree with that suggestion. It is conceivable that a private individual might feel what he regarded as a moral urge to break some particular law. But how can a professed lawyer with any moral consistency deliberately adopt that course? The Advocates of this Court belong to a very honourable profession and a high standard of honour is expected of them. How can any honourable man be at once a professed lawyer and a professed law breaker? We who make it the business of our lives to follow the law must recognize that we are subject to restrictions which do not apply to everyone else and that standards higher than those which apply to other people have to be fulfilled by us. In my opinion there is a moral defect in a man even wishing at once to earn his living as a professed lawyer and yet to reserve to himself the right to break any law or lawful order which he may happen to dislike. But in the Legal Practitioners' Act the words "moral turpitude" do not appear. Section 10 of that Act provides that this Court may suspend or dismiss any legal practitioner "who shall be convicted of any criminal offence implying a defect of character which unfits him to be a legal practitioner". The District Magistrate has reported this case to us under Section 12 of the Act; but the facts which

he has reported bring the respondent within the provisions of Section 10. It appears to me that the deliberate commission of an offence such as that of the Respondent does show a defect of character in an Advocate of this Court which makes him liable to punishment or to removal by this Court. *In re Shahshibooshan Ray*, 60 Calcutta 1453, the learned Judges of the Calcutta High Court regarded conduct very similar to that of which the Respondent has been found guilty as showing a defect of character calling for punishment under the corresponding Act of British India. And I may also mention that a Full Bench of this Court in *District Magistrate, Bangalore V. Bhashyam Iyengar*, 36 Mysore High Court Reports 229, expressed the opinion that an Advocate who even advised others to break magisterial orders would be liable to punishment under our Legal Practitioners Act.

Speaking for myself, if I found that an Advocate of this Court had committed such an offence as that of the Respondent when his mind was momentarily unbalanced by anger or excitement, I should be inclined to treat him leniently. But in this case, it has been brought clearly to our notice that what the Respondent did he did deliberately. As I have mentioned, a copy of the District Magistrate's order was served upon him about midday on the 14th of August. Several hours afterwards he came towards Robertsonpet with a number of others determined deliberately to disobey that order. And not only do we find signs of deliberation in his conduct on that day. In his written statement, which I have mentioned, he has told us something about a resolution of the committee of the political association to which he belongs passed in July 1939. After saying that it was decided that members of that organization should tour over the State and make speeches he says: "If, as was feared, any invasion on such right was attempted by the issue of prohibitory orders it was resolved that the members were free to disregard the same". That is the resolution under which the Respondent himself professes to have acted. If the matter were not so serious, there would be something ludicrous in the picture of a number of men putting their heads together and deciding that they were above the law and were free to disregard prohibitory orders issued by Magistrates.

One can only suppose that persons who could pass such a resolution were so set up with the idea of their own importance that they had lost all sense of proportion. The Respondent has explained to us that he himself was not a member of the committee which passed that resolution; and I am glad to hear that in his favour. But his statement is to the effect that he followed that resolution and acted in accordance with it. What he did on the 14th of August 1939, the offence of which he has been convicted, was obviously a deliberate part of his plan to carry out that resolution. And, as the learned Government Advocate has pointed out, there

is something in the history of the Respondent which it is proper we should take into account on this occasion. Less than two years ago the Respondent led a procession of persons who had been collected and excited by a provocative leaflet issued by his political association, to Viduraswatha in order that they might demonstrate against an order issued by a Magistrate under Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. I need not refer to the tragic consequences of that demonstration. We all remember them and no-one surely has bitterer cause to remember them than the Respondent. One would have expected, if he was moved by the ordinary instincts of humanity, that he at least would have resolved never to risk the lives of his fellow-subjects again by disobeying such a magisterial order. And yet on the 14th of August last he was determined to do so, as has been found, and was only prevented from doing so because he was arrested by the Police.

I asked the Respondent this morning whether he wished to express any regret for what he had done on the 14th of August last. He said he could not do so consistently with his contention here that he was wrongly convicted. I do not hold that against him in the circumstances. Having taken up the unreasonable attitude that, though he did not defend himself in the Magistrate's court, he could contend here that he had not been guilty, he felt that he could not consistently express any regret before us. But I asked him something more. I asked him whether he would give an undertaking that for the future at any rate he would not disobey lawful orders of Magistrates directed against him. His answer was that he belonged to a political association, which might direct him to disobey such orders, and, if he were so directed, it would be the directions of that political body and not the law which he would obey. That I think clinches the case against the Respondent. He has chosen his path; it is not the path of an Advocate of this Court. In my opinion the Respondent's name should be struck off the list of Advocates of this Court.

(Sd) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

Mr. Justice T. Singaravelu Mudaliar :

I cannot usefully add anything to what the learned Chief Justice has stated except to mention that the position of the Respondent as an Advocate of this Court is inconsistent with his position as a member of the organization which is out to break the law. I cannot better express my views in this matter than in the way in which Coutts Trotter J. in the case reported as *In the matter of the Pleader* in 1924 Madras Weekly Notes 5, has expressed: "... while this Court will not interfere with or have regard to any man's political opinions or opinions on public questions, it is impossible to allow a person, who proclaims or practises what is called

the doctrine of 'civil disobedience', to ask to be part of the machinery of the Courts which exist for the very purpose of the thwarting of civil disobedience and the enforcement of civil obedience". The Respondent cannot expect any privileges at the hands of this Court when he is out to break the law which this Court is to uphold. He cannot expect shelter in a house which he is out to destroy. I respectfully agree with the order proposed by the learned Chief Justice with regard to the Respondent.

(Sd) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

By the Court :

The order of the Court is that Mr. T. Ramachar's name be struck off the list of Advocates of this Court and that he be debarred from practising in any Court in this State.

(Sd) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice,

(Sd) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Civil Petition No. 65 of 39-40.

Petitioner :

Government.

Vs.

Opponent :

T. Ramachar,
Advocate,
Kolar.

The opponent above named respectfully begs to file the following statement :

1. That on a reference from the District Magistrate of Kolar he has been served with a notice to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against him under the Legal Practitioners' Act.

2. That opponent submits that the allegations against him are not correct in fact and do not constitute sufficient ground in law for such action being taken.

3. That the opponent is a member of the Mysore Congress whose aim is the establishment of responsible government in the State under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja by all peaceful and non-violent means. The institution and its objective have been recognized by the Government of Mysore in their order dated the 17th May 1938.

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress decided in or about

July 1939 that certain members should tour the State and further popularise the demand for responsible government. It was a legitimate and normal activity and every member had a right to do so. If, as was feared, any invasion on such right was attempted by issue of prohibitory orders it was resolved that the members were free to disregard the same.

4. In accordance with that decision more than a hundred meetings were held in the districts of Chitaldrug and Tumkur and a meeting was arranged to be held on the evening of the 14th August 1939 at Robertsonpet in Kolar District.

5. That afternoon the opponent and others were served with a prohibitory order from the District Magistrate under Section 39 of the Mysore Police Act preventing them from making speeches in Robertsonpet and five miles around for a period of two months mainly on the ground that the labourers in the mining area would get inflamed. The plea was specious. There is a large civil population, besides the labourers, in Robertsonpet. They were entitled to know about the aim and the constructive programme of the Mysore Congress, *viz.*, khadi and prohibition propaganda and communal amity and the removal of untouchability. The object of the meeting was to address on these subjects, *viz.*, khadi and prohibition. The meeting was not organised to address labourers or on any problem concerning labour in particular. Labourers had attended meetings in other parts such as Bangalore and nothing had happened; and there was no reason to believe that the labourers in Robertsonpet were different. Even otherwise it was for the District Magistrate to have taken necessary steps to enable the opponent and others to exercise their right of addressing the public on the need for carrying on the constructive programme of the Congress with a view to securing the establishment of responsible government in Mysore. The District Magistrate desired to prevent the propaganda and the prohibitory order was an invasion on opponent's rights.

6. The opponent, nevertheless, did not disobey the order. He and others intended to consult the local leaders who had arranged a social function. While on their way, they were held up by a posse of police officers one of whom asked whether they intended to disobey the order. The opponent and some others stated that local leaders would be consulted and a decision arrived at and intimated to him. Thereupon the opponent and others were served with notice under Section 17 of the Mysore Mines Act directing them to remove themselves from the area within 24 hours and not to reenter thereon. Since there were 24 hours within which to leave, the opponent and others attempted to go inside the town and consult local leaders; but they were immediately placed under arrest and removed to the lock up at Kamasamudram. No police officer could tell the opponent what, if any, was the offence he had committed. The next

day afternoon he was taken before the Special Magistrate, who told him he had been charged for disobeying the direction of a police officer and remanded him to custody.

7. The opponent set forth the details in his statement before the Special Magistrate, who eventually convicted and sentenced him.

The opponent submits that there is no allegation that he disobeyed the prohibitory order. The place of meeting was inside the town and about a mile away from the entrance to the town where the police intercepted him and there could have been no attempt at such disobedience either.

8. The charge is that the police officer tried to enforce the prohibitory order by giving a direction under Section 51 of the Mysore Police Act and that the opponent disobeyed the direction of the police officer. The police officer's direction, even if true, was not in accordance with law in as much as the opponent was not "acting or about to act contrary" to the prohibitory order. The opponent was so far away from the place of meeting that there could be no possibility of his addressing or being about to address the public contrary to the order of the District Magistrate. The direction of the police officer being thus not in accordance with law there is no misconduct on the part of the opponent in disregarding it. Even if the entire prosecution case be accepted as true it only shows that the police officer wanted an undertaking from the opponent even before entering the town that he would obey the prohibitory order and that the opponent did not obey the police officer. The police officer had no right to ask for such an undertaking and any refusal to comply would not be an offence or even a misconduct. The conviction does not take the case against the opponent any further; and the opponent submits that the mere fact that he did not participate in the proceedings nor attempt to have the conviction set aside in appeal does not affect these proceedings.

9. The opponent submits that the additional circumstances set out in the reference against this opponent were not brought to his notice till now. They are neither correct in particulars nor do they constitute sufficient grounds for disciplinary action.

10. The reference and the circumstances detailed therein do not disclose any defect of character in the opponent unfitting him to be a Legal Practitioner.

The opponent, therefore, prays that this Honourable Court may be pleased to drop the proceedings against him.

Bangalore,
6-3-1940.

(Sd) T. RAMACHAR.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Wednesday, the 13th day of March, 1940.

Present

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

and

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

Civil Petition No. 67 of 1939-40.

In the matter of the charge under Section 12 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act, framed by the District Magistrate of Kolar in M. Mis. Case No. 14 of 1939-40, against Mr. K. Sampangiramiah, Advocate, practising at Chickballapur, who was convicted under Section 73 of the Mysore Police Act by the Senior Assistant Commissioner and First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field in Criminal Case No. 167 of 1939-40 on the file of his Court in respect of the offence committed by the said Mr. K. Sampangiramiah on 14-8-1939 under circumstances that brought his conduct under Section 11 clause (f) of the said Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act; referred by the said District Magistrate to the High Court for enquiry.

Heard: Mr. C. V. Narasimha Iyengar for the aforesaid
Mr. K. Sampangiramiah.

Mr. Mirle N. Lakshminaranappa, Government
Advocate, for Government.

JUDGEMENT

The Chief Justice :

In this case the District Magistrate of Kolar has submitted a report under the Legal Practitioners' Act against the Respondent, an Advocate of this Court, to the effect that he was convicted on the 18th of August last by the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field of an offence punishable under Section 73 of the Police Act and for that offence was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months. At the trial of that case before the First Class Magistrate, C.C. No. 167 of 1939-40 on his file, it was found that the District Magistrate of Kolar on the 12th of August 1939 had issued an order to the Respondent and others under Section 39 of the Police Act prohibiting them from speaking at public meetings and from delivering harangues at Robertsonpet or within five miles of Robertsonpet for a period of two months from that date; That notice was served on the Respondent about midday on the 14th of August 1939; but in spite of having received that notice the Respondent on the evening of that day about 6 o'clock came in procession with a number of others towards the place in Robertsonpet where a public meeting had

been arranged by another member of the political association to which the Respondent belongs ; that procession, in which the Respondent came, was stopped by the Police, and the Respondent was warned by a Police Inspector not to go to the meeting or deliver a speech, but the Respondent insisted that he would deliver a speech and proceed to the place of meeting for doing so. The Respondent was then arrested under Section 51 of the Police Act and afterwards convicted as I have stated. At the trial before the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field the Respondent refused to plead in his defence, and he preferred no appeal against his conviction.

The offence of which the Respondent was convicted has been established and cannot now be questioned. It was obviously an offence very improper for an Advocate of this Court to commit, and, if committed with deliberation, it obviously disclosed a defect of character in a man who still wished, as the Respondent has assured us he still wishes, to follow the legal profession as an Advocate of this Court. If it had been an isolated offence, committed in the heat of momentary excitement, I think we should have been prepared to deal as leniently as we properly could with the Respondent. We are not concerned, as I have indicated in what I said in a similar case, Civil Petition No. 65 of 1939-40, with the political opinions of any member of the Bar. And, speaking for myself, I should always be ready to make allowances for people who were carried away by momentary excitement due to the strength of their political opinions. But it is clear that the Respondent's act, of which he was convicted, was not due to any momentary excitement. It was part of a deliberate plan. As I have mentioned, the order prohibiting the Respondent from delivering public speeches at Robertsonpet was served upon him in the middle of the day. Four or five hours later he came with others, upon whom similar notices had been served, in procession deliberately to disobey the the District Magistrate's order. It is clear that was the result of a deliberate plan among those concerned.

And there is something much more serious against the Respondent than that. It has come out in the evidence that the Respondent was a member of the committee of the political association to which he belongs, and that committee a short time earlier had passed a resolution that the members of that political association were free to disregard prohibitory orders issued by Magistrates to restrain them from delivering public speeches. There is no suggestion that any Magistrate had been issuing prohibitory orders to prevent the due exercise of freedom of speech. On the contrary we have been informed at the hearing of the group of cases, of which this is one, that even after the committee of the political association, to which the Respondent belongs, had passed that extraordinary resolution a very large number of political meetings were held without any

attempt by Magistrates to stop them. The District Magistrate of Kolar, as the order he issued on the 12th of August shows, was of opinion that it would be dangerous to the public peace that speeches should be addressed at that time to meetings of the public in the Kolar Gold Field, because there were there about sixty thousand labourers liable to excitement. As I have said before, it is not for us to investigate the propriety of such an order issued by the District Magistrate in the exercise of his own discretion to carry out his own duty for the preservation of order. But anyone who reads the District Magistrate's order and knows anything about the conditions in the Kolar Gold Field would recognize at once that there was nothing unreasonable in his order. Nevertheless the Respondent and those who acted with him determined to disobey that order and did not do so as a casual and disconnected incident but as a part of a plan, which the Respondent himself had taken part in making, that the members of their political association would regard themselves as above the law, free to disregard orders issued by Magistrates if they wished. It is very difficult for me to understand the mental processes by which a man who takes up that position, that he is free to disregard lawful orders issued to him by a Magistrate, and encourages other people to do the same, still wishes, as the Respondent has assured us he wishes, to remain a member of the legal profession, an Advocate of this Court, engaged in upholding the law. However, we are not concerned with the tortuous workings of the human mind so much as with the question whether the Respondent has shown himself fit in character and conduct to remain an Advocate of this Court.

Yesterday, when this case was heard, I asked the Respondent whether he was willing to give an undertaking that for the future at any rate he would cease to disobey lawful orders of a Magistrate. As I have explained in another case, I would not ordinarily ask any legal practitioner who was found to have been guilty of misconduct whether he would undertake not to commit misconduct of that kind in future, because I should assume that he would not do so. But I thought it right to ask for an undertaking from the Respondent because he himself had, as the evidence shows, taken part in the passing of a resolution of the committee I have mentioned declaring that the members of his political association were free to break the law and disregard lawful orders and so himself had incited other people to that course of conduct. I think it would be clearly wrong to allow the Respondent to remain an Advocate of this Court, unless he could assure us that he was not going to pursue that plan in future. Although the Respondent indicated, when this case was heard yesterday, that he was reluctant to give any such undertaking, we adjourned the case till to-day in order that he might have a night for reflection. It is obviously a very serious and very extraordinary thing for a man in the position of the Respondent, a professed lawyer, an Advocate of this Court, to declare that

he thinks that he and the members of his political association are in any sense above the law, which by his profession he holds himself out as following. I hoped that on reflection the Respondent would have felt inclined to tell us today that in future at any rate he would abandon the extraordinary position he had taken up and would undertake like any other good citizen to obey lawful orders directed to him. I regret very much to say that the Respondent has told us today that he cannot give any such undertaking and has indicated that he intends to continue the same plan of disregarding and disobeying lawful orders issued to him by a Magistrate when he thinks fit. In my opinion the Respondent has condemned himself as a person unfitted to be an Advocate of this Court, and his name should now be struck off the list of Advocates of the Court.

(Sd) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

Mr. Justice T. Singaravelu Mudaliar.

I agree.

(Sd) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

By the Court :

The order of the Court is that Mr. K. Sampangiramaiah's name be struck off the list of the Advocates of this Court and that he be debarred from practising in any Court in the State.

(Sd) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

(Sd) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

IN THE COURT OF THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, KOLAR

C.M.C. No. 14 of 1939-40

District Magistrate, of Kolar

Mr. Sampangiramaiah.

Petitioner.

Respondent.

In the matter of notice under Section 12 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act.

The Opponent abovenamed begs to state as follows :

1. That this Court has no jurisdiction to issue a notice to him as it can act under Section 12 of the Legal Practitioners' Act only in matters

falling under Section 11 of the Legal Practitioners' Act and the subject matter of the charge is one falling if at all under Section 10 of the Legal Practitioners' Act and not under Section 11 of the Act.

2. That in any view of the case the conduct on the part of the opponent has not been such as to imply moral turpitude or defect in character which unfits him to be a legal practitioner.

3. That he considers it a duty and a privilege to work for a change in the system of Government from its autocratic form and for the establishment of responsible government in its place and to resist the restrictions on the civil liberties of the people in a peaceful and non-violent manner.

Bangalore,
4th December, 1939.

(Sd) K. SAMPANGIRAMIAH.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Friday, the 15th day of March, 1940.

Present

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

and

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

Civil Petition No. 68 of 1939-40.

In the matter of the charge under Section 12 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act framed by the District Magistrate of Kolar in C.M.C. No. 9 of 1939-40, against Mr. K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar, Advocate, Bangalore City, who was convicted under Section 73 read with Section 51 of the Mysore Police Act, by the Senior Assistant Commissioner and First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field in C.C. No. 160 of 1939-40 on his file in respect of the offence committed by the said Mr. K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar on 14-8-1939 under circumstances that brought his conduct under Section 11 Clause (f) of the said Mysore Police Act, and referred by the said District Magistrate to the High Court for enquiry.

Heard : Mr. C. V. Narasimha Iyengar for the said
Mr. K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar.

Mr. Mirle N. Lakshminaranappa,
Government Advocate for Government.

JUDGEMENT

The District Magistrate of Kolar has submitted a report to this Court under the Legal Practitioners' Act against the Respondent, an Advocate of this Court, to the effect that on the 18th of August, 1939, the First Class

Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field in Mis. Criminal Case No. 160 of 1939-1940 convicted the Respondent of an offence punishable under Section 73 of the Police Act and sentenced him to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months for the offence. It was found in that case that on the 12th of August, 1939, the District Magistrate had issued an order to the Respondent and others under Section 39 of the Police Act prohibiting them from speaking at public meetings or delivering harangues at Robertsonpet or within five miles of Robertsonpet for two months from that date; a copy of that order was served on the Respondent about 2 p.m. on the 14th of August; nevertheless about 6 p.m. that day the Respondent came in a procession with others towards a place in Robertsonpet, where a public meeting had been arranged by a member of the political association to which he belongs; that procession was stopped by the police, and the Respondent with two others, who were in the leading car in that procession, was warned not to disobey the District Magistrate's order: nevertheless the Respondent insisted that he would proceed to the place of meeting and deliver a speech in spite of that order. He was then arrested under Section 51 of the Police Act; and he was afterwards convicted of an offence punishable under Section 73 of that Act, as reported by the District Magistrate.

The Respondent at the trial before the Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field adopted a very strange course. He refused to cross-examine any of the prosecution witnesses. When he was examined at the end of the prosecution case, he denied that he had persisted in going to the place of meeting to make a speech there. But he did not examine any defence witness. After he had been convicted he did not appeal against the conviction. It is impossible now for the Respondent to contest in these proceedings either the propriety of that conviction or the truth of the evidence upon which it was based. The time for that has gone by.

When the District Magistrate afterwards issued a notice to the Respondent for the purpose of holding an inquiry into his conduct in connection with that conviction under Section 12 of the Legal Practitioners' Act, the Respondent again adopted a strange course. He refused to appear before the District Magistrate; but he sent through someone else a written statement, in which he disputed the jurisdiction of the District Magistrate to hold such an inquiry in regard to his conduct, on the ground that he was not an Advocate practising in the District Magistrate's Court. To-day at the hearing of this case it has been explained to us for the Respondent that he does not maintain that objection as regards the jurisdiction of the District Magistrate. And even apart from that I do not think the question would have been of any practical importance to us now. The District Magistrate has brought to our notice the fact that the Respondent has been convicted of a criminal offence, and on that report

we can certainly take action under Section 10 of the Legal Practitioners' Act. I do not think it necessary that I should discuss now the principles on which we should deal with conduct such as that of which the Respondent has been convicted, because I said what I thought necessary in a similar case, Civil Petition No. 65 of 1939-40, only a few days ago.

The Respondent has undoubtedly been convicted of an offence which brings him within Section 10 of the Legal Practitioners' Act, an offence implying a defect of character in a member of the legal profession. I understand from the position which the Respondent has taken up to-day that he is not, as some other members of the legal profession have done, expressing a wish both to remain an Advocate of this Court, earning his living as a Legal Practitioner, and also to commit such offences as that of which he has been convicted. That appears to me to be to his credit. Although any disobedience of a lawful order of a Magistrate such as that of which the Respondent has been convicted, when done by a member of the legal profession and especially when done by anyone holding such a prominent position as that of an Advocate of this Court, must imply some defect of character or temper, a casual offence committed in the heat of excitement might not call for any serious punishment at our hands. But the circumstances of this case show that what the Respondent did on the 14th of August, was done with deliberation. He was served with the District Magistrate's order about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Four hours later he went towards the place arranged for a meeting in Robertsonpet with a party of other persons, on whom copies of the same notice had been served, in a procession deliberately to disobey that order. That in itself was serious misconduct on the part of an Advocate of this Court.

But, as the learned Government Advocate has pointed out, there is a great deal in the history of the Respondent which is much against him and which shows, I regret to say, that what he did on the 14th of August was part of a deliberate course of conduct which he has chosen to adopt. In November, 1937, he was convicted of a serious offence of sedition, and for that was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. By the clemency of the Government a large part of that sentence was remitted. But, very soon after the Respondent was released in consequence of the Government's order, in April, 1938, he committed an offence punishable under Section 73 of the Police Act by disobeying a Magistrate's order. Again he was fortunate in the fact that in celebration of a happy occasion in this State his sentence was cut short before it had been finished, and he was released from prison again. In July, 1939, as the evidence shows, being a member of the committee of the political association to which he belongs, he joined in a very improper resolution that the members of that association were free to disregard prohibitory orders of Magistrates, if such orders interfered with what they regarded as their right to address public meet-

ings. The Respondent as an Advocate must have known that the ordinary right of freedom of speech gives no-one a right to disobey the lawful orders of Magistrates, even if such orders may at times curtail the exercise of freedom of speech. We are all subject to lawful orders curtailing our liberty in various directions; but, if they are lawful we must obey them. And no member of the legal profession, an Advocate of this Court less than anyone, can with any propriety or decency proclaim that he feels himself at liberty to disobey lawful orders or incite others to do so, as the resolution in which the Respondent joined obviously did. That has been the history of the Respondent as disclosed to us in recent years. But the records of this court show that ten years ago he was reported to the Court by a District Magistrate for improper conduct in a member of the profession. That case is reported, *viz.*, *District Magistrate, Bangalore, vs. Bhashyam Iyengar*, 36 Mysore High Court Reports 229. It was concerned with some speeches which the Respondent had made in public. He disputed the correctness of the records made of those speeches. He disputed the accuracy of the District Magistrate's account of what he had said on the occasions in question. But he admitted that he had "advised the public on one of two occasions to peacefully disobey prohibitory orders of the magistracy issued under Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which he along with others considered to be an unjustifiable interference with the fundamental rights of citizenship. The full Bench of this Court, which heard that case declared that the action which the Respondent so admitted was action amounting to misconduct in a legal practitioner, action for which he might be punished under the provisions of the Legal Practitioners' Act. In the end they thought it unnecessary to make any order against the Respondent on that occasion, partly because he expressed some regret—which we find from the record of the case was put in a very ambiguous way and which the Respondent has told us to-day was not regret for what the learned Judges found he had done. Fortunately for the Respondent no order was made against him by the Court on that occasion. But that case makes it quite impossible for him to maintain that he has not had ample warning that incitement to disobedience of lawful orders of Magistrates is misconduct on the part of the legal practitioner, if he so far forgets himself as to commit it. And openly to insist upon disobeying a lawful order of a Magistrate, as the Respondent has been found in this case to have done, is equally misconduct which comes within the Act.

As I have said before, my own inclination would be, if an Advocate of this Court forgot himself in a moment of excitement or anger and so disobeyed the lawful order of a Magistrate, to treat what he had done as leniently as possible. I am quite ready to make allowances for people who are carried away by the strength of political opinions. But we cannot

possibly regard the offence of which the Respondent has been found guilty as the result of mere momentary excitement. What I have said of his conduct shows that he has adopted deliberately a course which no Advocate of this Court can be allowed to follow. In my opinion the only proper order in this case is that the Respondent's name be struck off the list of Advocates of this Court.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

Mr. Justice T. Singaravelu Mudaliar.

I agree.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

By the Court.

The order of the Court is that the name of Mr. K. T. Bhashyam Iyengar be struck off the list of Advocates of this Court and that he be debarred from practice in any court of the State.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

C.P. No. 68 of 1939-40

Petitioner :

Government.

vs.

Opponent :

K. T. Bhashyam Aiyangar.

The opponent abovenamed begs to state as follows :

1. That he has been served with a notice to show cause why action should not be taken against him under the Legal Practitioners' Act.

2. That in the light of the decisions of this Hon'ble Court in the cases of Messrs. T. Ramachar and others he feels no cause could be shown, and invites this Hon'ble Court to pass such orders as may be deemed just and proper.

3. That he desires, however, to controvert certain allegations made against him in the reference.

(a) It is stated that in the matter of the conviction under Section 124-A I.P.C. "mercy was shown to him by Government." If it means that he was released before the sentence expired, there was no question of mercy in it. Neither the opponent nor anyone on his behalf had asked for it. There were several other prisoners at the time in Jail. The Government considered it desirable in public interests to release all the

political prisoners and they did so. To call that a mercy conferred on the opponent is incorrect and misleading.

(b) It is stated of the opponent that in the proceedings against him under the Legal Practitioners' Regulation "on expressing regret he was let off." This is misleading. He regretted not his own conduct in which there was nothing to regret but that the District Magistrate had misunderstood him. This is clear from a reading of his statement in the case and also from a perusal of the judgement reported in IX Mysore Law Journal 252.

(c) It is stated again that in a case against him under Section 188 I.P.C. he apologised and the case was withdrawn. It is totally false. There was no case at all against him on merits. Far from apologising, opponent protested against the withdrawal and his protest has been recorded by the Munsiff-Magistrate and may be verified by a perusal of the records.

4. That opponent did not obey the Police Officer's order since he considered the order to be illegal and untenable. One of the recognised constitutional methods is to break the order and get a decision in a court of law, *vide* 8 Mysore Law Journal 169. It is open as much to a lawyer as to any other citizen to do so, since otherwise, a lawyer will have to obey every order by every police officer however unjust or illegal it may be.

5. That opponent did not plead or defend himself or appeal, in pursuance of a policy of suffering without resistance calculated to create in the authorities concerned a desire to appreciate the sufferer's point of view. There was no question of want of regard or respect for the Court.

Bangalore,
Dated 15-3-1940.

(Sd). K. T. BHASHYAM AIYANGAR.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

C.P. No. 69 of 1939-40.

Petitioner : Government of Mysore, (The District
Magistrate of Kolar).

vs.

Opponent : Mr. H. C. Dasappa.

The Opponent begs to state as follows :

This opponent is still not free from his ailment, which prevents him from attending the Court. He regrets very much his inability to take advantage of the postponement of the hearing last time by this Hon'ble Court.

2. This opponent while adopting the main objections stated by his

colleagues in the other cases under the Legal Practitioners' Act desires to add a few more points.

3. It is the duty of the lawyer even more than that of an ordinary citizen to defend the civil liberties of the people. It cannot be denied that the order of the District Magistrate of Kolar prohibiting the opponent and his colleagues from speaking in Robertsonpet, the order of the District Superintendent of Police asking them to quit the Kolar Gold Fields area within 24 hours and not to re-enter it for the rest of their lives, and the alleged direction of a police officer at Swarnakuppan requiring them to desist from making speeches at Robertsonpet, were serious and extraordinary inroads into the civil liberties of the people. Members are returned to the Representative Assembly and various other political bodies from the K.G.F. area. The Mysore Congress was and is a recognised political party. It would be strange to assert that there is civil liberty in the State if a political party is to be denied not only the right to carry on propaganda in but even the right to enter for all time an area where people are required to exercise normal political privileges.

4. The opponent takes it that his unfitness to practise arises on account of his conviction under Section 73 of the Police Act at Robertsonpet. What actually took place, however, was no disobedience of the direction of any police officer, for there was in fact no such direction. The police officer only wanted to know at Swarnakuppan whether the opponent would be speaking at Robertsonpet, and the opponent told the police officer that he would intimate the decision after consulting the local leaders in charge of the meeting at Robertsonpet. But the decision of the Magistrate is there and the opponent is not anxious to go behind it. The answer to the complaint that the opponent and his colleagues failed to put up defences in the circumstances is that as satyagrahis it was no part of their programme to escape from false or untenable charges or to avoid the penalty for acts of civil disobedience deliberately committed but to suffer the consequences willingly with a view to convert the hearts of their opponents to the right way.

5. After all, this opponent and his colleagues are agitating for nothing very novel, impractical or unworthy. They want freedom, in other words, responsible government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja, and it is natural to expect that more than any other section of the public the lawyers should take the lead in this struggle for political freedom. When all other methods fail and ordinary civil liberties are sought to be strangled, if a lawyer chooses the path of satyagraha, becomes a votary of truth and non-violence and instead of inflicting suffering on his opponents invites suffering on himself, then surely his action should call for commendation rather than chastisement. In any view, it is not correct to hold that a lawyer becomes unfit to pursue his profession

if he turns a satyagrahi and suffers imprisonment voluntarily or otherwise for so worthy and patriotic a cause. If anything, it makes him a fitter instrument to serve in the temples of justice and the latter would only be the poorer by the absence of the former.

6. The opponent is aware of the action taken already by this Hon'ble Court against seven of his lawyer colleagues who were convicted of the same offence on the same occasion. Six of them have been disqualified permanently and the seventh suspended from practice for a period. The opponent, who was the President of the Mysore Congress at the time and whose responsibility for the actions of the Congress was, if anything, greater than that of his colleagues, has no reason to think that there are any over-riding factors which would necessitate this Hon'ble Court taking an action different from that against his colleagues. The opponent is also aware that the Viduraswatha Inquiry Committee consisting of Sir Vepa Ramesham, Mr. F. X. D'Souza and Justice A. R. Nageswara Iyer of this Hon'ble Court have recommended the use of the Legal Practitioners' Act to counteract the Congress activities in the State. In these circumstances it would not be right on the opponent's part to take up the precious time of this Hon'ble Court in showing that it is unfair, unjust and improper to use the Legal Practitioners' Act against such satyagrahis. The opponent may bring to the notice of this Hon'ble Court that the High Court of South Africa was reluctant to interfere with the right to practise of a person, Mr. Krouse by name, who had been convicted for political assassination and had served out his sentence. The fact that the Government of the day never thought of debarring Sir Edward Carson, who actually asked the Ulster Unionists to resist the Government by arms, may also be cited as another instance to the point.

7. The opponent desires to add that if the object of the Ramesham Committee was to curb the Congress activities in the State by the use of the disabling provisions of the Legal Practitioners' Act, it can hardly be fulfilled. The disqualification under the Act and the sufferings it may entail are an invaluable asset to a satyagrahi and will materially hasten the realisation of his objective. History has shown that repression can never suppress a people sworn to be free. DeValera, the "rebel" of yesterday, is to-day the President of Eire. These very methods were employed in the British Indian Provinces but proved futile. The very victims of repression assumed the reins of Government. The opponent submits in all humility that it is regrettable that the District Magistrate of Kolar fails to understand the reading of the times. In his eagerness to recommend action being taken against this opponent and his colleagues he seems to have assumed jurisdiction over persons who are quite beyond his jurisdiction and do not practise in his Court. If his recommendation has the support of Government it is still worse.

8. The opponent, however, hopes that ere long there will be a change in the policy of the Government in the interests of justice and the fair name of the State. Meanwhile the opponent and his co-workers will cheerfully submit to any orders of this Hon'ble Court.

9. In the end, the opponent begs leave of this Hon'ble Court to express his gratitude to this Hon'ble Court and all the Subordinate Courts before which he was privileged to practise these 21 years for the great consideration and courtesy shown to him throughout the period.

Mysore,
19-1-1940.

Sd. H. C. DASAPPA,
Opponent.

II Statement of Mr. H. C. Dasappa.

The opponent begs to file this additional statement as required by this Hon'ble Court.

1. The opponent begs to submit with due deference to this Hon'ble Court that the question of the attitude of the Mysore Congress towards the departmental enquiry conducted by Mr. Justice A. R. Nageswara Iyer into the police excesses alleged by the Congress is not relevant for the purpose of these proceedings under the L. P. Act. Neither the District Magistrate of Kolar nor the learned Government Advocate has imputed professional misconduct to the opponent. So the only charge the opponent is called upon to answer is for having committed an offence alleged to come within the orbit of Sec. 10 of the Act. It would have been helpful to the opponent if specific charges had been framed against him, in which case the issues could have been narrowed down and made clearer. The opponent submits that in any case the attitude of the Mysore Congress towards Mr. Justice Nageswara Iyer's inquiry cannot come in as an issue in these proceedings and the importing of such extraneous considerations, essentially of a political character, might prejudice the findings in this case. As a matter of fact, when the other cases against his colleagues under the L. P. Act were heard the attitude of the Mysore Congress towards Mr. Justice Nageswara Iyer's inquiry was well known but it did not come into question at that time. The opponent finds, besides, that neither the District Magistrate of Kolar nor the learned Government Advocate has urged that as a ground for action against the opponent.

2. The opponent further submits that this matter relates to controversial politics and he cannot in the course of a short statement refer to all the circumstances which led up to the non-participation of the Mysore Congress in the enquiry. He desires very much to avoid it, but since he has been called upon to make his statement he has got to do it to the extent he can remember the facts. For he has not got the connected papers with him in Mysore, and his illness and want of time prevent him from

looking into them at the Congress Office in Bangalore. It is true that the Congress urged for an independent and impartial enquiry into the police excesses alleged by them in the middle of November, 1939. Nothing happened till the middle of December, 1939, when Shree Mahadev Desai, Private Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi, came to the State at the instance of the Dewan. Shree Desai was given facilities to interview satyagrahis in the presence of District Officials and ascertained the truth about the allegations into the police excesses. Shree Mahadev Desai recommended an open judicial enquiry presided over by a Judge of known integrity brought from outside the State.

3. The opponent may state that like many similar organisations in India the Mysore Congress also has been fortunate to come under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi and he has been guiding it for some time. He was in correspondence with the Dewan about this question of inquiry among other matters. The Government appointed Mr. Justice A. R. Nageswara Iyer to carry on what was admittedly a departmental inquiry, not open to the press or public. Attempts made to have the inquiry postponed with a view to arrive at an amicable settlement in the matter, were of no avail. It was then that the Mysore Congress was advised by Mahatma Gandhi not to participate in the inquiry. It chose not to publish any resolution on the matter at the time—a matter which the opponent thought would be appreciated by those concerned. Non-publication was meant definitely not to embarrass the authorities and to enable Mahatma Gandhi to negotiate for a change of the personnel of the inquiry. The resolution passed at the meeting of the All Mysore Congress Committee held at Mysore on the 24th and the 25th February, 1940 and published widely contains the full reasons for non-participation with the inquiry. The opponent's advocate will furnish a copy of the same to this Hon'ble Court if necessary. The opponent believes that by that time the inquiry, such as it was, was completed by Mr. Justice Nageswara Iyer.

4. The opponent is informed by his advocate that this Hon'ble Court read out some passages from the report of Mr. Justice Nageswara Iyer where it was stated some persons refused in the absence of directions by the opponent, the then President of the Congress, to give evidence before Mr. Justice Nageswara Iyer. The congressmen would participate in the inquiry only in case they were asked to do so by the Working Committee. In the absence of any specific direction to the effect they would not participate in it. It is quite likely that they said that unless they heard from the opponent they would not make any statement, which is quite different from stating that the opponent deterred witnesses from giving evidence at the enquiry.

5. The opponent submits that the inquiry was only a departmental one and there was no court constituted for the purpose. There was no

legal obligation whatever on the part of the Congressmen to tender evidence at the inquiry. The moral obligation would only arise in case the tribunal was satisfactory.

The Mysore Congress does not desire to shirk responsibility for its actions, nor does the opponent for his own merely on the plea that Mahatma Gandhi advised them the course of action taken. There have been a number of instances when political parties have not chosen to participate in such inquiries for various reasons. But in no case has the moral or professional conduct of the individuals belonging to such a party been questioned. It would be straining the law to an unreasonable degree to bring the conduct of such a person into question in proceedings under the L.P. Act.

6. The opponent points out that the Congress has stated in the resolution on the subject that if the twin conditions of a satisfactory tribunal, and the release of satyagrahi prisoners, were fulfilled the Congress would have no objection to lead evidence in support of its allegation.

7. The opponent learns that some explanation is desired as to why the opponent did not defend himself when he alleged that the prosecution had brought a false charge. The explanation is already given in the earlier statement. It is a part of the technique of non-violent resistance which satyagrahis observe. While a satyagrahi does not choose to defend in political cases against false or untenable charges, it does not however mean that he should refrain from stating the truth as he knows it. It becomes a duty to do so. The best defence he can put up in such circumstances is his own readiness to submit to all consequences and sufferings willingly.

Mysore,
27-6-1940.

(Sd.) H. C. DASAPPA
Opponent.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Friday the 28th day of June, 1940.

Present

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

AND

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

Civil Petition No. 69 of 1939-40

In the matter of the charge under Section 12 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act framed by the District Magistrate of Kolar in C.M.C. No. 7 of 1939-40 against Mr. H. C. Dasappa, Advocate, Mysore, who was convicted under Section 73 of the Mysore Police Act by the Senior

Assistant Commissioner and First Class Magistrate, Kolar Gold Field, in C.C. No. 158 of 1939-40 on his file, in respect of an offence committed on 14-8-1939 under circumstances that brought his conduct under Section 11 Clause (f) of the said Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act, and referred by the said District Magistrate to the High Court for enquiry.

Read also (1) the statement dated 19th June, 1940 ; (2) an additional statement dated 27th June, 1940 of the opponent H. C. Dasappa, in the matter.

HEARD : Mr. K. Hanumanthiah for Mr. H. C. Dasappa,
Mr. Mirle N. Lakshminaranappa,
Government Advocate for Government.

JUDGMENT

The Chief Justice :

The District Magistrate of Kolar has submitted a report to this Court that the Respondent, an Advocate of this Court, was convicted on the 18th of September, 1939, by the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field of an offence punishable under Section 73 of the Police Act and was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months. The District Magistrate's report has been submitted to this Court in order that we may consider what action it is necessary to take against the Respondent under the Legal Practitioners' Act.

The Respondent was tried in Criminal Case No. 158 of 1939-40 on the file of the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field. It was found in that case that on the 12th of August, 1939, the District Magistrate had issued an order under Section 39 of the Police Act prohibiting the Respondent and others from speaking at public meetings or delivering harangues at Robertsonpet or within five miles of Robertsonpet for two months from that date : a copy of that order was served on the Respondent about 3-45 p.m. on the 14th of August at a place about five miles from Robertsonpet : on the evening of that day about 6 o'clock the Respondent came in a procession with others to the outskirts of Robertsonpet towards the place where a meeting had been arranged by the political association of which the Respondent was then the President ; he was stopped at the outskirts of Robertsonpet by the police : but, though warned by a Police Inspector, he insisted that he would deliver a speech and proceeded to Robertsonpet to do so : he was then arrested under Section 51 of the Police Act. Evidence of those facts was given before the First Class Magistrate at the Respondent's trial, and he was convicted as I have stated. He did not appeal either against his conviction or sentence.

The learned Government Advocate has drawn our attention to the way in which the Respondent conducted himself at his trial in that case. When the accusation against him was explained to him at the beginning

of the trial, he first said that he did not wish to plead ; but he filed a long written statement, which was a plea that he was not guilty. It went much further. It stated that the case against him was a false one deliberately fabricated by the police. Nevertheless, although he chose to make that very grave accusation against those who were prosecuting him and against those who gave evidence in support of the case against him, he declined to cross-examine the witnesses for the prosecution. In the written statement I have mentioned he told a different story from the case for the prosecution—a story according to which he did not insist on making a speech at Robertsonpet on the day in question, as alleged by the prosecution and as stated by the prosecution witnesses, but, when questioned by the police at the outskirts of Robertsonpet, according to him he said that he was going to a tea party, an innocent proceeding, and added very impertinently that he would tell the police officers later whether he was going to disobey the District Magistrate's order or not. That story is not entirely creditable to one who is an Advocate of this Court. But it will be observed that it was contradictory to the story for the prosecution. And it will be observed that both according to the prosecution and according to the Respondent what had happened had been in the presence of many people, and, if the Respondent's story were true, it would have been quite easy for him to call a number of witnesses to prove it. Nevertheless he neither cross-examined the prosecution witnesses nor called any witness in his defence. But, when the prosecution evidence was over and he was questioned again by the Magistrate, he said that the evidence for the prosecution was "a tissue of lies". As the learned Government Advocate has pointed out, the Respondent at that trial made the gravest charges against those who were prosecuting him and those who gave evidence in support of the prosecution case. But he declined to do anything to test the prosecution evidence by cross-examination or to prove his own allegations. An accused person has legally the right to behave in that way ; but it is at least very surprising that any Advocate of this Court should have thought that becoming behaviour. However there is no question now whether the Respondent committed the offence alleged against him by the prosecution in that case. That was established in the case. The District Magistrate has reported that conviction to this Court with the idea that it shows that the Respondent should be dealt with by this Court under the Legal Practitioners' Act. Even according to his own account the Respondent behaved in an impertinent way when he was questioned by the police ; and according to what was established at his trial he did commit an offence, and a serious offence, on the 14th of August, 1939. It was done when he was on the way to address a political meeting in defiance of the District Magistrate's order. That was a serious thing.

But, as I have said before, personally I should always be ready to

make a great deal of allowance for a man who in the heat of political controversy committed such an offence. People get very excited in politics and in moments of excitement do things which they regret afterwards. I should regret to find that any Advocate of this Court behaved as the Respondent was proved to have behaved on the 14th of August, 1939. But, if that were an isolated instance, I should not feel inclined to deal severely with him under the Legal Practitioners' Act. Unfortunately it is clear that what the Respondent did on the evening of the 14th of August, 1939, was not something done in the heat of momentary excitement. As I have mentioned, he had been served with a copy of the District Magistrate's order more than two hours before he came to the outskirts of Robertsonpet. Nevertheless even after that period of reflection he was determined to disobey the District Magistrate's order. And apart from that it has been disclosed in these proceedings that what the Respondent did on the 14th of August, 1939 was part of a deliberate plan to disobey such orders as that of the District Magistrate. It appears that at a meeting of the committee of the political association of which the Respondent was President, held in July, 1939, a resolution was passed to the effect that members of that association should tour throughout the State and make speeches and that, "if, as was feared, any invasion of such right was attempted by the issue of prohibitory orders, it was resolved that the members were free to disregard the same." That was an extraordinary resolution for an Advocate of this Court to join in. And, as I have mentioned, the Respondent was the president of the association and, I understand, of the committee which passed that resolution. In effect it declared that members of that association were free to disobey lawful orders made by Magistrates within their legal powers, if members of their association wished to do so. By joining in that resolution, for which as President the Respondent must be held fully responsible, he was inciting others to disobey such orders and to break the law when they thought fit. The respondent as a lawyer must have realized what a very serious thing he was doing by joining in such a resolution. It is not very easy to draw a line between such a resolution and declaration of a determination to rebel against the lawful authority of the State. It appears to have been in pursuance of that resolution that the Respondent committed his offence on the 14th of August, 1939. When we remember that, the commission of the offence becomes very serious.

In the first written statement which he has submitted in these proceedings the Respondent has again gone back to his allegation that the case against him, in which he was convicted, was a false one. Of that I need say nothing more. But in extenuation of what he did on the 14th of August, he has made some very surprising statements. He speaks of it being necessary to do what he did "when all other methods fail and ordi-

nary civil liberties are sought to be strangled", and in the very next line of his written statement he goes on to declare himself "a votary of truth." It is surely deplorable that anyone who represents himself as a champion of truth should have made such grossly exaggerated statements. The Respondent has explained that what he wanted to do was to advocate a form of government which he calls "responsible government" and then talks of having done what he did when all other methods failed. I understand that the Respondent and his friends have been agitating for the last few years for the establishment of "responsible government," as they call it, in this State, and that they are quite entitled to do. But having pursued that agitation for a few years without yet achieving entire success is it reasonable or legitimate to say that all other methods have failed and therefore it is necessary to disobey the Law? And how could anyone who had any regard for truth talk about ordinary civil liberties being "sought to be strangled"? In his written statement at the trial of C.C. No. 158 of 1939-40 the Respondent disclosed that he and his companions had addressed nearly 150 meetings in two districts of this State in support of their views. Does that look as if all ordinary civil liberty was being strangled? To use such language merely because the District Magistrate of Kolar thought it necessary to prevent a particular meeting being held in a particular place, where in his opinion an excitable population might cause disorder, is to go beyond the bounds of reason and make a mockery of truth.

The learned Government Advocate has drawn our attention, as is proper when we are considering what penalty should follow the Respondent's conviction, not only to the resolution passed by the working committee of this association in July, 1939, which I have mentioned, but also to the fact that the Respondent was convicted on a previous occasion of very much the same offence as that of which he was convicted in September, 1939. He was convicted in April, 1938 of offences punishable under the Police Act and was sentenced to simple imprisonment for two months and to two fines of one hundred rupees each. It is necessary that we should take the Respondent's past history into consideration when deciding how to deal with him under the Legal Practitioners' Act.

Unfortunately it has been disclosed there is something much more serious against the Respondent than anything which I have yet mentioned. In January last a learned Judge of this Court was appointed by the Government, who borrowed his services for the purpose, to inquire into some very grave and in certain instances foul allegations, which had been made by members of the political association of which the Respondent was then President. That inquiry was held in January and February last. Very strangely the great majority of those members of the Respondent's political

association, who had made those grave and foul charges against public officers of this State, refused to appear before the learned Judge who was conducting the inquiry. They refused either to withdraw their allegations or to substantiate them when that opportunity was given to them. Some of them explained that they could not appear in the inquiry to support their allegations unless they were permitted to do so by the Respondent in his capacity as president of that association. And it appears not only did the Respondent not permit them to appear; in effect he and the committee of the association, over which he presided, deterred them from appearing. As this part of the Respondent's conduct was not what had been reported to us by the District Magistrate of Kolar and indeed had happened after the District Magistrate made his report, though it was certainly a matter to be taken into consideration in deciding in these proceedings whether the Respondent has a defect of character unfitting him to be an Advocate of this Court, we adjourned these proceedings and gave the Respondent an opportunity of explaining what he had done in connection with that inquiry. To-day he has submitted a further written statement. In that statement he first asks us not to consider what happened in connection with that inquiry of January and February last in these proceedings. But, as the part which the Respondent played in that matter has come to our notice, it would be unreasonable for us to shut our eyes to it when we are considering whether he should remain an Advocate of this Court. What the Respondent did was by virtue of his position as president of his association to induce members of that association, who had made foul allegations against public officers of this State, to decline either to substantiate those allegations, when an opportunity was provided by an inquiry held by a learned Judge of this Court, or to withdraw them. That anyone who has been for years, as the Respondent has been, an Advocate of this Court should be guilty of conduct such as that surprises me more than I can say. To make a foul allegation against one's neighbour, whether he be an official or not, and to refuse either to withdraw it or to substantiate it when opportunity is given is conduct to which no decent-minded man, who had not lost all sense of fairness, would descend or advise others to descend. Mr. Hanumanthiah who appears for the Respondent has urged before us that what the Respondent did in that matter was done in the course of political agitation. Unhappy indeed must be the country in which politics are conducted without regard for moral principles. I understand from the Respondent's written statement that the object of his politics is to get responsible government established in this State. That is a form of government which many of us admire and which all of us, who are not Judges, are at liberty to advocate. This is not an occasion on which it would be proper to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of that form of government. But I think we shall all agree that that form of gov-

ernment can have no chance of success in any country in which there is not a general spirit of fairness throughout the community. The Respondent in this matter of deterring his followers from withdrawing or substantiating their charges against their fellow-subjects has shown himself devoid of that spirit of fairness. It is suggested in one part of his written statement that what he did was done at the dictate of a person outside the State. No man, who is fit to be an Advocate of this Court, can submit his conscience to anyone else in that way. It is no excuse for such conduct that it was done under the persuasion of someone else.

In one part of the written statement which the Respondent has submitted today, he has said: "The opponent (meaning himself) submits that the inquiry was a only a departmental one and there was no Court constituted for the purpose. There was no legal obligation whatever on the part of the Congressmen to tender evidence at the inquiry." It is correct that there was no legal obligation. But he goes on: "The moral obligation would only arise in case the Tribunal was satisfactory." That is in effect an allegation that a learned Judge of this Court, appointed to inquire into such a matter, was not a satisfactory Tribunal—strange language indeed for an Advocate of this Court to use. But with that written statement Mr. Hanumanthiah has presented a copy of a resolution, which was passed by the committee of the political association of which the Respondent was then President on the 18th of January last in respect of this inquiry. A part of it runs as follows: "Resolved that the working committee is of opinion that the inquiry into the alleged police excesses by Mr. A. R. Nageswara Iyer (the learned Judge I have mentioned) would serve no useful purpose at present inasmuch as the inquiry is not open to the public and is presided over by an officer of the State and is not calculated therefore to be an independent or impartial one. . . ." The Respondent presided over the committee which passed that resolution. Could it be believed that any Advocate of this Court would take part in a resolution traducing a learned Judge of this Court in that way? By using such language alone the Respondent has put himself out of Court. But can we believe for one moment that he was sincere in taking up that position? In these very proceedings the Respondent is expressing his anxiety still to remain an Advocate of this Court, of which that learned Judge is an honoured member. What are we to think of a professed votary of truth who behaves in such a way? Perhaps it is because truth is so often degraded in this country into nothing more than a political catchword that the Respondent has lost all appreciation of its meaning and value. It is a sad thing indeed that one who has practised for many years as an Advocate of this Court should have so degraded himself and should have lowered his moral standards to that extent. In my opinion it would not be fair to require other members of an honourable profession

to associate in the work of the courts with a man who has allowed his morals to be so debased ; nor would it be safe to allow litigants to entrust their interests to his hands. In my opinion it is quite clear that the Respondent has become by defect of character unfit to remain an Advocate of this Court.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR :

I agree with the order pronounced by the learned Chief Justice and wish to add that the Respondent has been a party to a resolution which implies that an honourable Judge of this Court is incapable of giving an honest and an impartial opinion. It passes one's comprehension that such an idea should be given publicity to by a body which has undertaken the responsible task of attaining responsible government. The Respondent or his inspirers who assume to represent the people for whom they are fighting to get responsible government are condemning their own cause by the publication of such a low idea and it really surprises me that an Advocate of this Court should have gone that length. I therefore entirely agree with the order pronounced by the learned Chief Justice that the Respondent is unfit to be a member of this Court.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

By the Court :

The order of the Court is that Mr. H. C. Dasappa's name be struck off the list of Advocates of this Court and that he be debarred from practice in any Court of the State.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Tuesday, the 19th day of March 1940

Present

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

AND

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

Civil Petition No. 70 of 1939-40

In the matter of the charge under Section 12 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act framed by the District Magistrate of Kolar in C.M.C. No. 11 of 1939-40 against Mr. S. Rangaramiah, Advocate, Mysore, who

was convicted under Section 73 of the Mysore Police Act by the Assistant Commissioner and First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field in C.C. No. 162 of 39-40, in respect of an offence committed by the said Mr. S. Ranganathiah on 14-8-1939 under circumstances that brought his conduct under Section 11 Cl. (f) of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act and preferred by the said District Magistrate to the High Court for enquiry.

HEARD. Mr. C. N. Narasinga Rao for respondent
Mr. Mirle N. Lakshminaranappa,
Government Advocate, for Government.

JUDGMENT

The District Magistrate of Kolar has submitted a report to this Court under the Legal Practitioners' Act against the Respondent, an Advocate of this Court, to the effect that on the 18th of August 1939 he was convicted by the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field of an offence punishable under Section 73 of the Police Act and for that offence was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months. At the trial in the First Class Magistrate's Court in Criminal Case No. 162 of 1939-40 it was found that the District Magistrate had issued an order on the 12th of August under Section 39 of the Police Act prohibiting the Respondent and certain other persons from speaking at public meetings or delivering harangues at Robertsonpet or within five miles of Robertsonpet for two months from that date: that order was served on the Respondent between 2 and 3 p.m. on the 14th of August: nevertheless about 6 p.m. on the 14th of August the respondent came in a procession with other persons, upon whom copies of the same order had been served, towards a place in Robertsonpet where a public meeting had been arranged by a member of their political association: they were stopped by the police: the Respondent, when questioned by a Police Inspector what he intended to do, first consulted some of his companions and then insisted that he was going to proceed to the place of meeting and deliver a speech: on that he was arrested under Section 51 of the Police Act. And he was afterwards convicted of an offence punishable under Section 73 of that Act, as reported by the District Magistrate.

The Respondent did not appeal against his conviction. I may mention however that in the First Class Magistrate's Court he adopted a very strange course. He first said that he did not wish to plead but he went on to say that he wanted to make a statement, and he made quite a long statement. According to that statement he never declared his determination to make a speech at Robertsonpet on the 14th of August, but he did say that he was going into Robertsonpet as he had not been prohibited from doing that. If that was what really happened when the police stop-

ped the procession I have mentioned, the Respondent would have had a good defence in the case against him. But in spite of that being what happened according to his statement, when the trial proceeded, he refused to cross-examine the witnesses for the prosecution, and he called no witness in his defence, though, if his story was true, there must have been many people who could have supported it. The Respondent's attitude on the occasion of his trial was obviously very curious and very unreasonable—an attitude which it is very surprising to me any legal practitioner should wish to adopt. But I may mention that in his statement in the First Class Magistrate's Court the Respondent said one remarkable thing. Although he said, as I have mentioned, that he did not express a determination to make a speech in defiance of the District Magistrate's order under Section 39 of the Police Act, he also stated "I had no hesitation in disobeying that order as it came in the way of exercising my fundamental rights." It is very difficult to understand exactly what the Respondent meant. That last sentence, which I have quoted verbally from his statement, amounts to an admission that he did disobey the District Magistrate's order. The Respondent's statement to the First Class Magistrate on the occasion of his trial as well as his behaviour at that trial appears to me to betray very curious confusion of mind.

But these proceedings unfortunately show that it is not only confusion of mind from which the Respondent suffers. I regret to say that he also suffers from want of good manners. A notice was served upon him in the proceedings which the District Magistrate of Kolar took under the Legal Practitioners' Act. Notice was given to him that the inquiry, which the District Magistrate proposed to make into his conduct, was to be held on a certain day. The Respondent chose not to appear before the District Magistrate. But he did something else, which was highly improper. He sent to the District Magistrate a written statement, not through any Advocate or Pleader empowered to represent him, but by the hand of someone else's clerk. The Respondent we are told has been an Advocate of this Court for sixteen years. He must have known that that was a very improper way to act towards the District Magistrate.

Notice was given to the Respondent by this Court that the case with which we are now dealing against him would be heard yesterday. The Respondent did not appear in person yesterday. He was represented by Counsel, who asked for an adjournment till to-day on the very curious ground that the Respondent was engaged in some other business, not professional business we were told. The Respondent had had notice of these proceedings for some weeks. But he chose to instruct his Counsel to make that very improper application yesterday for an adjournment. It was only because we thought that in proceedings such as these it was very desirable that the Advocate, whose conduct was in question, should appear

in person before us that we acceded to the request for an adjournment until to-day, when the Respondent's Counsel represented the Respondent would be here in person. This morning we were informed by the Respondent's Counsel that the Respondent was not going to appear to-day because he had some religious ceremony, which required his attendance and of which, if that is true at all, he must have known yesterday. It will be seen that quite apart from the case against the Respondent, with which we are dealing, it is obvious that he does not know how properly to behave to the Court—a thing which I regret very much to say about any Advocate of this Court.

In the written statement which the Respondent sent so improperly to the District Magistrate of Kolar for the purpose of the District Magistrate's inquiry under the Legal Practitioners' Act, I notice that the Respondent questioned the jurisdiction of the District Magistrate to hold that inquiry. Mr. Narasinga Rao, who appears for the Respondent before us, has told us that the Respondent does not press any question of jurisdiction now; and it would be of no practical use to do so. There can be no question that we can deal with the Respondent under Section 10 of the Legal Practitioners' Act now that his conviction has been brought to our notice by the District Magistrate. The propriety of that conviction and the truth of the evidence on which it was based cannot be questioned now by the Respondent.

It has been found that the Respondent insisted on the 14th of August on disobeying an order, which had been lawfully issued to him by the District Magistrate of Kolar. That was very serious misconduct on the part of an Advocate of this Court. And it is clear from the evidence that it was deliberate misconduct, not anything done in the heat of momentary excitement. A copy of the District Magistrate's order under Section 39 of the Police Act had been served upon the Respondent three hours or more before he came in the procession I have mentioned towards Robertsonpet. There can be no doubt that he came in that procession with companions upon whom copies of the same order had been served, deliberately determined to disobey the order. It appears that about 8 years ago the Respondent was convicted of a similar offence of disobeying a Magistrate's order under Section 39 of the Police Act. On that occasion he was punished by being fined. One might have expected that conviction and punishment to have served as a warning to the Respondent. But speaking for myself, although the Respondent had that warning and disregarded it, I should not be inclined to take that incident of comparatively old history into very serious account against him on the present occasion. Unfortunately however there is something very much more serious against the Respondent, which has been brought out in the evidence in the District Magistrate's Court. It appears that the Respondent in

July last was a member of the Committee of his political association and joined in a resolution passed by that committee to the effect that if what they regarded as their right of holding public meetings to persuade people to their political views was "invaded" as they put it, by prohibitory orders issued by Magistrates, they were free to disregard those orders. It is difficult not to find something ridiculous in professional lawyers joining together to pass such an extraordinary resolution. How could any lawyers seriously consider that they could make or declare themselves free from the duty of obeying lawful orders issued by Magistrates as any other citizens have to obey them? But I think it is clear that what the resolution meant was, not that those who passed it regarded themselves as really free from the effects of such orders, but that they were determined to disregard them, if they wished. It is obvious that it was a very serious thing indeed for legal practitioners to join in passing such a resolution, if they intended to act upon it; and it was still more serious for them by passing such a resolution to incite other members of their political association to disobey lawful orders issued by Magistrates. In the heat of political passion people sometimes do very extraordinary things. But there is no suggestion that that resolution of the committee of the political association to which the Respondent belongs was not passed calmly; and it would be impossible for the respondent as a member of the legal profession to pretend that he did not realize the seriousness of what he was doing when he joined in passing that resolution and so in inciting other people to break the law.

We are told by Mr. Narasinga Rao that in spite of all this the Respondent still wishes to remain a member of the legal profession, to remain an Advocate of this Court and to get the material benefits of his profession by earning his living by it. It is an extraordinary thing to me that any man should even wish to remain a member of that honourable profession while he is determined to disobey lawful orders when he so wishes and is prepared to incite other people to do so. But I think it would be hopeless to look for consistency in the Respondent's conduct. He has shown us that he does not know how to behave properly to a Court, and he has shown us I think clearly that he is not fit either by character or conduct to remain an Advocate of this Court. In my opinion the only proper order in this case is that his name should be struck off the list of Advocates of this Court.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR :

I agree with the order proposed by the learned Chief Justice.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

By the Court :

The order of the Court is that the name of Mr. S. Rangaramiah be struck off the list of Advocates of this Court and that he be debarred from practice in any Court of this State.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

IN THE COURT OF THE DISTRICT
MAGISTRATE, KOLAR

C.M.C. No. 11 of 1939-40

PETITIONER : The District Magistrate, Kolar
Vs

OPPONENT : Mr. S. Rangaramiah

IN THE MATTER OF NOTICE UNDER SECTION 12 OF THE
MYSORE LEGAL PRACTITIONERS' ACT

The opponent abovenamed begs to state as follows :

1. That this Court has no jurisdiction to issue a notice to him as it can act under Section 12 of the Legal Practitioners' Act only in matters falling under Section 11 of the Legal Practitioners' Act and the subject matter of the charge is one falling if at all under Section 10 of the Legal Practitioners' Act and not under Section 11 of the Act.

2. That in any view of the Case the conduct on the part of the opponent has not been such as to imply moral turpitude or defect in character which unfits him to be a legal practitioner. The opponent has stated everything in his statement before the Special Magistrate of K.G.F.

3. That he considers it a duty and a privilege to work for a change in the system of Government from its autocratic form and for the establishment of responsible government in its place and to resist the restrictions on the civil liberties of the people in a peaceful and non-violent manner.

4. The opponent is not a legal practitioner practising before this Court and on that ground also this Court has no jurisdiction.

Bangalore,
4th December, 1939.

(Sd.) S. RANGARAMIAH.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Tuesday the 26th day of March 1940

Present

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

AND

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

Civil Petition No. 71 of 1939-40

In the matter of the charge under Section 12 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act, framed by the District Magistrate of Kolar in C.M.C. No. 10 of 1939-40 against Mr. M. Govinda Reddy, Advocate, Chitaldroog, who was convicted under Section 73 of the Mysore Police Act by the Senior Assistant Commissioner and First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field in C.C. No. 161 of 1939-40 on his file in respect of the offence committed by the said Mr. M. Govinda Reddy on 14-8-1939 under circumstances that brought his conduct under Section 11 clause (f) of the said Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act, and referred by the said District Magistrate to the High Court for enquiry.

HEARD : Mr. Mirle N. Lakshminaranappa,
Government Advocate, for Government.
Mr. M. Govinda Reddy—in person.

JUDGMENT

The District Magistrate of Kolar has submitted a report to this Court under the Legal Practitioners' Act against the Respondent, an Advocate of this Court practising at Chitaldrug, to the effect that on the 18th of August last the Respondent was convicted by the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field of an offence punishable under Section 73 of the Police Act and for that offence was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months. It was found in the case before the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field, C.C. No. 161 of 1939-40 on his file, that on the 12th of August last the District Magistrate of Kolar had issued an order addressed to the Respondent and other persons of a political association to which the Respondent belongs, and made under Section 39 of the Police Act, prohibiting the Respondent and the other persons concerned from speaking at public meetings or delivering harangues at Robertsonpet or within five miles of Robertsonpet for two months from that date : that notice was served on the Respondent between 2 and 2-30 p.m. on the 14th of August : in spite of that about 6 p.m. that day the Respondent with a number of other persons, to whom that order had been addressed and on whom it had been served, came in procession to the outskirts of Robert-

sonpet towards a place in Robertsonpet where a meeting had been arranged for that evening by a member of their political association : the procession was stopped by the police : the Respondent was asked by a Police Inspector what his intention was : the Respondent conferred with some of his companions for two or three minutes and then informed the Inspector that he was going to Robertsonpet and would deliver a speech in spite of the District Magistrate's order : on that the Respondent was arrested under Section 51 of the Police Act. And later, as reported by the District Magistrate, he was convicted of an offence punishable under Section 73 of that Act.

In the First Class Magistrate's Court when the allegation of the prosecution was explained to the Respondent at the opening of the proceedings, he denied that the Inspector of Police had asked him, when the procession was stopped at the outskirts of Robertsonpet, whether he intended to speak at the meeting or go to the place of meeting ; and it is obvious that by that denial he meant also to deny that he insisted, as the prosecution alleged, that he would go to Robertsonpet and deliver a speech there. That he brought out clearly in his answer to a question from the Magistrate after the prosecution evidence had been finished. He then said : " The prosecution evidence in regard to my alleged persistence in proceeding to address a meeting is false." Nevertheless the Respondent declined to cross-examine any of the prosecution witnesses at his trial ; and he declined to call any defence witness to support his own story of what had happened, though, if his story had been true, there must have been many people who could have supported it. He preferred to inform the Magistrate after the examination of the prosecution witnesses had been completed that he had no defence. Now that was a very curious attitude for any reasonable man to take up. According to the Respondent the charge against him was false : quite apart from any question about the propriety of the District Magistrate's order he had not disobeyed it nor insisted that he was going to disobey it : the facts alleged by the Prosecution against him were not true. That was what he told the Magistrate. But yet he refused to cross-examine the prosecution witnesses, who according to him were telling lies against him, and he refused to call any defence witness, though many must have been available if his story were true. That would appear more the attitude of a sulky child than of a grown man, unless we are to suppose that for some ulterior object the Respondent wanted to be convicted on what he told the Magistrate and what he has assured us to-day was a false charge. That was a very strange position for any sane man to take up, a very strange position for any lawyer to take up.

I asked the Respondent some questions to-day in order to get him to explain his conduct, if possible. The explanation he gave was a very

unfortunate one. I understood him to say that it is the policy of the political association to which he belongs not to defend themselves when they are prosecuted for political reasons. Applying that to the case in which the Respondent was tried by the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field, his explanation means that the case against him was prosecuted, not because it was true, but for political reasons, although it was false, as those who prosecuted him knew it to be. I asked the Respondent why he should not have defended himself and persuaded the Magistrate that he was innocent or that the case against him was not proved, even if it were a political prosecution. His answer in effect was that the Magistrate would have given an unjust decision against him anyhow. That is an extraordinary thing for an Advocate of this Court to allege, and the sincerity of the Respondent's allegation in that matter can be judged from the fact that he has assured us that he still wishes to be an Advocate of this Court and wishes to earn his living as a practising lawyer. For some purpose of his own he has tried to traduce the Magistrate before whom he refused to defend himself—a mean thing for any man to do. However, in these proceedings, although the Respondent has assured us again that he was falsely convicted by the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field, we cannot go behind his conviction. And there is no reason whatever for us to suspect that his conviction was not a proper one supported by true evidence. The Respondent did not care to appeal against that conviction. We must take it as established that the Respondent did commit the offence, which was proved against him by evidence regarded by the Magistrate as true and not contested by the Respondent himself when he had the opportunity of doing so.

Respondent has put in a very curious written statement in this Court. Among other things it alleges in effect that the order of the District Magistrate made under Section 39 of the Police Act, which the Respondent has been convicted of insisting on disobeying, was an unjust order issued, not for good reasons, but political reasons. Now there is not an iota of evidence before us in the record of this case, nor has anything been suggested before us, to make us believe that the District Magistrate's order was an unjust order or that it was issued for any political reason whatever. The District Magistrate had the responsibility of maintaining the peace within his district. As his order sets out, he thought it would be dangerous to the public peace to allow the Respondent and his companions to address a public meeting at that time in the neighbourhood of Robertsonpet, where, as he mentioned, there were sixty thousand excitable labourers living and many of them unemployed at the time. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the District Magistrate did not issue that order in the honest belief that it was necessary for carrying out his own heavy responsibility of guarding the peace within that area. On the face of it

the order is one which any reasonable man would be ready to obey. Even if a man with knowledge of the neighbourhood of Robertsonpet thought that the District Magistrate was unnecessarily nervous on that occasion—and there is nothing to induce us to that opinion—if he were in any way reasonable, he would willingly have obeyed the District Magistrate's order in the circumstances. The responsibility of maintaining peace was on the District Magistrate, and any good citizen would be willing to support him in such a matter and would be willing to obey his directions, even if he himself thought that they were on any particular occasion unnecessary. Now it has been elicited in these proceedings that the Respondent was a stranger to the Kolar Gold Field. He had never been there before. He does not profess to know anything about the local circumstances. He has been carrying on his profession at the other end of the State. Nevertheless he has assured us that he was convinced that he knew better than the District Magistrate about the local conditions in the Kolar Gold Field, and he was quite sure that the District Magistrate's order was unnecessary. That is a very remarkable exhibition of conceit on the part of the Respondent. There are many of us who live much nearer to the Kolar Gold Field who would hesitate to set our knowledge of the local conditions against those who actually live there; but not so the Respondent. He is quite convinced that he knows best in the matter; and, although he has not been able to produce a shred of evidence to support his statement, he has alleged that the District Magistrate issued this order under Section 39 of the Police Act, not because it was necessary, but for political reasons aimed at the Respondent's own political association. How little pretence of support to such an allegation can be produced is shown by the Respondent's own admission that he has been allowed to address public meetings, many of them, in various parts of the State, without any prohibitory order of a Magistrate, and only the day before the 14th of August he had been allowed to address a public meeting at Kolar, a few miles away from the Kolar Gold Field, within the jurisdiction of this same District Magistrate. The allegation that the District Magistrate of Kolar in issuing this order under Section 39 of the Police Act on the 12th of August was actuated by political reasons has nothing whatever to support it. It is merely an attempt to vilify a public officer doing his duty, as he was bound to do.

It might perhaps be thought that what the Respondent was convicted of doing on the 14th of August was not in itself a very serious thing, though it was obviously a very improper thing. He was ordered by the District Magistrate not to address public meetings in a certain area. That he insisted, as it was found, on addressing a meeting within that area on the 14th of August there is no doubt on the evidence. If that were an isolated act on the part of the Respondent, done in a moment of excitement, I do not think we should regard it as in itself a very serious thing

or one which reflected very seriously upon his character. But there is no doubt on the evidence that what the Respondent did on the evening of the 14th of August was not done in a moment of excitement. It was the result of deliberation. He was served with the District Magistrate's order early in the afternoon of the 14th of August. About four hours later he came to Robertsonpet towards the place where the meeting arranged for that day was to be held, in a procession with a number of other persons, his companions of the political association, on whom copies of the same order had been served, obviously in concert with them determined to disobey the District Magistrate's order. That makes what he did in itself a serious offence. Apart from that the Respondent's history has been a bad one. In May 1938 he was convicted of a similar offence, punishable under Section 73 of the Police Act, and was then sentenced both to imprisonment and fine. But that does not appear to have been an effective warning to him. It has also been shown by evidence that the Respondent was a member of the committee of the political association to which he belongs and as a member of that Committee in July 1939 joined in passing a most improper resolution. That resolution it is admitted was to the effect that certain members of the association should tour through the State and "popularize", as it is put, "the demand for responsible government". There was certainly nothing unlawful in the resolution so far as that. But unfortunately it went on; "If, as was feared, any invasion on such right was attempted by the issue of prohibitory orders, it was resolved that the members were free to disregard the same." That is a quotation from a written statement put in by another member of the Committee of the Respondent's political association in a similar case to this and admitted by the Respondent to represent the resolution correctly. It appears to me a remarkable thing, a ridiculous thing indeed, that a number of lawyers—and it has been brought to our notice that that committee included a number of lawyers—should put their heads together and pass such an absurd resolution, that they were free to disregard prohibitory orders. How the members of that Committee thought they could give themselves a freedom which no other subject of this State has, which no citizen of any orderly governed State could have, I do not understand. I gather that what they really meant was that they were determined to disregard such orders, if they thought them an invasion on their rights. One would have expected them, even if they were not lawyers, to recognize as educated men that we all have to submit to many invasions on our ordinary rights, invasions made sometimes by special Acts and sometimes by lawful orders of those who have authority to issue such orders. As good citizens and as reasonable men we have to submit to such restrictions on our ordinary liberties. However, the Respondent and his companions thought fit to pass that resolution and so to declare not only their own

determination to disobey lawful orders, if they thought fit, but, what was more serious, to incite other persons to do so. That was extraordinary conduct for any legal practitioner to join others in adopting.

In the written statement which the Respondent has filed to-day, he has explained more fully what that conduct which he has adopted means. In one part of that statement he has indicated that in his opinion, if the removal of what he regards as unjust measures can only be done constitutionally, then no progress can be made at all. That is a revolutionary statement. The Respondent is misguided enough to believe, as he indicates in his statement, that progress cannot be made in this State constitutionally and lawfully. It is very unfortunate that he should be under that misapprehension. But he has said other strange things in his statement, things that are particularly strange for any legal practitioner to say. He has not only suggested that the order made by the District Magistrate of Kolar under Section 39 of the Police Act on the 12th of August was an unjust order, made for political reasons, but he has suggested that such orders are made on other occasions, and, when they are made, he alleges the law courts, which he regards as subordinate to the executive Government, are bound to work in the interest of the Government and maintain unjust measures. I do not know why the Respondent should have thought it necessary, when he is trying to assure us that he wishes to remain a legal practitioner, to foul his own nest and to traduce the Law Courts of this State. I never thought I should hear an Advocate of this Court allege that any Court in this State is subordinate to the executive Government or that any Court would act unjustly in order to support the executive Government. The Respondent, it will be observed, does not mind what foul allegations he makes against the State of which unfortunately he is a subject.

I need not say more in this case. It must be obvious to everyone that the Respondent, young and foolish as he may be, has said and done things which show that he is entirely unfitted for the honour of being an Advocate of this Court. In my opinion his name should be struck off the list of Advocates of the Court.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

I entirely agree with what the learned Chief Justice has stated and wish to add that the Respondent who is a lawyer says that he is bound to break the law which is restrictive of the exercise of his rights to carry out the policy of the organisation to which he belongs and the object of that policy is stated to be the attainment of responsible government. I am sure that the Respondent if ever he happens to be a member of such responsible government by which, I take it he means orderly government, would never allow a lawyer to break the law and he would be the first

to proclaim that every citizen of that State having that responsible government should first obey the law and more especially a lawyer. I am afraid there is confusion in the mind of the Respondent and it is surprising that he who professes to have read law and politics should say that a law-breaker can be a lawyer, an officer of this Court, to help the Court to uphold law. I agree with the order proposed by the learned Chief Justice.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

By the Court

The order of the Court is that the name of Mr. M. Govinda Reddy be struck off the list of Advocates of this Court and that he be debarred from practising in any Court of this State.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

C.P. No. 71/39-40

Government

vs.

M. Govinda Reddy

The opponent begs to state as follows :

I have stated before the learned Magistrate, Kolar Gold Fields, that I did not disobey the prohibitory order, and I repeat it here.

To seek for the removal of an unjust law or a magisterial order is an ancient right of the citizen although Governments in power by whom or in whose interests the law or order was promulgated have tried to restrict this right. While conceding this right, it is argued that the removal of the unjust measure can be sought only "lawfully". If by "lawfully", we mean that the removal can be sought only constitutionally by means of protests and the like, progress becomes impossible, for the Government may be indifferent, and will be indifferent where its interests are concerned, to such protests. To contend that the citizen has no other means but these is to go against History. It is to perpetuate injustice.

The chances of success in seeking a removal of the unjust order are fewer where the order is imposed by the Government, or in its interest, for political reasons. Where the Government is determined to suppress its political opponents, the law courts or other administrative units being subordinate to the Government are bound to work in its interest and maintain the unjust measure, in spite of overwhelming grounds for its just

removal. It is for this reason that no defence should be offered in prosecutions launched by Government for political reasons.

So the only effective remedy for the citizen will be to break the order in a perfectly non-violent manner and take the consequences. It is contended, that this involves disrespect of the law. No, it does not. A bad law or unjust order offends the majesty of the law and it would be the duty of every citizen to maintain the purity of the law, by getting the offensive measure removed. A lawyer by virtue of his special place in the field of law and jurisprudence is looked upon in society as a champion of the rights of the citizens and it is his duty to fight the unjust law. To hold that the lawyer, as an officer of the Court, is bound to obey the order of a Magistrate under any circumstances, is to reduce the lawyer to the position of a clerk in the Court. In that case, pleading would be a profession of bread-winning and nothing more. It would be robbing the lawyer of the nobility and the individuality of his profession, and making the judge an executive officer. It is a manifest injustice to deny to the lawyer what is sacred to the citizen.

For the foregoing reason, I beg to submit that my conduct has been throughout befitting a true citizen and an Advocate of this Court and that the petition may kindly be dismissed.

Bangalore City,
25th March 1940.

(Sd.) M. GOVINDA REDDY,
Opponent.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Monday, the 25th day of March 1940

Present :

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

and

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

Civil Petition No. 72 of 1939-40

In the matter of the charge under Section 12 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act, framed by the District Magistrate of Kolar in C.M. No. 15 of 1939-40, against Mr. K. Henjarappa, Advocate, Madhugiri, who was convicted under Section 73 read with Section 51 of the Mysore Police Act, by the Senior Assistant Commissioner and First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field in C.C. No. 169 of 1939-40 on his file in respect of the offence committed by the said Mr. K. Henjarappa on 14-8-1939 under circumstances that brought his conduct under Section 11 Clause (f)

of the said Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act, and referred by the said District Magistrate to the High Court for enquiry.

HEARD : Respondent in person.

Mr. Mirle N. Lakshminaranappa,
Government Advocate, for Government.

JUDGMENT

The Chief Justice

The District Magistrate of Kolar has submitted a report under the Legal Practitioners' Act against the Respondent, an Advocate of this Court practising at Madhugiri, to the effect that on the 18th of August 1939 he was convicted by the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field in his C.C. No. 169 of 1939-40 of an offence punishable under Section 73 of the Police Act and for that offence was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for three months. It was found in that case that on the 12th of August 1939 the District Magistrate had issued an order under Section 39 of the Police Act addressed to a number of persons by name and also to others belonging to their political association, prohibiting them from speaking at public meetings or delivering harangues at Robertsonpet or within five miles of Robertsonpet for two months from that date: that order was served on the Respondent, who it is admitted is a member of the political association to which the persons named in the District Magistrate's order belonged, between 3 and 4 p.m. on the 14th of August: in spite of having been served with that order the Respondent came with others, to whom that order had been addressed, in a procession about 6 o'clock that day to Robertsonpet: at the entrance to Robertsonpet the procession was stopped, and the Respondent among others was warned by a Police Officer not to break the District Magistrate's order: but the Respondent insisted that he would proceed to Robertsonpet and address a public meeting, which had been arranged there for that evening by a member of their political association, and on that the Respondent was arrested under Section 51 of the Police Act. And afterwards, as reported by the District Magistrate, he was convicted and sentenced.

At the trial in the court of the First Class Magistrate of Kolar Gold Field the Respondent adopted a very curious and indeed a disingenuous course. When the offence with which he was charged was explained to him, he said that he did not propose to plead; but he at once went on to say that the allegations in the chargesheet against him were false in material particulars and that it was false that he persisted in going to the meeting and declared his determination to address it. Although the Respondent said he did not propose to plead, it is obvious that he at once went on and entered a plea of not guilty. But, when the prosecution

witnesses were examined, the Respondent refused to cross-examine them. At the end of their evidence he said that what they had stated in regard to the allegations of what he had done on the 14th of August was not correct. But he declined to call any defence witness, though, if his story were true, there must have been many witnesses who could have supported it. All that was a very strange course for any accused person to take and stranger still when we remember that it was an Advocate of this Court who took that course.

The Respondent has explained before us that, though he would never advise any client of his to behave like that in a criminal court, he did so because it was one of the rules, as I understood him to say, of his political association that they should invite suffering. Although he knew he was not guilty of the offence with which he was charged and in effect he entered a plea of 'not guilty', yet he adopted a course which he knew would end in his conviction and so in effect brought the punishment of imprisonment upon himself. That according to his own account he appears to have done for some policy of self-advertisement. That shows a very curious defect of character, I think, in one who is a legal practitioner. However, for purposes of the present case we must take it that the conviction of the Respondent was right and that the evidence on which it was based, which he did not contest, was true. Against that conviction he has not appealed.

The Respondent has urged before us that his conviction does not show that he suffers from any defect of character which unfits him to be a legal practitioner. It is certainly in the Respondent's favour that he has never been convicted of any such offence on any previous occasion; and I gather that he is not a very prominent member of the political association, in the course of whose proceedings his offence was committed. That inclines me to take a lenient view of his case. But I do not think it would be right to regard his case as not a serious one. It is a very serious thing for any member of the legal profession deliberately to break a lawful order of a Magistrate issued for the preservation of public peace. The evidence in the case against the Respondent leaves no doubt I think that what he did was done deliberately. He was served with the District Magistrate's order between 3 and 4 in the afternoon. More than 2 hours later he went to Robertsonpet in concert with others deliberately to defy and disobey the order. The Respondent has explained to us that he thinks it proper that he should disobey a Magistrate's order, if it invades what he regards as his rights. That is a very strange attitude for any lawyer to take up. The Respondent ought to know, as indeed every lawyer must know, that the ordinary rights of members of the public are very frequently curtailed by special enactments or by lawful orders, and every good citizen, whatever his political opinions may be, is bound to

submit to such curtailment by law or lawful orders. I do not think that the Respondent can really have thought out in his mind what the freedom which he arrogates to himself to disregard lawful orders, when he thinks fit, might lead to. He repudiated the suggestion that he was anarchical in his views. But his idea that he is to be the judge of what he may do and when he can disobey the law or a lawful order, if it were recognized as of general application, could only lead to anarchy. I gather that the respondent is a comparatively young man; and I gather, if he will let me say so without offence, that his faults have been due more to folly than to vice: and I think in his case we may award him a lenient punishment. We must mark our determination that those who have the advantages of being Advocates of this Court, those who are employed and make their living as parts of the machinery of the Courts, must recognize that even more than upon ordinary citizens the duty of obeying the law rests upon them. We cannot let the Respondent off with a very light punishment. But I think it will be sufficient in this case if we suspend him from practice for a year from this day.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

I agree with the order proposed by the learned Chief Justice.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

By the Court.

The order of the Court is that Mr. K. Henjarappa be suspended from practice for a year from today.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

**IN THE COURT OF THE DISTRICT
MAGISTRATE, KOLAR**

C.M.C. No. 15 of 1939-40

Petitioner
District Magistrate
of Kolar.

Opponent
Mr. Henjarappa.

**IN THE MATTER OF NOTICE UNDER SECTION 12 OF THE
MYSORE LEGAL PRACTITIONERS' ACT**

The Opponent abovenamed begs to state as follows : —

1. That this court has no jurisdiction to issue a notice to him as it can act under Section 12 of the Legal Practitioners' Act only in matters falling under Section 11 of the Legal Practitioners' Act and the subject matter of the charge is one falling if at all under Section 10 of the Legal Practitioners' Act and not under Section 11 of the Act.

2. That in any view of the case the conduct on the part of the Opponent has not been such as to imply moral turpitude or defect in character which unfits him to be a legal practitioner.

3. That he considers it a duty and privilege to work for a change in the system of government from its autocratic form and for the establishment of responsible government in its place and to resist the restrictions on the civil liberties of the people in a peaceful and non-violent manner.

4. The Opponent is not a legal practitioner practising before this court and on that ground also this court has no jurisdiction.

Bangalore,
4th December 1939.

(Sd.) K. HENJARAPPA.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Wednesday the 26th day of June, 1940.

Present

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

and

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

Civil Petition No. 76 of 1939-40.

In the matter of the charge under Section 10 and 11 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act framed by the District Magistrate of Tumkur in Criminal Case No. 3 of 1939-40 against Mr. T. Subramanya, Advocate, Tumkur, who was convicted under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code by the said District Magistrate in respect of an offence committed

by the said Mr. T. Subramanya on 9-4-1939 under circumstances that brought his conduct under Section 11 Clause (f) of the said Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act and referred by the said District Magistrate to the High Court for enquiry.

HEARD : Mr. Mirle N. Lakshminaranappa,
Government Advocate, for Government.

Mr. K. Ranga Iyengar,
Advocate, for the Respondent.

JUDGMENT

The Chief Justice

The Respondent, who is an Advocate of this Court, was convicted on the 5th of May, 1939 by the District Magistrate of Tumkur in his C.C. No. 3 of 1938-1939 of committing an offence punishable under Section 124-A of the Penal Code by a speech which he made at public meeting in Tumkur on the 9th of April, 1939. For that offence the Respondent was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for one year and also to pay a fine of Rs. 300 or in default of payment to undergo rigorous imprisonment for a further period of two months. Against that conviction and sentence the Respondent did not appeal. The District Magistrate has reported the case to this Court in order that we may take action, if we think fit, against the Respondent under the Legal Practitioners' Act in connection with the offence of which he has been convicted.

As is not disputed before us, the propriety of the Respondent's conviction cannot be questioned in these proceedings. But, as Mr. Ranga Iyengar, who appears for the Respondent, has urged, it is proper that we should consider the gravity of the offence of which the Respondent was convicted, in order to determine whether it is necessary to take any action against him under the Legal Practitioners' Act. The Respondent has served the full term of imprisonment imposed upon him as the substantive sentence, a large part of the fine has been recovered from him, and he has served the proportionate part of the sentence of imprisonment in default of payment of the remainder of the fine.

The record of the speech which the Respondent made on the 9th of April, 1939, has been read to us. The learned Government Advocate has drawn our attention to the fact that, though at his trial the Respondent questioned the accuracy of certain parts of the report of that speech, he did not dispute the correctness of much the greater part of it nor the correctness of the passages in the report which were the most serious. A part of the speech is not at all in good taste ; but that is not a matter which we need consider now. But we must take notice of the occasion of the

speech. It was made at a public meeting called to protest against the arrest and prosecution of another person belonging to the same political organization as that to which the Respondent belonged. That other person, named Siddiah, had been arrested on the previous day and was an under-trial prisoner. The meeting was called by the local committee of the political organization I have mentioned to protest against the conduct of the Government in arresting and prosecuting Siddiah. That was a strange occasion for an Advocate of this Court to make a speech. One would have expected an Advocate like the Respondent to realize the grave impropriety of taking part in any demonstration regarding a pending criminal prosecution. It has come out before us that the Respondent did not even trouble to acquaint himself with the charge against Siddiah or the nature of the case in which Siddiah was being prosecuted before he took part in this protest meeting. That astonishes me. A layman might in excitement rush into such improper action but I thought we could have trusted all Advocates of this Court to avoid anything so obviously improper. The speech which the Respondent made began as a protest against Siddiah's arrest and prosecution, and to that subject he reverted more than once in the latter parts of his speech. The slightest reflection ought to have made the Respondent realize that it was an outrageous thing for him as an Advocate of this Court to attempt to interfere with legal proceedings by joining in an agitation against Siddiah's prosecution, even if Siddiah were his friend and he felt convinced that Siddiah had committed no offence. But it might perhaps be said that, very highly improper as that conduct on the part of the Respondent was, it would not amount in itself to an offence punishable under Section 124 A of the Penal Code, and that is the offence of which he was convicted in respect of his speech. It is not necessary to discuss the whole of his speech or any large portions of it; but I may mention three parts of it, which appear to me clearly to amount to an offence punishable under Section 124 A of the Penal Code. In one place he said: "because these people have behaved so (*i.e.* referring to some members of his own political organization, who had done something of which he disapproved) Government have arrested Siddiah and called him a traitor. All the 65 lakhs of people of Mysore must become traitors. It is only then we get salvation." In another passage he said: "you must see that the Government is not in any way respected. You must not even respect Government Officers." And in another passage he said: "The ryots are dying of hunger. How long can we bend? We cannot bend further. We must face this Government. We must end it. We must take the reins of Government to our hands. The Government have no sense of shame or respect." Mr. Ranga Iyengar had mentioned to us that this speech was made by the Respondent at a time of some political excitement. Does that excuse the Respondent for saying things so likely to

cause disaffection, if not worse? The occasion rather magnifies the offence. I think we cannot regard the offence, of which the Respondent has been convicted and which he committed by making that speech, as anything but a serious one.

However, as I have mentioned, the Respondent has paid a heavy penalty for what he did. The question before us is whether any further action against him is necessary under the Legal Practitioners' Act. For a legal practitioner to make such a speech as that in which the passages quoted by me occurred I think clearly shows a defect of character within the meaning of Section 10 of the Legal Practitioners' Act—a defect which becomes much more marked when we remember that the occasion of the speech was to beat up agitation against proceedings in a pending criminal case. That being so, I think it is necessary for us to mark our very strong disapproval of what the Respondent has done.

I asked the Respondent just now whether he was prepared to express any regret for what he had done. I am very sorry to say that he refused to do so. In spite of the seriousness of his offence, speaking for myself, if he had expressed regret for what he had done, if he had shown due appreciation of his position as an Advocate of this Court, I should have been inclined to impose only a comparatively light penalty. But, considering the attitude which unfortunately he still takes up, I think we must mark our disapproval of his conduct by suspending him for some not inconsiderable period. In my opinion the Respondent should be suspended from practice for six months from this date.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

MR. JUSTICE T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR

I agree.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

By the Court

The order of the Court is that Mr. T. Subrahmanya is suspended from practice as an Advocate of this Court for six months from this date.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

(Sd.) T. SINGARAVELU MUDALIAR,
Judge.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Tuesday the 12th day of November, 1940

Present

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

and

ADL-UL-MULK MR. JUSTICE ABDUL GHANI

Civil Petition No. 21 of 1940-1942

In the matter of a reference made by the District Magistrate of Chitradurg and received in the High Court office with his No. C.C. 8. of 1939-40 dated 10-12-1939 bringing to the notice of the High Court for such action as the Court may deem fit to take under the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act the conduct of one Mr. S. Nijalingappa, Advocate, Chitradurg, who along with others has been convicted and sentenced by the First Class Magistrate of Chitradurg in Criminal Case No. 23 of 1939-40 for offences under Sections 147, 353, 426, 447 of the Indian Penal Code and Rule 12 of the Rules under Section 35 of the Mysore Forest Act, all sections being read with Section 149, Indian Penal Code, thus implying a defect of character rendering him unfit to be a Legal Practitioner.

HEARD: Government Advocate for Government.

Messrs. K. Hanumanthayya and G. C. Veerappa
for the Respondent, S. Nijalingappa.

ORDER

The Chief Justice

In this case the District Magistrate of Chitaldrug has submitted a report to this Court that the Respondent, an Advocate of this Court, has been convicted of certain criminal offences, in order that this Court may consider what action should be taken against the Respondent under the Legal Practitioners' Act.

It appears that in Criminal Case No. 23 of 1939-40 on the file of the Special First Class Magistrate of Chitaldrug the Respondent and 14 others were convicted of rioting, punishable under Section 147 of the Penal Code. And the Respondent among others of those persons was also convicted by virtue of the provisions of Section 149 of the Penal Code of offences of mischief, punishable under Section 426 of the Code, criminal trespass, punishable under Section 447 of the Code, assault on a public servant, punishable under Section 353 of the Code, and of an offence punishable under Section 35 of the Forest Act. He was sentenced to undergo rigorous imprisonment for 18 months and to pay a fine of Rs. 500 or in default to undergo a further term of rigorous imprisonment for six months. What

was found in that case was that the Respondent and a large number of other persons, including the other Accused in the case, set out in a procession on the 18th of September 1939 and went to some land in which there was a grove of date palms belonging to the Government. They went deliberately for the purpose of cutting down some of those date trees. Some of the party, who were among the Accused in the case, succeeded in cutting down one tree and in damaging five others. It was found also that two of them used force to an Excise Sub-Inspector in the course of those proceedings. The Respondent did not put in any explicit plea, when he was charged with the offences of which he has been convicted in that case. But he admitted in the written statement which he put in, according to the meaning of that statement as it has been explained to us today, that he was a member of the unlawful assembly on that occasion, the members of which were guilty of rioting, when in pursuance of the common object of that assembly some of the members of it cut down a date tree belonging to Government and damaged others. The Respondent did not cross-examine any of the prosecution witnesses in that case nor call any witness in his defence. After he was convicted by the Magistrate he did not appeal against his conviction.

I have mentioned that it was found that some of the members of that unlawful assembly assaulted an Excise Sub-Inspector. That was how the offence punishable under Section 353 of the Penal Code came into the matter. Both the Respondent and the other accused in the case denied that anyone assaulted that Sub-Inspector. It was part of the evidence in the case that, before any attempt was made by members of that assembly to cut down any of the trees, the Respondent made a statement telling the assembled crowd what was the programme of the assembly for the day, explaining that Accused 1 to 5 in the case were going to cut down date trees in accordance with the object of the assembly. The Respondent denied that he had made any speech or statement of that sort on the occasion. In the present proceedings we cannot investigate the conviction of the Accused with any idea that it is open to question now. But it will be noticed that not only did the Respondent not appeal against his conviction : he admits that, so far as the charge of rioting and so far as the constructive charge of mischief, punishable under Section 426 of the Penal Code, the constructive charge of criminal trespass punishable under Section 447 of the Code, and the charge of an offence punishable under the Forest Act went, he was guilty. He does not deny that he took part in an unlawful assembly, the object of which was to destroy certain Government property, nor that as a member of that assembly he was guilty of rioting when in pursuance of the object of that assembly violence was used and Government property was destroyed.

The question before us is whether the Respondent, who has been

guilty of those offences, is fit to remain an Advocate of this Court. I asked the Respondent just now whether he wished to express any regret for his conduct. I thought it possible he might give us some indication that he no longer wished to pursue that line of conduct; but he refused my invitation. Here then we have an Advocate of this Court, who as a legal practitioner has a duty to enforce and defend the legal rights of others. For some purpose of his own—a political purpose, I understand—he has been guilty of taking part in the violent destruction of Government property and by his position of inciting and encouraging others to that evil course of conduct. From a statement which the Respondent has filed in this case I understand that he professes to make non-violence the rule of his life; but that has not prevented him from taking part in the violent destruction of property when he wished to do so. I think it is unnecessary to say any more in this case. In my opinion the Respondent has shown himself unfit to remain an Advocate of this Court.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

MR. JUSTICE C. ABDUL GHANI
I agree.

(Sd.) C. ABDUL GHANI.
Judge.

By the Court

The order of the Court is that Mr. S. Nijalingappa's name be struck off the roll of Advocates of this Court and that he be debarred from practising in any Court of the State.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

(Sd.) C. ABDUL GHANI.
Judge.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

C.P. No. 21 of 40-41

Government

vs.

S. Nijalingappa

The Respondent begs to state as follows :

1. That it is true that the respondent has been convicted and sentenced as reported to this Honourable Court by the District Magistrate, Chitradurga. The respondent in pursuance of the principles of Satya-

graha did not defend himself, but made it clear before the Magistrate's Court in his written statement, what was true. He was released as stated in the District Magistrate's Report, after undergoing the sentence for nearly a year.

2. That as the respondent has made it clear in his statement, he is a firm believer in non-violence, and he has done nothing at variance with it.

3. That it is apparent that the respondent was not actuated by any selfish motives, and his self-sought suffering shows that for what he believes to be the public good, he is ready to make the required sacrifices.

4. That the said conviction and sentence do not indicate any defect of character on the part of the respondent, so as to justify proceedings under the Legal Practitioners' Act against him.

WHEREFORE the respondent prays that the petition may be dismissed with Costs.

(Sd.) K. HANUMANTHAIYA,
Advocate for the respondent.

(Sd.)
Respondent.

I, the respondent above named do hereby declare that what is stated above in paras 1 to 4 is true to the best of my knowledge, information and belief.

Bangalore City,
Dated : 11-11-40.

(Sd.)
Respondent.

Statement No. 2.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

C.P. No. 21 of 40-41

Petitioner
Government

vs.

Respondent
S. Nijalingappa

The respondent begs to state as follows :

1. That it is true that the respondent has been convicted and sentenced as reported to this Honourable Court by the District Magistrate, Chitradurga. The respondent in pursuance of the principles of satyagraha did not defend himself, but made it clear before the Magistrate's Court in his written statement what was true. He was released as stated in the District Magistrate's Report, after undergoing the sentence for nearly a year.

2. That as the respondent has made it clear in his statement, he is

a firm believer in non-violence, and he has done nothing at variance with it.

3. That it is apparent that the respondent was not actuated by any selfish motives, and his self-sought suffering shows that for what he believes to be the public good, he is ready to make the required sacrifices.

4. That the said conviction and sentence do not indicate any defect of character on the part of the respondent, so as to justify proceedings under the Legal Practitioners' Act against him.

IN THE HIGH COURT OF MYSORE AT BANGALORE

Friday, the 6th day of December 1940

Present

SIR D'ARCY REILLY, CHIEF JUSTICE

and

MR. JUSTICE S. VENKATA RANGA IYENGAR

Civil Petition No. 29 of 1940-41

In the matter of a reference made by the District Magistrate of Mandya and received in this office with his No. Con. 27/40-41 dated 15-10-1940, bringing to notice the conviction and sentence passed against the accused, Mr. M. Mahabala Rao, Advocate, Mandya, by the City Magistrate of Mysore in Cr.C. No. 441 of 39-40, for an offence under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, and requesting the High Court to take such action against him (accused) as they deem fit to take under Section 10 of the Mysore Legal Practitioners' Act.

HEARD : Mr. Mirle N. Lakshminaranappa,
Government Advocate, for Government.
Mr. S. Venkatapathiah for Respondent.

ORDER

The Chief Justice

The Respondent, who is a Pleader and was practising in the Mysore Division, was convicted by the City Magistrate of Mysore in his C.C. No. 441 of 1939-40 of an offence, punishable under Sec. 124-A, of the Penal Code, committed by statements made in the course of a speech at Basaral on the 22nd of August, 1939. For that offence the City Magistrate sentenced the Respondent to undergo rigorous imprisonment for eighteen months and to pay a fine of Rs. 500 ; but that sentence was reduced by this Court on appeal to rigorous imprisonment for six months and a fine of Rs. 200. The District Magistrate of Mandya has now reported that case to this Court in order that we may consider what action, if any, it is necessary to take against the respondent under the Legal Practitioners' Act in consequence of his conviction,

As was found by this Court at the hearing of the respondent's appeal against his conviction, some passages in the speech, which he made on the 22nd of August, 1939, came within the provisions of Section 124-A of the Penal Code. There were some objectionable passages of which it was much to be regretted a legal practitioner should have been guilty. But for the offence, which the Respondent committed by making that speech, he has already paid the penalty. Indeed not only has he served a considerable sentence of imprisonment, including the period during which he was under arrest before his trial; he has in effect suspended himself from practice for about a year. So far as the offence of which he was convicted is concerned, it does not appear to me necessary that any further penalty should be imposed by us on the Respondent under the Legal Practitioners' Act.

But I must mention, though it was not a matter so immediately under consideration in the appeal against his conviction of an offence punishable under Section 124-A of the Penal Code, it was disclosed in the records of that case that some words used by the Respondent in the speech which led to his conviction appeared to amount to incitement of other people to take some violent action against the Government, indeed to break the law in some violent manner. If we had reason to find that the respondent, although he had suffered the penalty of imprisonment for the offence of which he was convicted, had still a determination to incite his fellow-subjects to acts of rebellion or violent acts against the Government in transgression of the law, we might have to deal with the case in a different way from what appears to be necessary to me now. However it has been pointed out to us for the respondent by Mr. Venkatapathaiya that in the written statement, which the Respondent submitted at his trial in the Mysore City Magistrate's Court, he stated that it had always been his intention to exercise his political rights within the limits imposed by law; and we have been assured today that it is his intention still to act within those limits. That being so, I do not think we need consider any further the possible effect of the language which he was found to have used in the speech for which he was convicted. In my opinion it is not necessary that we should take any action now against the respondent under the Legal Practitioners' Act and this case should be dismissed.

(Sd.) H. D. C. REILLY,
Chief Justice.

MR. JUSTICE S. VENKATA RANGA IYENGAR
I agree.

(Sd.) S. VENKATA RANGA IYENGAR,
Judge.

Subversive activities in the Belgaum district. (Kindly supplied by the Bombay office)

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES IN THE BELGAUM DISTRICT

(Extract from file No. 3/INC/44. D.I.G., C.I.D.)

Office of the Dy. Insp. Genl. of Police, C.I.D.
Bombay Province, Poona, 7th March 1944.

Superintendent of Police, G.I.P. & M & S.M. Rlys., Poona

Reference your No. B/3, dated 28-2-1944 subversive activities on the Railway permanent way.

There has been a flare up in the Belgaum District recently, specially in the Chikodi Taluka, of subversive activity, the following incidents being reported so far :

1. Telegraph wires were cut on Nippani-Kolhapur Road on February 1st.
Liquor shop at Mankapur was burnt on February 9th.
3. A postal runner was looted near Galatge by a gang of six persons on January 31st.
4. On February 13th, an armed gang of 50 persons attacked Saundalga village chavadi. The gang then attacked liquor shops taking away the cash collected. Later they went to Bhivsi village where they burnt the village records, removed revenue collection of Rs. 390. The gang then went to Jatrat village, burnt the chavadi and took away Rs. 500 from the Revenue Patil.

Another gang of 150 persons removed revenue collection of Rs. 740 from the Examba village, during the same week.

The memo, was written as there was a likelihood of similar subversive activity being projected on the Railway.

(Sd.)

For Deputy Inspector-Genl. of Police,
C.I.D., Bombay Province, Poona.

The Special Branch D.S.P.'s report on the disturbances at Isur, leading to the gruesome murder of Government officials on 28-9-42. (From the records in the office of the Inspector-General of Police, Bangalore)

The Congress activities at Issoor, Shikaripur taluk, began on 17-8-1942 with a procession led by Shantaveeriah, Mallesappa and Rudrappa—stu-

dents of Issoor Middle School in the villages of Issoor, Gama and Chick-jogihalli. On 24-8-42, Babanna, Revannappa and Papanna—students of Shimoga, and Lingappa—a student of the Intermediate College, Shimoga, all residents of Issoor, visited Issoor village and led a procession. The same evening a meeting was held with Sahukar Basavannappa as president. Angadi Halappa, Soorappachari, Ramappachari, Paniappachari and Devangouda Shankarappa took a leading part in the meeting (Sahukar Basavannappa, Soorappachari and Paniappachari are the important accused in the present case.) Speeches were delivered at the said meeting advising the villagers not to send their children to schools, not to give help to Government servants who visit the village and refuse payment of taxes etc., till freedom was achieved. It is also learnt that the villagers were apprised of the shooting incidents at Bangalore and Davanagere and with a view to avoid the information of the said shooting spreading to other parts of State, the Government themselves dislocated the train services as well as the telegraph. On 27-8-42, another meeting was held in front of Veerabhadra temple with Sahukar Basavannappa as president. The speakers in the meeting advocated that the villagers should freely cut trees in the forests without obtaining any licence, not to pay taxes, etc. On 28-8-42, another procession was led in the village with slogans “Gandhiki-Jai”, “Adhikarigale rajiname kodiri” etc. Later the processionists gathered in the house of Sahukar Basavannappa and collected subscriptions in the village. On 6-9-42, Patel Gurbasavaiah of Issoor reported that Prabhat Pheri was going on in Issoor village and that students were taking part in the processions, prominent among them being Sahukar Basavannappa, Angadi Halappa, Lingoji and others, and that they have also written in conspicuous places in the village that they should set fire to Taluk Office and burn the *Daftars* of Patels and Shanbhogues, etc. On 13-9-42, a public meeting was held in Shikaripur town with Neelakanthappa (a student) of Shikaripur as president. Nagavanda Bharmappa, Siddappa Pujar, Shivaram Mallari Jois of Rattehalli (both of Dharwar District), and Devangouda Shankarappa of Issoor delivered speeches saying that the Government servants are depending on the moneys of the ryots and that the pay of the Police (C.I.D.) who are taking down speeches delivered by them is paid out of this money and that they (C.I.D.) should not be allowed to do so ‘*ivannu hage bidabaradu*’ etc. All these speakers are learnt to have visited Issoor on 14-9-42 and held a meeting and delivered speeches inciting the villagers not to pay taxes, etc. On 15-9-42, Hisarani Halappa, Davangouda Shankarappa and Sahukar Basavannappa visited Gama village and held a public meeting with Annadana Siddalingappa as president. The speakers are reported to have advocated a No-Tax Campaign, to take proper action against the Patels and Shanbhogues and other village servants to see that they do not per-

form their duties, that village records with the Patels and Shanbhogues are to be burnt, and that all Government servants should be disgraced if they visited the village, etc. Their speeches have been reported to be very inciting. It is learnt that Brahmappa of Nagavanda (Dharwar Dist.), Mahadevappa—a student and a native of Churchigundi, Ningoji, Revannappa—students, were inciting the villagers to disgrace the Government servants and not to pay taxes. The local Congressites, N. R. Girmaji, Vasappa Gogi and K. Hanumantha Reddi are also said to have visited the village and carried on propaganda inciting the people. All the three have been subsequently arrested and detained. On 17-9-42, when Police Constable No. 319 Venkatapathi visited Issoor village, the Congressites are reported to have insulted him by removing his turban and taking him in the streets with a Gandhi cap on his head. On 19-9-42 Police Constable No. 314 Mohamed Beig was submitted to similar humiliation by Sahukar Basavannappa, Lingoji, Shivappa and others who made Constable carry a Congress flag and told him that should he visit the village again, he would be made to wear a saree and taken round. On 25-9-42, the Sub-Inspector of Police, Shikaripur Kasaba, reported that Annadanam Siddalingappa, Sahukar Basavannappa, Hoogti Mahadevappa, Gurubasaviah of Gama, Nisani Halappa, Devangouda Shankarappa are responsible for causing damage to the culvert in Haroguppe. On 26-9-42, Police Constable Guttappa is learnt to have gone to Issoor—his native place—to perform his father's ceremony. About 100 to 150 persons are reported to have caught hold of the Constable at the entrance of the village and taken him to Veerabhadra temple where Angadi Halappa is said to have questioned the Constable as to from where he had come and where he was going, etc. Guttappa was not allowed to go to his house but detained in the temple till midnight and then permitted to go to his house. The same day, the Daftars of the Patel and Shanbhogue were burnt. On 27-9-42, a Prabhat Pheri was taken out in the village under the leadership of Sahukar Basavannappa and his wife Halamma. Police Constable Guttappa was forced to take part in the Prabhat Pheri. While Prabhat Pheri was going on in the village, Angadi Halappa, Basavannappa and others exhorted the villagers to be ready with their clubs etc. and do away with the lives of the Police and other Government servants when they visit the village. They constructed a pandal in the village, held a meeting and appointed a boy named Jayappa as *Congress Amildar* and decided to obey him and act according to his directions. They caught hold of Patel Channabasappa and Shanbhogue Rangappa when they had gone to the village and made them to stand the whole day in the hot sun on one leg and insulted them very badly as per directions of the so-called Congress Amildar Jayappa. The girls of the village took a very leading part in insulting the Shanbhogue and the Patel. The Patel and Shanbhogue

were let off the same evening with instructions to tender resignation to their office.

About a fortnight before 28-9-42, the villagers are said to have hung up a board at the entrance to the village with writings in Kannada "*Sva-thantrya samgrama—bejavabdari sarakaradavaru yaroo volage barabaradu. volage bandare*" They also wrote at Veerabhadra temple that taxes should not be paid, post offices to be burnt and the Government officers to be murdered, etc.

The Congress Movement was given an impetus at Issoor by Brahmappa of Nagavanda and Shivaram Mallari Jois of Rattehalli, who came from Hirekerur taluka in Dharwar District. Sahukar Basavappa of Issoor took the lead in strengthening the Movement. Basavannappa and Kadappa of Churchigundi are now absconding and arrangements are made to secure both of them. Arrangements are also made to secure the 12 Congressites of Shiralakoppa and 8 persons of Sorab taluka who are taking a leading part in setting up agitation in Sorab and Shikaripur talukas.

The Patel and the Shanbhogue of Issor, after the humiliation and torture on 27th, went to Shikaripur on 28th morning to report to the Amildar, who had by that time left for Issoor with the Police Inspector, Sub-Inspector, Daffedar and 4 Constables, besides the Revenue Inspector. The Amildar and the Police officers first visited Gama, where the villagers advised the Amildar that it is not safe to visit Issoor without sufficient Police force. The Sub-Inspector is reported to have prevailed on the Amildar and taken him to Issoor. Leaving the bicycles in Chickjogihalli the Amildar and the Police officers walked to Issoor where at the entrance they found a board referred to in para 2. The Sub-Inspector seized the board and a boy watchman kept at the place gave intimation to the villagers about the arrival of the officers and the removal of the board. When the Amildar and the Police Officers reached Veerabhadra temple a gang was sounded and all the villagers gathered at the temple. Some girls began to pull the uniform of the Sub-Inspector, while some villagers removed the hats of the Sub-Inspector, the Police Inspector and the Amildar despite the advice of the officers not to do so. The villagers took to violence and began to push the officers. The Sub-Inspector then opened fire with his revolver (used 3 rounds) and Gurushantappa Paniyappachari sustained injuries. Immediately the villagers attacked the officers again with clubs and beat them till the Sub-Inspector and the Amildar were dead. The Inspector and the Revenue Inspector were tied to a pole and beaten till they were rescued. Even water was refused to the dying officers and they were saved from being burnt alive only by the interference of the neighbouring villagers, who removed the bodies as well as the injured to Shikaripur hospital the same evening. After these were removed

the villagers went about cutting the telegraph wires running between Shikaripur and Shimoga and obstructed the road from Shimoga to Shikaripur by cutting huge trees and putting them across the road. The Deputy Commissioner is reported to have received intimation at Bhadravati by about 4-30 p.m. and left for Shikaripur by about 7 p.m. The Officers went to Issoor on 29th evening.

APPENDIX B

NEWSPAPERS

Relevant extracts from newspapers of South India about the problems of the Native States and their relations with the Indian National Congress. The paramount need for protecting the integrity of India was never lost sight of.

REPORT ON NATIVE NEWSPAPERS OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY (1874-1936)

*Report on Canarese Newspapers for the week ending
17th October, 1885*

KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA

Labour in Mysore

The Editor of *Karnataka Prakasika* notices in the following terms a somewhat remarkable movement which it appears is now agitating the working weavers of Bangalore and the neighbourhood.

The endeavours of Government to foster indigenous industries by discouraging the importation of articles of European manufacture have not hitherto had much result. . . . The status of the weaving class has been very much lowered of late years and they are practically at the mercy of local merchants.

At a meeting of some five thousand people of this class held on 5th instant at Kota Kitchayya Choultry, Bangalore, for the purpose of considering what steps should be taken to remedy these evils, it was resolved :

1. That they should refuse from that day forth to pay their constituents any charges by way of brokerage, discount, etc.
2. That they should insist on all articles not approved of being returned within one day and on payments being made in the day time.
3. That should the merchants not agree to these terms the weavers should raise a fund, each loom owner contributing Rupees 5.
4. That a co-operative depot should be established with the help of the leading citizens of Bangalore.

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It is understood that the promoters of this scheme are now seeking to enlist the help of the public.

As the movement is calculated to remove the hardships of the weaver

class, we hope it will prove a success and effect a material improvement in their condition.

*Report on Canarese Newspapers for the week ending
7th December 1885*

The English edition of Karnataka Prakasika has the following :

Karnataka Prakasika. The Madras Times suggests to all Europeans in authority in India a larger measure of social and friendly intercourse with native Indian populace and their educated leaders so that a safe direction may be given to the legitimate aspirations of Natives of India. Surely we shall most thankfully acknowledge the leadership of Europeans to India but before we accept such leadership, we have surely some reason on our side to be assured that the members of ICS are led by the thought and the action that their interests are identical with ours, that their rights are identical with ours, that in short the progress or prosperity of Great Britain and India are identical. But if a member of that service says to us, "I myself will be your leader because the wind ought to be taken out of the sails of conceited and half taught (Native) youths who would become demagogues", then we cannot wonder at those youths if they turn round and say we are not "conceited and half-taught" as you suppose.

The Karnataka Prakasika (Eng.), dated 3rd May 1886, has the following :

PUBLIC OPINION IN MYSORE

In a letter a local correspondent writes on the absence of representative assemblies and associations in Mysore.

In these days of "monster meetings" and associations elsewhere it is surprising that we Mysoreans should keep quiet. I think it is the duty of every true Mysorean who has the good of the country at heart to endeavour to have an association something like the Mahajana Sabha of Madras to represent the grievances of the public whenever and wherever necessary and to expose the jobberies of the Government. It is the absence of such an association that is allowing the present Government to commit any breach it likes without any exposure or comment.

The so-called Representative Assembly is a simple farce. It is not representative in any sense and the members are too servile, perhaps with a few honourable exceptions. The Council, which costs the State 10,000 rupees annually, is equally useless. It is either gagged or roughly ridden over. It is therefore the duty of all educated people, sons of the soil, to sacrifice a little of their time and even money and become useful to their fellow-countrymen. Let me assure my countrymen that their servility to the foreigners who rule the destinies of Mysore and the Mysoreans, will

never secure for them any advantage, but on the contrary will lower them in the estimation of everyone and the foreigners after using them (if need be) for their own purpose, will cast them away.

Khasim-ul-Akbar (Bangalore), dated 17th June 1886

“What is the policy of England as regards India?” under the above head the paper writes an article of some length in which the Editor states that England has done much good to India and is still engaged in improving the state of the latter country. It is true. But those who possess commonsense are of different opinion. They consider the English Nation as a confectioner who sells his sweetmeat mixed with narcotic stimulants at a very cheap rate and when the purchaser partakes of it he becomes intoxicated with the effect of its ingredients and in this stupefied state, the confectioner does not hesitate to strip him of his clothes, etc. England does not mean to have permanent sway over India; her policy is to plunder the country as soon as she could and withdraw the English nation to its home.

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They are plundering us right and left in accordance with their policy and when they see that India is reduced to pauperism and the Empire has come to an end, they will quit the country of their own accord, leaving us in starvation and misery.

For the Week ending 3rd July 1886

KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA : THE MYSORE MAHARAJA'S COUNCIL

The Karnataka (English) of 21st June 1886 has the following under the heading “The Mysore Maharaja's Council”.

The Maharaja's Council is in fact for all intents and purposes a secret packed body whose proceedings are beyond the pale of popular notice and who escapes criticism because they are conducted in so “private and confidential” a manner. The proceedings of other administrative and legislative councils in British India for instance may be open and are open to the public and the press and may be amenable to criticism. But the Mysore Maharaja's Council seems to have a soul above such paltry considerations. and the result is that the Council is very unpopular and probably misunderstood because of its very secret proceedings The fact is there are three things wanted to make the Maharaja's Council what it asserts to be. . . . a consultative body for the good of the Mysore people and State. These three things are, first that the constitution of the Council should be entirely remodelled, there should be several more members in it and the Maharaja should be the President; secondly wise, capable, patriotic and middleage men should be its members;

and thirdly its proceedings should be open to the public and the press. Until these reforms are effected, the Council is but a useless and effete body merely ornamental.

Karnataka Prakasika. The Karnataka Prakasika (Kannada) of 2nd August 1886 has the following :

Nowadays, the natives may generally be said to be the shadows of the Europeans and we see native Princes and Chiefs blindly treading in the footsteps of our rulers. The Maharaja of Mysore for instance and the Nizam of Hyderabad follow the European to the Nilgiris, Mahabaleswar, Simla and other places as if it is beneath their dignity to resort to summer stations within their own dominions.

KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA MYSORE ADMINISTRATION

The Karnataka Prakasika (English) of 9th August 1886 has the following under "Mysore Administration" : "Of course it was but fair that the Government of Her Majesty should restore the province of Mysore to its rightful owner, but at the same time we are bound to confess that the rendition has not proved itself to be an unmixed blessing, simply because the native administration especially under the present Dewan has shown itself to be defective in so many ways, almost indeed a failure.

Karnataka Prakasika. Karnataka Prakasika (English) of 30th August says : — It gives us much pleasure to affirm that the Maharaja of Mysore is no less amiable in temper and conduct ; that His Highness desires to be just and is sincerely solicitous of the welfare of his subjects ; but we regret to say that these good qualities seem to be only in the abstract, as His Highness takes hardly any active part in the administration of his State ; that he does not conduct business "personally" as the princes of Travancore and Baroda do. In the Mysore State all power and authority have been delegated to the Dewan who is all-powerful in the State.

. The leading characteristic of this administration (Seshadri Iyer's) is favouritism As for favouritism of which we speak, of which we have spoken so many times in these columns and which everybody but the Maharaja sees and deplores. It is a well-known fact that within the past 6 months, half-a-dozen Madrassis who have not the smallest claim have been appointed to subordinate places in the State Services.

Karnataka Prakasika. Karnataka Prakasika dated 27th September, 1886, has the following : Who is to bear the cost of the Viceroy's reception ?

We announced in one of our back issues that the Viceroy would visit this state next November and that subscriptions were being collected in order to give him a suitable reception. We do not know what may be the objective of the Viceroy's intended visit. We therefore do not think it

proper that the public should be compelled to subscribe to meet the cost of the Viceroy's reception. 1887.

Karnataka Prakasika. The Karnataka Prakasika Dated 31st January 1887, observes as follows :

There is no doubt that the independence of native princes is gradually declining. All of them are more or less like puppets in the hands of the British Government. . . . He (the Resident) meddles in every act, however trifling, connected with the internal administration of the State, and cursed is the prince who dares to go against the Resident's wishes. . .

KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA OF 5TH MARCH, 1888, SAYS :

Executive Council. We have frequently suggested that a reform is necessary in the Council of the Maharaja, but no attention has been paid to our suggestions. Now that a vacancy has been caused, we wish that the Council will be constituted on a new principle which will meet the wishes of the Government of India.

Vijayadwaja. The Vijayadwaja of 15th instant points out that the Council of the Maharaja of Mysore as at present constituted is a mere farce as it has been doing no good and is entirely led by the nose by the Dewan.

Vijayadwaja. Vijayadwaja of 22nd March says : In Mysore there are now two parties—the Natives and the foreigners. The latter are too powerful and give no admittance to the natives of the province into the higher service. The Maharaja himself being surrounded by the foreigners, pays no attention to the representations of the people. The Residents, thinking their stay in the Province only a temporary one, do not interfere in the matter.

Vrittanta Chintamani. Vrittanta Chintamani (Mysore) dated 12th June :

In the leading article on 'Native Rulers' it says "a change then followed in the rulers on the rendition of the State to our Maharaja but the quality of administration remained still unchanged for—from the hands of the Europeans to the hands of Madrassesees—it continued to be foreign. Yet the people hoped for something better from Dewan Rangacharlu, but they were disappointed when he met with his untimely death. The miseries of the people are many ; but they fear to raise their voice lest they should be summarily expelled from the state.

Vijayadwaja. Vijayadwaja dated August 2nd 1888, writes :

Corrupt Government officials generally do not like the editors of newspapers because these papers bring to light their acts of corruption. Lately three newspaper editors were brought into trouble on this account.

The Editor of the *Mysore Vrittanta Chintamani*, who was sentenced to

pay a fine of Rs. 153 on account of publishing views on some religious matter.

VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI DATED 21ST AUGUST 1886

It publishes a memorial to the Dewan of Mysore. Therein the memorial charges the Dewan with having too great a regard for self-interest.

It would appear that the late Dewan Mr. Rangacharlu had at the time of his death, repeatedly instructed the present Dewan to organise a national representative assembly. Although it is now five or six years since that statesman died, yet the present Dewan has not followed his instructions.

VRITTANTA PATRIKA DATED 30TH AUGUST 1888

The proceedings of the Maharaja's Council are published neither in the local newspapers nor in Mysore Government Gazette. We drew the attention to this grievance. But His Highness does not seem to have given any thought to the matter.

VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI

Vrittanta Chintamani dated 16th October 1888 says that the Representative Assembly of Mysore as at present constituted is a mere farce and suggests that in order that it may be a really useful institution, it should consist of men of light and learning.

KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA DATED 8TH APRIL 1889

We understand that the European coffee planters residing in Manjarabad Taluk, Hassan District, have petitioned the Mysore Government that as they are not willing to be tried by a native Deputy Commissioner, they should be given a European Deputy Commissioner. . . . The Mysore Government is even ready to act upon the wishes of a few Europeans.

VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI DATED APRIL 16TH 1889

Native States. There are about 160 Native States in India. In all these are British Residents or Agents whose business is simply to see that no measures are introduced in the Native States which might conflict with the interests of British Government and to give wholesome advice to the Native Rajas in all important matters. But instead of being content with this authority, they interfere in the internal administration of the States and try to find fault with the Rajas under these circumstances, it is the duty of all Native Princes to win the good will of their subjects and to make their Representative Assemblies really representative by allowing the people the right of electing the members.

KARNATAKA PRAKASĪKA, 3RD AUGUST, 1891

ADMINISTRATION IN NATIVE STATES

The present mode of administration of the Native States differs much from that of a few years ago. In former times, the administration was conducted so economically that every year a surplus of revenue was left in the treasury. Now the policy is always to keep the Native States in a state of impecuniosity. The British Government think it dangerous both to the Princes and to themselves to keep the native treasuries in a flourishing state and so try to increase their expenditure. This object they are able to accomplish through the Dewan whose appointment virtually rests with the Resident.

VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI JULY 9TH 1889

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

The Representative Assembly is another farce. This is supposed to correspond to the Imperial Parliament, with this difference that the Member of Mysore Parliament is wanting in education and independence. As thus constituted, they have no voice in the administration of the State. A better state of things may be expected when the so-called Representative Assembly develops itself into a really representative assembly capable of exercising some sort of check over the doings of the Dewan.

KARNATAKA PATRIKA JULY 15TH 1889

CONDITION IN NATIVE STATES

The condition of the Native States of India is getting worse every day. This is due either to the imprudence of the Princes themselves, to the factious dissensions among the people, or to the highhandedness of the political agents and the wilful negligence of the Government of India to take note of the conduct of those agents. As examples we may cite the instances of Indore, Kashmir, Hyderabad, Mysore, Bhopal, Travancore and others.

VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI JANUARY 1ST 1890—CONDITION IN THE STATES

The condition of the Native States is deplorable. They are under the protecting arm of the British Government and have no anxiety arising from a fear of foreign invasion. They have therefore ample leisure to attend to the internal good administration of the country. Yet most of the Native Princes neglect this opportunity and entrust the administration of their States to selfish Dewans who are busy making hay while the sun shines and neglect to look after the welfare of the people.

VRITTANTA PATRIKA OF 11TH SEPTEMBER—REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

The assemblies which met in past years have had no title to be called "representative" ones. The Municipalities and the Government chose

as Representatives (?) of the people men who would only nod their assent to whatever the Dewan said.

THE SWADESHAMITRAN (TAMIL), 13TH MARCH, 1891

The Mysore Representative Assembly and the Congress is the title of a pamphlet published by Mr. Veeraraghavachariar of Madras. It is in the form of a dialogue between a Mysorean and a Madrasedee on the relative merits of the Representative Assembly and Indian National Congress. The Mysorean suggests the reorganisation of the Madras Legislative Council on Mysore Assembly lines and the Madrasedee approves those suggestions.

KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA, 3RD AUGUST, 1891.

The disadvantage of British rule in India are not so often discussed as the advantages. A correspondent says "the British rule in India is not in any way better than the Mussulman rule. Under the Moslems the Hindus had only lost political status, whereas under the British administration they have lost everything."

KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA, 7TH SEPTEMBER, 1891

The Circular issued by the Government of India restricting the liberty of the Press in the territories under the jurisdiction of Political agents has dealt the death blow to the *Deccan Times* which has been in existence for the last 20 years and several others such as *Sirmar Gazette* and the *Praja Hitaishi*

KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA, 14TH SEPTEMBER

Has a long leader on the subject of the liberty of Native Press in which it says that the people of India having once tasted the sweets of the liberty of the Press are now naturally unwilling to lose it; that if the English Government had foreseen that the people of India would in so short a time become educated enough to see the defects of the administration and to aspire to high offices in the State, they would not have spent so much money in educating them but the defects of administration will not cease to be looked upon as defects even if the Press should be deprived of its liberty.

THE VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, 1ST JUNE, 1892

The sting of the Arms Act consists in the invidious distinction it makes between Europeans and Eurasians on the one hand and the Hindus and Muhamadans on the other. The Europeans and Eurasians can carry arms without licence while the Hindus and Mohammadans should obtain licence every year. There seems to be no reason for making this sort of distinction.

THE MYSORE VRITTANTA BODHINI, 14TH OCTOBER, 1892

Contains an open letter addressed to His Highness in which it points out to him the desirability of His Highness taking the administration into his own hands and ceasing to leave everything to the Dewan, who has been reigning supreme for too long a time to the prejudice of the natives of Mysore. It further desires that His Highness should himself preside at the meetings of the Representative Assembly and devote a few hours in a week to the hearing of petitions.

MYSORE DESHABHIMANI, 29TH DECEMBER

Says that the Government of Mysore has forbidden its servants to write to the newspapers anything concerning the relation between itself and the British Government.

VRITTANTA PATRIKA, 22ND MARCH, 1894

Regarding an order of the Mysore Government suspending the publication of a Canarese weekly, the *Deshabhimani*, the Vrittanta Patrika says, "Even if a paper should express its opinions in an evasive or fulminating tone, we do not think the Government would be justified in punishing it.

THE KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA, 26TH MARCH, says, "We should like to know why the Editor of the paper and Proprietor were not tried in a Court of Law. There is no Press Law in Mysore and if the Government of the Maharaja thought it proper to establish one, the consent of the Government of India would be required."

THE MYSORE VRITTANTA BODHINI, DATED 17TH MARCH, says—We are sorry that the Government has taken this step. It is only lately that the vernacular press was started to spread civilisation among the people.

CIRCULATION 1894

1. Karnataka Prakasika	...	...	...	500
2. Mysore Vrittanta Bodhini	...	...	...	250
3. Vrittanta Patrika	...	...	...	1500
4. Vrittanta Chintamani	...	...	...	500

THE ARYA JANA PRIYAN, 1ST APRIL, in a reference to the suppression of *Deshabhimani* says it was improper and unjust for the Government of Mysore to have combined in itself the functions of the accuser and the judge without referring the matter to a Court of Justice.

THE VRITTANTA PATRIKA, DATED 5TH APRIL, 1894. Says regarding the

same subject should not the people criticise the conduct of great men? Should not the faults of the Government be exposed? The Dewan has crushed a fly that teased him, but by that very act he has brought into prominence the editor of *Deshabhimani* and in part admitted the truth of its allegation. We do not think that by this he has done any service to His Highness.

A correspondent to *Mysore Vrittanta Bodhini* of 21st April says that suspension of the paper by the Government of Mysore is a great blow to the independence of the press in Mysore.

VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, 27TH JUNE, 1894 AND VRITTANTA
PATRIKA, DATED 28TH JUNE

Strongly condemn the new rules promulgated by the Mysore Government for the election of representatives for the Representative Assembly. These new rules, they say, confine the election only to ryots and merchants among whom there are few educated men and who cannot therefore discuss intelligently any question coming before them.

KARNATAKA PRAKASIKA, 17TH JUNE, 1895, referring to the Act of 1891 for the control of newspapers published in cantonment stations says there is still a gagging act in force in India, although it does not apply to the whole of India.

THE MYSORE VRITTANTA BODHINI OF 21ST MARCH, 1896, says there is one Indian reform that both Englishmen and Natives are agreed should be carried out. It is the separation of Executive from Judicial functions.

SURYODAYA (BANGALORE), 17TH SEPTEMBER, 1897. Says that *The Hindu* is wrong in praising the administration of Mysore, while the *Madras Mail* has correctly represented the state of things in the Province. It says—Those who know the real state of affairs in Mysore will not hesitate to pronounce it the worst governed country in the world.

THE DESHABHIMANI OF 15TH. Says that the administration of the Province is very unsatisfactory owing to the indifference of the Dewan.

VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, MAY 22ND, 1901

The Hollowness of some of the Institutions in Mysore. Says that though Mysore is regarded abroad as a model Native State on account of its two institutions, viz., the Representative Assembly and the Competitive Examination for the Civil Servants, yet when looked at closely both these institutions do not serve the purpose for which they were originally intended. The Representative Assembly has been nothing more than a petitioning body, as Lord Harris called it, since the death of the late Maharaja.

Even this privilege of petitioning, it is not allowed to exercise, for if the members petition in a body, they are told to approach individually, and when they send up individual petitions, their petitions are rejected, on the ground that as individuals, they have no right to petition on matters concerning the whole province.

THE SURYODAYA PRAKASIKA OF 29TH MAY. Contains an appeal to the people of Mysore in which the Editor urges that a 'Congress' should be organised in Mysore as an auxiliary to the Representative Assembly. This Congress, says the appeal, having its headquarters in Bangalore or Mysore and with an Executive Committee of some five members assisted by local Secretaries, should hold meetings at a month's interval in the several District towns and there discuss local matters and select and place before the Representative Assembly such questions as they deem fit to be brought to the notice of Government.

VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, 16TH SEPTEMBER, 1905. Missionary influence in Mysore. Has a long communicated article on the missionary ascendancy in Mysore. Commenting on the many high-handed acts of the missionaries the writer of the article says that the Government should try to put down such abuse of influence whenever possible—The missionaries really care nothing for the education of the people, their chief object being the propagation of the Gospel and not the education of the people.

SWADESHAMITRAN, 17TH OCTOBER, 1905. Stating that on the third day of the meeting of the Mysore Representative Assembly, before the proceedings began the Representative of "Mysore Standard" was ordered to leave the hall where the meeting was held, as the Mysore Government suspected that this paper was publishing false matters against it, remarks that if the Government of Mysore believed that the paper was writing against it, the only proper course would have been to take legal action against the paper.

MYSORE STAR, 16TH OCTOBER, 1905. Says that there was nothing seditious in the paper at all. It might have contained some articles criticising the administration of the Dewan. The late Sir K. Seshadri Iyer never used to take notice of any adverse criticism, though many newspapers transgressed the bounds of freedom.

SURYODAYA PRAKASIKA, 25TH OCTOBER, 1905. Says that it would have been creditable to the Government to bring an action against the paper in a court of justice. It is indeed deplorable that Mysore, the Model State, should have recourse to such arbitrary measures.

THE NADEGANNADI, 22ND DECEMBER, 1905. Remarks that the subjects of the Mysore State took a new step in the right direction in sending a few delegates to Indian National Congress this year.

THE NADEGANNADI, 29TH JUNE, 1906. Observes that the Native States do not afford even those facilities for popular representation which exist in British territories. Of the several Native States, only three, Mysore, Travancore and Pudukkottai, have Representative Assemblies. But even here, the assemblies can merely acquaint the Government with the grievances of the people. They are seldom consulted on any important legislative measures in contemplation. In addition to the Councils that already exist in some of the Native States, an Adviscry Council like the one which is under the contemplation of the Government of India may be appointed in each of them to ascertain public opinion on all important administrative matters.

BHARATI OF BANGALORE, 7TH AUGUST, 1906. Commenting on the Press Law says the new Press Law practically binds the press owners hand and foot and gags their mouth. Such a drastic measure is altogether unwarranted by the political situation in the State Not only does the new law take away the liberty of the press and check honest criticisms but it has another still stranger aspect. A thief, a robber, and even a murderer can be declared guilty only after a fair trial in a Court of Law. But the editor of a newspaper who fights for the ruler, the country and the people he loves can be summarily deported from his country without trial.

THE WEDNESDAY REVIEW, (TRICHINOPOLY), 12TH AUGUST, 1906, remarks: In some respects the clauses regarding banishment of offending editors and confiscation of printing presses are much more stringent than those of recent enactments of the Government of India, and unless in the light of public opinion Mr. Madhava Rao is prepared to amend the act on sensible lines his stewardship of Mysore would be permanently marred by a hasty and ill-advised suggestion.

JAGADGURU (MYSORE), 9TH AUGUST, 1906. In passing a new measure it is natural enough to expect the official members to side with the Government. But how could the non-official members who are to stand by the rights and liberties of the people, so easily shake off their responsibility by readily giving their assent to the measure without a word of objection?

KESARI, MADRAS, 12TH AUGUST, 1908. Everyone was till now under the impression that the administration in Mysore was conducted well under the regime of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, as Diwan. But the news of the

press law recently passed by the Government has not only thoroughly changed the public impression about it, but has also served to create a feeling of disgust in the public mind. This law empowers the Government of Mysore to stop all on a sudden without assigning any cause any newspaper printed or published in the State. This is just like the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai by the Government of India. There is no act like this even in British India. We are therefore at a loss to know what provoked the ire of the Dewan and the pseudo-members of the Legislative Council against the press in Mysore, quiet as it is at present. These and other provisions of the Press Act only denote a deterioration of the civilisation and wisdom of the Government in Mysore. This act has not only marred the reputation of Mr. Madhava Rau and his official mates, but has also cast a slur on the name of the Maharaja and the long established prestige of the Mysore Raj.

VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI, OF 26TH AUGUST, 1908.

HONEST JOURNALISM MADE IMPOSSIBLE IN MYSORE

In a leading article announcing to the public that the paper has to be discontinued owing to the new Press Law in Mysore observes:— Hitherto, it was enough to have paid homage to His Highness and the British Government. But now it is evident that all Government officials expect the same implicit obedience that is due to His Highness. But when they prove to be self-seeking and altogether regardless of the interests of the public we cannot show them any civility. And it is not possible under the new law to maintain this principle; we have to discontinue the paper. We hope for the day when the press will regain its liberty.

In another article the paper observes :

It is difficult to say whether Mr. Madhava Rao will be able to gain the object he had in view in passing the new law, namely of expelling from the State those newspaper editors who criticise his actions. For neither His Highness nor the British Resident will sanction an order of deportation in the absence of strong reasons for it. During the days of the French Revolution whoever rose to power soon lost his head (and fresh men came into power). So also when one newspaper editor is deported, another will be ready to take his place.

THE BHARATI, 26TH AUGUST has an impassioned leader strongly condemning the Mysore Press Regulation which is to come into force in the beginning of next month and announced that it will cease to be published from the 27th as a protest against the enactment. The article says that 5th September will ever be a memorable day in Mysore because that day

will be the last of the freedom of the press in the Province and no respectable editor will care to publish any paper after that and there will be no one to carry to His Highness's ears the grievances of the people or to bring to his notice the oppression practised by the persons in authority. The article nevertheless hopes that the dark clouds which now cover the sky will soon disperse if the people continue to agitate and the sun will shine upon the land. Innumerable troubles were brought upon the head of Lord Krishna when he was a child by his uncle the giant Kamsa but all of them turned against the wicked persecutor himself and Sri Krishna came out all the more glorious after putting to death his oppressor.

THE VRITTANTA CHINTAMANI of 26th also appears in mourning like the Bharati and announces that it will cease publication from the next week for the same reasons. The Nadegannadi also follows suit.

The first fruits of Press Regulation

THE SWADESHAMITRAN, 1ST SEPTEMBER

When the new Press Act was passed in Mysore, the Government of that State might not have anticipated what amount of harm could result from that measure. Nothing but evil has resulted from this act. As the first fruits of that act, five long-standing newspapers have been, one after another, discontinued, of which two were being published in the English language and the rest in the Vernacular. None of them were discontinued for any pecuniary difficulties, all of them having taken this step with a sense of precaution and self-defence so as to avoid being caught in the net of the new law being spread by that Government. It is surprising that such a measure should have passed during the regime of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rau.

THE NADEGANNADI, 29TH AUGUST, bids farewell to the public with the observation that on account of the new law, it is no longer possible to continue journalism in Mysore consistently with honesty and self-respect. The only way to safe existence, it says, is either to avoid discussing political matters or flatter the Government officials. As it is in political matters that the people require to be chiefly educated through the newspapers, a newspaper which does not discuss politics is of no use. When such long-standing papers as the Herald and the Chintamani find it necessary to stop, Nadegannadi would not venture to continue, especially because the journalists have no means of knowing what kinds of writing are allowed and what not.

VEERAKESARI, 15TH AUGUST, asks—What was the opinion of the pub-

lic? Why was its promulgation kept secret? Why was it passed in such a hurry?

The paper remarks that it is highly regrettable that the people of the whole of Mysore should thus be made to be at the mercy of a handful of Government officials. The article in conclusion hopes that the Government of India will come to the rescue of the people of Mysore and remove their present distress so as to afford proof of the just and liberal policy which always characterises it.

THE MYSORE STAR, 31ST AUGUST, observes that though it must be admitted that the new Press Law is even more stringent than the law in British territories; there is nothing in it to compel the newspapers to stop publication. Even if the law be a thousand times more stringent, a righteous man will not fear it. The paper prays to God that the panic which now exists in the minds of the authorities may soon disappear and that the new Press Law, the very sight of which has caused the death of so many newspapers, may be withdrawn and that the papers which have now stopped publication may reappear.

THE HINDU, 8TH OCTOBER, 1909. In an article on the Mysore Representative Assembly, says: a noteworthy part of the Dewan's address is that which relates to the unrest in India In fact the unrest in India has so agitated and disturbed the course of politics in Mysore, so far at all events as the responsible officers are concerned, that the subjects of His Highness have come to wonder what they could possibly have to do with the unrest outside the province. We are told that the Mysore agitator is "a comparatively mild and harmless personage" but that "he had to be taken betimes in hand."

The Dewan detailed things to show that they had in Mysore what "a genuine nationalist could wish for."

All that the Dewan could say in defence of the arbitrary and drastic character of the Regulation is that "it will not be put into force in regard to any newspaper unless the character of the publication is such that its continuance is undesirable in the interests of the State or in the cause of public morality."

The Hindu 12th October, 1909, writes

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

One of the very first subjects taken up for discussion in the Assembly was M.N.P.R. From the expression of views and opinions that has so far fallen from the Dewan, we are led to think there is no prospect of the law undergoing any change in the near future. All that the Dewan

has to say in favour of the measure is that though it confers arbitrary powers, the Government will not exercise those powers arbitrarily. This is a crude time-worn plea of all advocates of arbitrary power in the world which has been refuted times without number. We hope the Assembly as a body will have a convincing and a strong case made out against the measure and that by unanimous and effective expression of opinion the Government will be made to consider their untenable position in regard to the Press in Mysore.

THE INDIAN PATRIOT, 14TH OCTOBER, 1909

Under the heading "The Mysore Sensation", writes :

Our Representative telegraphs the startling intelligence that the election of two members to the Legislative Council by members of the Representative Assembly has been vetoed by Government. Those who topped the list were M|S Venkataramaiya who got 167 votes and Venkatakrishtnaiya who got 109 votes. The veto proves unmistakably that the Government has no confidence in the candidates who enjoy the largest measure of public confidence and that the elective system is out of place under an "absolute autocratic" Government, such as the Government of Mysore has been officially described to be. We thought that Mr. Madhava Rao had committed the greatest blunder that he was capable of when he enacted the Press Regulation; but a worse blunder still remained and he has committed it in a spirit of fatal obstinacy.

THE HINDU, 15TH OCTOBER, says on the same subject: We cannot conceive of a more gross misuse of political power and reckless disregard and defiance of popular opinion and popular rights than what Mr. V. P. Madhava Rau has been guilty of in this instance. Notwithstanding his deplorable error and want of statesmanship in the matter of the Press Regulation we should have considered it incredible in one of his past public career and high reputation to have entered, as he seems to have done in this case, into a hand-to-hand fight as it were with the representatives of popular forces. The veto exercised by the Government of Mysore is an act of bare-faced despotism.

THE WEST COAST SPECTATOR (CALICUT), 24TH OCTOBER

Mr. Madhava Rau has been weighed and found wanting. The secret history of the Mysore Newspaper Regulation and the subsequent developments, if published, would reveal him to be worthier to be Governor of a Russian Province than Minister of a progressive Hindu State. The manner in which he bamboozled his sovereign into assenting to the new Regulation is not worthy of an honest statesman and his doings in connection with the Representative Assembly's first exercise of their newly granted franchise have hopelessly wrecked his reputation. It was uni-

versally recognised that the great merits and public services of these gentlemen entitled them to this distinction. But one of them happened to be the Editor of the Mysore Herald, who as a protest against the Press Law, had stopped publication of a newspaper (and also his Kannada paper) which had rendered valuable service to the public for over 25 years.

THE SWADESHAMITRAN, 17TH OCTOBER, writes on the same subject: we are sorry that the popular rights are being insulted like this during the Dewanship of Mr. Madhava Rau.

THE MADRAS STANDARD, 29TH OCTOBER, writes: Mr. Madhava Rau may paint in whatever colours he likes the new concessions made to the Representative Assembly in the matter of its representation on the Local Legislative Council. He himself has pricked the bubble men of independent name and fame would think twice before they risk their fair name by standing as candidates.

VEERAKESARI, 13TH NOVEMBER, 1909: referring to the Mysore Press Law observes: The Dewan's reference to the "satisfactory" working of the Press gag in his address to the Representatives is severely commented upon by the British Press. In one voice they condemn his revengeful attitude. We are sorry for this. Mr. T. Ananda Rao is personally the gentlest and most peaceful of men. When such a gentleman says cruel words there must be something mysterious behind the curtains in Mysore. Not that the Mysore Press is blameworthy, but the motive for treating the Press like cobras are so unnatural to Mysore. The paper which the Dewan warned under the new law is a monthly journal called the *Dhanurdari*, published at Davangere. The Editor explains the matter in the last issue and defends what he wrote as being translations of articles published in British India and not objected to by the British Government itself. They all refer to British affairs and not to Mysore affairs. This is the key to the reading of the Mysore mystery. In a word the press law has been passed in obedience to the mandate of the British Government. What is the good of blaming Mysore officers, who seem to be not their own masters in the present situation?

UNITED INDIA, 27TH NOVEMBER

Even Mr. Ananda Rao, we very much regret to say, has belied this (good) impression. He made the election rules worse than those framed by his predecessor. He was instrumental in seeing that the name of one of those most popular candidates was vetoed at the very outset.

THE VICEROY IN MYSORE

THE HINDU, 27TH NOVEMBER, says: Informed public opinion will hold that the Press Law is a serious blot on the Maharaja's administration as deportations in British India are on that of Minto. . . . We are concerned here with the kind of interference which fetters discretion in purely internal affairs, denies liberty of action, takes away power of initiation and working and lowers the State in the estimation of the people. . . . It is not a little humiliating to one of the most constitutionally inclined Princes that he should feel the discretion of his Government fettered in the choice not only of the Chief Judge, but of a Puisne Judge also, and that he is not at liberty to appoint one of his own men as Private Secretary. If Lord Minto can see his way to recognise the claim of Mysore for greater freedom and less molestation in internal affairs, he will find in years to come, that his experiment has been justified to a far greater extent than in that of Lord Ripon.

ENGLISH PAPERS FROM MYSORE STATE

1.	Kolar Gold Field News: Weekly	...	...	400
2.	Harvest Field: Monthly	...	...	556
3.	Gnanodaya: Monthly	...	...	1100
4.				
5.	Mysore and South Indian Review— K. Ramanuja Iyengar	...	...	450
6.	Mysore Times— S. N. Ramaswami Iyengar, Advocate	...	...	100

SURYODAYAM (PONDICHERRY), 11th November, writes that a correspondent to "*Hindu*" writes thus: In the course of a speech delivered at a dinner in the house of the Maharaja of Udaipur, H.E. the Viceroy, Lord Minto, said that the Government of India do not at all interfere with the Native Princes in the administration of their States. But it is evident on examination that the above statement is honoured only in its breach as will be seen in the following instance. Mr. Setlur of Bombay was appointed one of the judges of the Chief Court of Mysore some months ago. This gentleman is ardently devoted to Mr. Tilak and brought out some years ago a book entitled *Tilak's Trial*. The Government of India on coming to know the above facts a few days ago became enraged and issued a notice to His Highness that Mr. Setlur be removed from the post of a judge of the Chief Court. On looking, however, at the manner in which Mr. Setlur heard all cases and gave impartial judgment, the Maharaja of Mysore had a great liking to maintain Mr. Setlur as one of the

permanent judges of his Court. In spite of all this, the Maharaja being afraid of the notice issued by the Englishmen, replied to the Government of India that he would soon remove Mr. Setlur from his Court.

VEERAKESARI, 11TH DECEMBER, 1910

Is Lord Minto quite sure that he did right to have commended the notorious Press Gagging Act of the Mysore State perpetrated last year as he did in his speech at the State Banquet? The criticisms against that shameful piece of legislative blundering were no doubt "sugary" as His Excellency put it, but could they well have been otherwise? Would Lord Minto make himself responsible for similar legislation for British India, though he may think that the country is not fit for unrestricted freedom of the press?

HINDU, 22ND MAY, 1911, referring to the formation of an Advisory Council, states: The new conference constituted in Mysore is a standing Advisory Council which works through its committees and sub-committees throughout the year and is empowered to educate the public and also propose practical measures in regard to important matters affecting the well-being of the people. This experiment in Mysore will be watched with great interest both in and out of the province.

THE INDIAN PATRIOT, 24TH MAY, 1911, says, Mysore has already a Representative Assembly and Legislative Council. It seems to us that the object (mentioned above) could be better achieved by working through the Representative Assembly which is an elected body and is fairly representative of the whole State.

THE WEDNESDAY REVIEW, 24TH MAY, 1911, says: The latest move in the direction of strengthening and enlarging the popular element in the administration of the State is the establishment of an Advisory Council We would say (that in the Advisory Council) the official element is rather strong.

THE MADRAS STANDARD, 25TH MAY, 1911, The Economic Council is a welcome addition to the liberal lines on which the administration is carried on. The idea is both original and cleverly designed.

MYSORE TIMES, 27TH MAY, 1911, hails the measure as affording evidence of the extreme solicitude our Maharaja shows to do good to his people We are of opinion that there should be more of non-official and very much less of official element in the composition of the conference.

THE MADRAS STANDARD, 29TH AUGUST, commenting on the action of the Government of Mysore prohibiting certain lectures advertised to be delivered by V. S. S. Sastri, the paper observes: This action of the Mysore officials is staggering. What, we ask, is the matter with Mysore? Does the Mysore Government think it a crime to reform the marriage customs of Hindus?

THE INDIAN PATRIOT, 30TH AUGUST, That he (Sastri) should be prohibited from delivering a lecture means that the Servants of India Society as a whole is being suspected.

THE MADRAS STANDARD, 30TH AUGUST, 1911, writes: Mr. K. Ramachandra Rao, Headmaster of the London Mission High School and President of the Progressive Union, under whose auspices Mr. Sastriar's lectures had been arranged, has been asked to resign his presidentship, which he has done. Mr. K. Srinivasa Rau, the Deputy Chief Engineer, who was to have presided at the Students' Convocation, has been warned. As it is, the officials concerned in this affair have not only made themselves look ridiculous in the eyes of the world, but have succeeded in introducing an element of discontent and discord among the loyal subjects of his Highness.

THE HINDU, 31ST AUGUST, 1911, writes: The Government of the present Maharaja of Mysore has already taken the lead in enacting such repressive and reactionary legislative measures as the Mysore Press Regulation. This has gone to a great extent in gagging public opinion in the province. The Mysore people seem now to have descended to the days when public meetings of an innocuous character can be prohibited by an administrative order without giving any reason.

THE HINDU, 22ND SEPTEMBER, 1911, writes: The action of the Mysore Government prohibiting the public meetings in question has struck a blow at the right of the people of that State to assemble in an orderly manner in a public meeting and to hear public discourses delivered by responsible men.

SWADESHAMITRAN, 4TH SEPTEMBER, writes: Mr. Sastri says in a letter to the Hindu that he wrote to the Resident praying for an interview with him and that it was not granted. The Dewan and Resident have declined to give reasons and thus an important right of the people of holding public meetings has been interfered with.

The *Deshamata* (Rajamundry) and *Swadeshabhimani* (Mangalore) have also criticised the action of the officials.

SADHWI, 16TH SEPTEMBER, publishes a number of letters to the Editor criticising the Government's action. Sadhwi writes: "We certainly cannot understand why this step was taken".

MYSORE STAR, 13TH SEPTEMBER, in its leader says that the Madras Provincial Congress Committee convened a meeting in the Mahajana Hall, Madras to protest against the action of the Mysore Government in prohibiting Sastriar's lecture.

THE HINDU, 4TH OCTOBER. In commenting on the correspondence between the Dewan and Mr. Gokhale says: The Dewan is unable to give any reason but entrenches himself behind the dubious shelter of policy. It would have been fitting and graceful on the part of the Dewan to have under the circumstances acknowledged his error and expressed regret for the same.

SADHWI, 16TH NOVEMBER, (ENGLISH COLUMN). "Foreign domination in Mysore", under this title a correspondent writes:

If one wants to plead for the cause of born subjects of His Highness he has to write to outside papers No better instances of unmitigated despotism can be found than the prevention of public meetings In Mysore there are lickspittles who are ready to whitewash even Satans, so that they may appear as Saints. Our domiciled fellow-subjects in Mysore are greedy and grasping. The cream of Mysoreans would do well to leave Mysore and live in banishment in British territory.

INDIAN PATRIOT, 18TH SEPTEMBER, 1912. Lee Warner on States. . Referring to a lecture delivered by Sir William Lee Warner at Cambridge recently on the Native States of India, the Journal writes: Sir William says that "sham representative councils without any real power" and other devices are created to avert the evil eye of foreign opinion; and the force of his criticism will be most felt in Mysore where he was Resident and where the press has been destroyed and the Representative Assembly, even after 30 years, is devoid of any collective reality of power. Mysore, of all the States, should have shown the greatest development on the lines shown by Lee Warner The faults of Native administrators are due to their limited political vision and their reliance on temporary expedients for temporary purposes.

A correspondent writes in SADHWI, 17th September, in reply to Indian Patriot.

The writer observes that the subjects of British India, who were behind Mysore in respect of political status in the time of Dewan Rangacharlu and for long afterwards, have now overtaken their compeers in the race under the Minto-Morley auspices. A more absurd statement has never been made by any writer with an unbiased insight. The subjects of the British Empire were at no time behind those in Mysore in respect of political status. It is true that Mr. Rangacharlu was strongly animated by a desire to make Mysore a constitutional oasis in the Sahara of unconstitutional Governments. All that he did in 25 months in this direction disappeared as a puff of smoke under the uncongenial atmosphere that sprang up soon afterwards.

SADHWI, 1ST OCTOBER, 1912. Referring to the allegation said to have been made by some, that every Dewan that came after the late Mr. Rangacharlu attempted to do away with the Executive Council, a correspondent of Sadhwi writes: This allegation may be true since a great many officials love despotic power and the Executive Council forms a serious check on their vagaries. Even the British Government has come to the conclusion that there is no better way to put down the despotic tendencies of a Government than to create an Executive Council I confidently hope that our Maharaja and his wise councillors will never accept the proposal to abolish the Executive Council—a proposal which is so dangerous to the progress of Mysore.

THE SOUTH INDIAN MAIL (MADRAS), 21st, 1912, remarks: Mr. Gokhale will be gratified to know that the premier State in South India has adopted his suggestion and introduced the Elementary Education Bill in Mysore Though Mr. Ananda Rao's regime may not be considered a brilliant success, yet this single act of his is sure to find him a warm niche in the heart of many a patriotic Mysorean.

WEDNESDAY REVIEW, 23RD OCTOBER, 1912, says: ordinarily it is the British Government which sets an example to the Native States in progressive legislation. But in respect of education, it is this Native State which has led the way.

THE WEST COAST REFORMER, 24TH OCTOBER, 1912. The Mysore Government has just now taken a most laudable step by introducing a system of compulsory elementary education in the State Almost all the cautious provisions of Mr. Gokhale's Bill are adopted by the Mysore Government It is hoped that other Native States like Travancore and Cochin will follow in the wake of Mysore.

PUBLIC OPINION IN MYSORE

In an article under this heading the *Sarvajana Hitopakarini* of 11th November, 1912, writes, really representative bodies which can voice the grievances of the people and obtain redress for them from the Government are extremely few in Mysore. There are indeed one or two institutions to represent to some extent the public opinion in the province. The Representative Assembly is one of these, the Legislative Council is another. But since it does not possess the right of interpellation this body is not of much use as an organ of public opinion. A third body has lately been brought into being, *viz.*, the Economic Conference, but this too being composed mostly of officials and ex-officials, it cannot be said to be a representative institution Thus if a minister has a council consisting of representatives as well as officials to advise him he will be in a position to easily ascertain the needs and wants of the people. If, therefore, in Mysore representatives of the people are admitted into the Executive Council as honorary members, there can be no doubt that its usefulness both to Government and to the people will be greatly increased. Mysore is labouring under another serious disability, *viz.*, the Press Act. This has greatly curtailed the liberty of the press in Mysore and operates as a serious check on the free exposure of official delinquencies Indeed these officials seem to take a delight in reading outside papers while neglecting those printed in their own province. This is a serious obstacle to progress We trust the new Dewan will inaugurate the policy of taking the people into his confidence in the administration of his province, and thereby bring "Glory to His Highness's Government."

In the course of a leading article, commenting on the Dasara Meeting of the Representative Assembly, *Sadhwi* of 12th November, 1912, writes: The Representative Assembly need not elect members of the Legislative Council A property and educational qualification may be prescribed. If this is done, Legislative Council will be independent of the Representative Assembly and no member of the Representative Assembly will grudge the extension of even the right of interpellation to the Legislative Council Mr. C. V. Gopala Rao rightly said that even an independent press does not exist in Mysore and it is nothing but right that the Legislative Council which meets more often than the Representative Assembly should exercise the right of interpellation

1913

THE *SADHWI*, OF 24TH DECEMBER, 1912, publishes the following from the pen of an esteemed correspondent.

"The recent public utterance of the Dewan is quite characteristic of him. It is thorough, plain and unvarnished. It breathes a spirit of

intense patriotism and zeal His contention that the Government cannot be much in advance of the subjects is no doubt a sound proposition—if other conditions prevail. I mean that this theory obtains only in countries where the people make the Government. But in a country like India, and especially like Mysore, where the Government is in its nature autocratic—where the people have no voice in the administration even your local self-governments are a big show. The councillors on these bodies have only a shadowy authority. The Government does many things no doubt for the people's good. But this is only an incident of its function. The acts which the Government thinks are calculated to do good to the people may culminate in evil. It is something like the nurse dosing the child with medicine or even with food whether the child wants it or not. When, therefore, Government is autocratic and irresponsible to the people, where is the use of the cry that the Government is what the people make it to be? Who makes the Government? Surely it is not the people. Why should the Dewan hold the people responsible for the acts of Governments? The Dewan will, therefore, pardon me if once more I tell him that unless people are given a real voice in the administration of the country, there is no use in employing these platitudes that the people make the Government.

The Dewan's advice to the sects or castes was very wholesome He rightly said that unless candidates for public services were well qualified the Government would not employ them at all.

Observes: As the Dewan rightly observed there are in all only 36 newspapers and periodicals in the State and even in this number, many are insignificant. But does it not devolve on authorities to enquire into the cause of such insignificance? with the passing of the Press Law, most of the leading newspapers became defunct. We earnestly hope that our present broad-minded Dewan will give careful consideration to the representations made to him in the Representative Assembly and repeal the measure which has arrested the progress of journalism in Mysore.

DHANURDHARI OF 30TH OCTOBER, writes: Although the repeated protests against the Mysore Press Regulation of 1908 which did away with the liberty of the press have until now been of no avail we are glad to find the present Dewan disposed to handle the subject in a liberal spirit.

The existing Regulation is a source of disgrace to such a progressive State as ours at least (i) the provision that the sanction of Government should be obtained for publishing a newspaper, and (ii) the clause relating to deportation and forfeiture of press should be repealed A series of articles in 'Karnataka' on the surplus revenue of the Civil and Military Station published in book form with a preface by Sir Puttanna Chetty.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT IN MYSORE

SADHWI OF 15TH MAY, 1914, writes : It is now seven years since we began the Swadesi Movement in our country to revive our industries. But neither our industries nor our agriculture can point to any appreciable progress at the end of seven years. We export the cotton that we grow and it is brought back to us as piece goods. Who will not laugh at our indolence and distress? Even foreigners who settle here temporarily go back to their country as millionaires, while we sons of the soil remain in perpetual poverty. What is the cause of this? Our resignedness. Unless everyone of us shakes off his indolence, believes in the gospel of work and learns to be self-reliant, our country can never attain greatness.

THE SASILEKHA (MADRAS), 30TH MAY, 1914, says that it is curious that while the Indian National Congress is praying for higher appointments being conferred on able Indians, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore overlooks the claims of Indians and appoints Europeans to high offices in the State.

VOKKALIGARA PATRIKA, 17TH JUNE, 1914, writes : In reply to a suggestion from one of the members of the recent sessions of the Economic Conference asking for encouragement of vernacular journalism in the province, the remarks which Chatterton made must have struck everybody with surprise. He was pleased to remark that vernacular papers were devoid of educational value, that they dealt in mere trivialities, pandering to the taste of the vulgar. It is surprising however that one who does not know even a syllable of the Canarese language should presume to speak on the diction and the tone of journalistic literature in that tongue.

THE ANDHRA PATRIKA, 20TH JULY. We regret to state that local self-government in Mysore has not made as much progress as it has made in British India. This is due to indifference and neglect on the part of officials who are either incapable or arbitrary. It would appear that the Government have been awakened to this state of things and are contemplating to reform the unions with a view to grant real self-government.

REFORMS

"THE INDIAN" OF 2ND OCTOBER, 1914, writes, we note with satisfaction that some of the Native States are making genuine efforts in discharging their duties. The speech delivered by Sir M. Visvesvaraya at the R. A. Session clearly indicates that reforms have already been introduced and that further reforms are expected to be introduced. Certain jealous Anglo-Indian newspapers used to criticise the reforms introduced in the

Native States of Baroda and Mysore. But they forget that these Native States can well afford to guide in this matter for our Government to follow.

SADHWI, OF 23RD OCTOBER, takes exception to the new practice of limiting the number of subjects to be brought for discussion from each district, complaining that it operates as a serious curtailment of the liberty of the Assembly.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

SAMPADABHYUDAYA OF OCTOBER 2ND, 1915, referring to the right of interpellation granted to the Mysore Legislative Council and of presenting supplementary questions, the paper observes: The people of Mysore are deeply grateful to His Highness's Government for granting to its Council this invaluable privilege. The series of concessions granted to us from time to time of late is an unfailing index both of the readiness on the part of the Government to admit the people to fresh rights and of the confidence on their part that they will use them in the best interests of the province.

PROSPECT OF POPULAR UPHEAVAL IN MYSORE

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY—A POWER OR A PLAYTHING. In a leader under this heading, *the Karnataka of 4th October, 1916*, has the following: It is sometimes said that Mysore is a Swaraj State and that there are no two elements here to occasion a conflict of interests. A more idle and misleading doctrine was never formulated. Considered racially, Mysore has, it is true, a full measure of Swaraj—that is to say its governing class and the governed population are both children of the soil. But considering the question from the people's point of view, the Government here is scarcely less bureaucratic than in Bombay or Madras. Only our officialdom is covered with an Indian skin, which in one respect at least operates as a distinct disadvantage, inasmuch as we are not so free as our brethren in British India to criticise and censure.

SAMPADABHYUDAYA, OF 12TH OCTOBER: "The Mysore Parliament in Miniature."

In an article in English under this heading the paper writes: "Monday 9th October 1916 will hereafter be regarded as a red letter day in the political and administrative annals of Mysore. The gracious royal rescript read by the Dewan announcing the holding of another session of the Representative Assembly every year is the "Second Magna Carta" of Mysore, the first being the order of His Highness the late Chamaraja Wodeyar.

The names of Sri Chamaraja Wodeyar and his illustrious son and successor and of Rangacharlu and Sir M. Visvesvaraya will stand for

ever inscribed in glorious letters for all time to come in the hearts of millions of the people of Mysore and of all thinking and patriotic Indians.

MYSORE STAR OF 24TH DECEMBER : Welcomes the recent changes introduced in local self-government. It congratulates the Government on their solicitude for associating the people more closely with the administration of the State, and laments the dearth of public-spirited men among townfolk to undertake larger responsibilities to be entrusted to local bodies.

THE KARNATAKA OF 17TH JANUARY, 1917, remarks : We thank the Congress for the assurance that the Home Rulers of British India will be with us in our political emancipation. As we have so often pointed out, the struggle in India to-day is between bureaucracy and democracy, and the Native States are no exception The principle of popular liberty is one and the same all the world over.

HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN MYSORE

SAMPADABHYUDAYA OF 19TH JULY, 1917, writes : Our readers are aware that the Doddanna School at Bangalore has been placed under the Theosophical Trust. We learn from a correspondent that the educational authorities have stated that the Government will not recognise the school unless they are assured that neither the teachers nor the students will associate themselves with political matters such as the Home Rule Movement. Now our State has Home Rule already. We have no need to trouble ourselves on that account. Our Representative Assembly, Economic Conference and Legislative Assembly are all thorough Home Rule institutions It behoves all patriots to consider this matter and ensure that there is no room for any sort of agitation during the continuance of the War.

1918

In an article under the heading, "British India and Native States," *Satyavadi (Mysore)* of 12th March 1918, writes: The subjects of Native States are, as a rule, weak and timid. There is besides none to hear their grievances. In British territory public opinion carries weight. The rulers of the Native States have two difficulties to encounter. In the first place, they have to please the British authorities: They must also endear themselves to their own subjects. In British India people have been demanding "responsible government". This demand has been supported by British Ministers. The Congress-League Scheme has left the question of Native States to the Political Department of Government. The Native Subjects, however, cannot be ignored on this account. What we expect is that democratic rights will be established everywhere in the country.

THE ANDHRA PATRIKA OF 29TH MAY : Refers to the Resolution passed in the Bombay Provincial Conference regarding the institution of Self-Government in the Native States also and remarks that it is impossible for autocracy to thrive in the present atmosphere. Indian provincial Federation will be possible only when Native States also adopt a liberal policy in administration. This development of new aspirations among the people of the States is only in consonance with the tendency of the times.

THE ANDHRA PATRIKA OF 3RD JULY 1919, expresses its dissatisfaction with the answer given on behalf of Mr. Montagu in Parliament regarding the question of introduction of reforms in Native States and says : Self Government must be set on foot now in the Native States as in British India. Arbitrary Government cannot continue in the Native States while British territory enjoys self-Government. If due reforms are not introduced in Native States soon, agitation might prevail there also.

Referring to the *Panchama Conference* held in Mysore during the last Dasara festivities, the *Andhra Patrika* of 4th October 1919 observes in its leader : of the Native States in the Madras presidency which have worked for moral, economic and political advancement of the Panchamas Travancore holds the first place. Though the Mysore State has been somewhat late in dealing with the problem, changes introduced so far go to show that the problem is being handled with practical experience which delay naturally teaches problems such as house construction, the fixing of minimum wage and the improvement in education relating to the advancement of the panchamas can only be solved by legislation.

Referring to the steps taken by the Native States like Mysore to promote the cause of depressed classes the *Deenabandhu* of 15th October says: If the depressed classes should advance, the rulers should set to work with sympathy more than the people. Indian States are an example to this.

SWADESHAMITRAN, 30TH MARCH : Giving instances to prove that the Native States have adopted many measures which are still under consideration in British India, the paper refers to the question put to V. P. Madhava Rao in English as to why the Native States have not yet granted complete powers to the people which those in British India are now claiming, and says : If the Native States had complete freedom, they would guide British India in many ways. Even in their present circumscribed condition, they boldly go in advance in certain respects. So if they have not granted complete powers to the people, it should be due to the bureaucracy in India which is controlling the states also. But considering some reforms introduced by them recently it is clear that the chiefs in these States have no objection to grant liberty to the people and share the administrative responsibility with them.

THE CONGRESS AND THE INDIAN PRINCES. Writing under this heading, the *Hindu* of 7th December 1920 writes :

“ The more constructively inclined of Indian political thinkers have reason for anxiety in the problem presented by the Indian States in their relation to British India. What exactly will be the position of Indian States in the new policy to the speedy fulfilment of which all parties including our rulers are professedly pledged? The bureaucracy naturally does not worry over much. Whatever the measure of its sincerity in its professions and that will soon be put into a searching test, it is no part of its duty to attempt to make the path smooth for a homogeneous India, for that might mean the end of the British connection or at least its weakening to a degree that would be a positive menace to the integrity of the Empire. Bound as the Government is by covenants with the Rulers of these states, it would be unreasonable to expect it to force them to sacrifice their autocratic powers in order to achieve parity of political conditions between their territories and British India. What will be the position of Indian States on the day, when thanks whether to Mr. Montagu or Mr. Gandhi, it does not signify much, India shall be fully self-governed? Will the Indian States remain arid patches of autocracy defiling a smiling prospect? What will be the relations of rulers of the states to the democracy of British India and to their own subjects? That it will be seen raises the question of whether the continued existence of these States is in the best interests of our land. A self-governed India however will have no place for autocratic enclaves. Neither can we tolerate long a situation in which these States can continue to act as drags on the wheels of progress. They must line up with the rest of British India or suffer absorption consoling themselves, if consolation were needed, with the notion that even the sacrifice of picturesque misrule is not too high a price to pay for the progress of the country towards democracy and self-Government. As things are, the Indian States bid fair to be the last strongholds of the alien bureaucracy. British India may not be ideally governed, but it positively coruscates when compared with the Government of Indian States. From the standpoint of democratic progress, the Indian States are a generation behind British India. It is therefore, a little amusing to find in the new draft constitution of the Congress that the National Body is assumed to represent also the Indian States and that the people of those States are expected to take an active part in shaping the policy of the country. Considering the respect which their rulers show for the rights and liberties of their subjects, we are afraid that this expectation is bound to remain a pious hope charity begins at home ; self-abnegation does not. The Reforms conferred by these Rulers on their grateful subjects are ludicrous in their meagreness and in the hollowness of their pretence. In the Indian States they play at democracy, but every

one is perfectly aware that what the ruler gives he can take back and none can gainsay him. That the Congress which is embarked on an immense struggle should hesitate for fear of antagonising rulers who will be an anachronism in a self-Governed India, is a suggestion that can only come from a mind more anxious to please than to succeed. The problem is not one that will yield either to snobbish servility that recommends itself to our contemporary or the easy empiricism of the framers of the draft constitution who for the sake of a fictitious unity have chosen to ignore the considerable difference in political levels between British India and Indian States ”.

SAMPATHABHYUDAYA OF 17TH JANUARY, 1920. In the course of an English article under the head “Indian States and the Congress” writes ; The inclusion of all Indian States into the Indian Provinces for the purposes of Congress activities has made the political interests of British India and Indian States identical—The people of the Indian States, while subject to Indian princes in the matter of administration can bring Congress suggestions to bear upon the administration of those States in all matters of national interest. The enemies of the Congress may create a friction between Indian States and National Congress. But the ultimate advantages of these steps in liberalising the administration of Indian States cannot be denied.

THE SAMPADABHYUDAYA, 9TH FEBRUARY, 1920 : In the course of an English article “Princes in Politics” says, The Maharaja of Kolhapur has no business to interfere in the Congress policy. The Congress does not interfere in the affairs of his State, unless his own subjects choose to call in the aid of the Congress. His uncalled-for remarks about his treaty and other rights are ill-advised, impertinent, uncalled-for and unworthy of the descendent of Shivaji, a Chatrapati who gloried in being the servant of God.

THE SAMPADABHYUDAYA, 16TH FEBRUARY, 1920, in a short note says : The Nizam, the Maharaja of Mysore and such other prominent Indian ruling princes have not taken part in the Chamber of Princes. Only a few minor Chiefs have joined it with a view to escape from the annoyance of their political agents. It is widely believed that there is no chance of Government of India following the advice of these Chiefs nor is there any likelihood of the latter being largely benefitted by the former, and that the Chamber is a useless superfluity.

THE SAMPATABHYUDAYA, 13TH DECEMBER, in the course of a communicated English article under the heading ‘British Indian Press and Indian

States' observes. In most of Indian States, public opinion is at a zero point. The press may exist, but it exists only to give an air of construction to the vagaries of these States and their autocratic servants—servants who are greater autocrats than the ancient Tsars of the Russias and the Shahs of Persia. The material and moral salvation of the people of such States lie in the freedom of the press in British India and the freedom of platform obtaining there. If protection is given to the Indian Chiefs against the constitutional criticism of their conduct in the British Indian press, it simply drives these Chiefs into reckless acts of autocracy and the Government of India will have to be held responsible for the terrible consequences that flow from such protection. The press laws in the Indian States must likewise go. They are bound to go.

SAMPADABHYUDAYA, 30TH JANUARY, 1922, writes : If the British people want India to be the brightest jewel in the British Crown, their primary and foremost duty is to give more freedom to the Indian Princes, more power to them and trust them more.

SWARAJYA, 29TH MAY, writes : Of late the States have been competing with the bureaucrat in the matter of repression, for is not that the surest way of "coming into line" with British India? State after State is exhibiting a fierce determination to stamp out the Congress movement by all conceivable expedients of bankrupt autocracy. In Mysore, prominent Congressmen from Karnataka are not allowed to spread the national gospel of self-help and political uplift.

MALAYALI (QUILON), 29TH MAY, urges the setting up of responsible Government in States. The paper suggests the establishment of a Government in Indian States on the model of the one existing in England, as a Government not responsible to the people is not suited to present-day conditions.

Under the heading Native States, *Kistana Patrika*, 27th May : The subjects of the Native States are doubly immersed in slavery. They have no freedom of speech at all. The Government of the States is already arbitrary. The subjects of the Native States in the Deccan met at Poona, passed resolutions in regard to their difficulties and said that if they are not soon remedied they will make representation to the League of Nations.

SWARAJYA, 11TH JULY: "Indian States and Political Reforms" "The position of the Indian States in the movement for political reform is an important problem which has not attracted sufficient attention from our public men. It is needless to point out that in any scheme of Indian self-government, the position of the States in India will be a matter of the high-

est political importance They (the Princes) have refused to recognise the democratic principle, the idea of national unity and the fundamental ideal of Indian freedom. But even here signs are not wanting that the subjects of the Native States are alive to the seriousness of the problem. It is of the highest importance that this movement should be guided into a proper channel. It depends upon the Nationalists to see that the new-found enthusiasm of their compatriots in the States does not go to waste.

THE ANDHRA PATRIKA, 21ST APRIL, 1923, in its leader says : Though it is stated that the report on the political reforms in Mysore has been prepared with reference to the peculiar conditions of that province, yet they are of the same nature as the reforms in force in British India. They may be different in form, but in subject matter, they resemble each other. Neither the Mysore reforms nor those of British India grant the right of self-government. The Representative Assembly and Legislative Council are mere advisory bodies and there is no provision to restrain the arbitrariness of the Government The days are passed when even the people of the Native States mistook mirages for water. The ideas of freedom have sprouted among men. Any number of laws like the press laws may be enacted to suppress public opinion, but that will not avail. One great movement is agitating the people both in British India and in the Native States and it is bound to succeed.

SECTION 144

Referring to the order said to have been issued by the District Magistrate of Bangalore prohibiting the holding of any meetings, etc., by the members of the Congress Committee within the city limits, *Sampadabhyudaya*, 27th July, 1923 in a "communicated" English article writes :—
 " Reading between the lines, the order seems to be somewhat inspired by political wire-pullers of the British Government. If so why not the cat be let out of the bag and save much of the reputation and criticism to which our beloved Maharaja's Government will be subjected ?

VOKKALIGARA PATRIKA, 31ST OCTOBER : 27th October will mark the beginning of a new era in the administration in Mysore. His Highness's 21 years of administration, his present proclamation and gradual extension of popular rights and privileges from time to time have all furnished a splendid example for the other Indian States to follow.

1924 Nothing to note.

1925 Commenting on the presidential address delivered by Mr.

N. C. Kelkar at the Conference of Indian States Subjects, *Sampadabhyudaya*, 7th and 9th January, writes : Mr. Kelkar has hit the right nail on the head. The conditions of the Indian States can be made decidedly better if the Government of India and British Empire only care to do so Highly commending the thoughtful address of N. C. Kelkar and urging the abolition of Native States, a correspondent writes, The new role of the Princes will be in new fields, in the military, where they can undertake the glorious task of giving India real Dominion Status, in the diplomatic service and in the higher administrative posts.

THE ANDHRA PATRIKA, 15TH OCTOBER, writes : Needless it is to point out how the Mysore Press Act has proved detrimental to the development of journalism in that province. Many newspapers have ceased to be published. Though the Press Act was repealed in British India, we do not see the reason why it has not been repealed in Mysore.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN STATES : *Sampadabhyudaya*, 30th January, writes : This is a subject on which there has been much talk everywhere, but no useful suggestions are thrown on it. There was a time when it was considered that the Indian States were the hope of India, but the experience of recent years has undermined this confidence of many an honest patriot of the land. Barring a few advanced States like Mysore, in the majority of them, Indian States have been adopting medieval methods of administration The problem of the Indian States presents a twofold difficulty apart from the question of the relation of the States and the paramount power, there is the most important problem of the relation of the Princes and their subjects. It is this particular question which has been engaging the attention of the subjects of the Indian States. In the last Indian States Subjects' Conference at Cawnpore, it was resolved that the end and aim of the agitation in the States should be the attainment of responsible government by legitimate and peaceful means. It is a big question, that of the position of the Indian States in the scheme of Swaraj for India."

SAMPADABHYUDAYA, 28TH MAY, writes : Most of the Indian States to-day are in a pitiable condition. The Maharajas squander public money as they like and adopt coercive measures to put down the aspirations of the people. Under these circumstances, the indifference of the paramount power to the interests of the 70 millions of His Highness's subjects amounts to a neglect of duty pure and simple. We hope that Lord Irwin, our present Viceroy, will ere long move in the matter and appoint a Royal Commission to go into the question of Treaty Rights, etc.

VISVAKARNATAKA, 25TH JULY : *Shooting at the Binny Mills*, writes : Inspector Searle's conduct was characterized by utter ruthlessness. This may be the result of white plague. An Indian in his place would probably have acted differently. For he would know the value of Indian lives. The killing of a European in any Indian State is generally regarded as an offence doubly heinous. We have no doubt that Searle will get the punishment which his offence merits.

The problem of Indian States, 1927.

PRAJAMATA, 29TH DECEMBER, 1926 : Indian rulers who hold sway over their respective provinces have been enjoying no independence since the advent of the British and have remained mere tools in their hands. When agitation for Swaraj has been going on in British India, the British have organised a secret conference of these rulers either with the intention of diverting their attention from such agitation or perhaps from some other motive. It is not proper that the subjects of these States should remain dumb while their brethren in British India have been marching towards Swaraj. It is well for the future that the Congress, which hitherto paid no attention to the affairs of the Indian States, has revised its attitude on the subject.

SWARAJYA, 18TH JANUARY, HAS THE FOLLOWING : According to a Reuter report the *Manchester Guardian* seeks to wean the Indian Princes from autocracy by a gentle hint of the peril they would otherwise incur at the hands of the Swaraj Government.

SAMPADABHYUDAYA, 11TH JUNE, 1927, publishes an article by Hosakoppa Krishna Rao : It is deplorable that such an important subject as that involving the future relationship between the Indian States and the Government of India under the reform should be receiving so little attention as it does at present. The subjects of Indian States equally with those of British territory should have the privilege of seeking redress at the hands of the Central authority.

In continuation Sri Krishna Rao writes : Hitherto, the Congress was keeping a good distance from the subjects of Indian States because of its esteem and regard for the Indian Rulers. Now that the latter in their efforts to strengthen their own position are making it easy for the bureaucracy to tighten its control over the people of British India, it is natural that the Congress should espouse the cause of the subjects of the Indian States and that the latter should work hand in hand with the people of British India for obtaining Swaraj, for the term Swaraj precludes all idea of one kind of administration for one part of the country and another for another part of the country.

THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN STATES

VOKKALIGARA PATRIKA, 9TH JANUARY, 1929, says, Responsible Government is an eminently desirable thing no doubt for Indian States, but it is eminently undesirable that it should be the Congress composed of British Indian politicians that makes the demands Demands and Resolutions for change in the internal government of the States must properly come from the States people themselves.

Expressing the hope that the ensuing session of the Conference of the States subjects of Southern India, at Trivandrum under the presidency of Sir M. Visvesvaraya would prove to be a complete success, *Veerakesari*, 9th January, in a leading article says, it has to be stated that just at present the future of the Indian States is involved in utter confusion and uncertainty. The All-Parties Conference recently held has failed to assign to the subjects of the States their due place in the constitution, nor has a satisfactory decision been arrived at regarding the matter at the recent session of the INC. It is a matter of extreme regret that British Indian leaders, though they evince much lip-sympathy towards the States subjects, should be unwilling to recognise their rights and responsibilities. Everyone is, of course, aware that the States subjects will not derive the least benefit from the Butler Committee.

NAVAJEEVANA, 23RD AND 25TH JANUARY, 1929, says, We are Indians first and Mysoreans next. The members of the Simon Commission are uninvited guests of India. It has come to India to rob the Indians of their independence and to inform Britain that India is unfit to enjoy independence. The paper on 1st March reminds the people of Bangalore of the complete hartal observed by them on the day when the Commission landed on the shore of India and observes that the Government of Mysore are not in any way justified in spending the poor tax-payer's money.

Referring to the Presidential speech of Mr. M. Venkatakrishniah delivered at the Second Mysore State Congress held in Bangalore from 5th May onwards, *Lokahitaishi*, 7th May, 1929, says, we are one with Mr. Venkatakrishniah in what he says—the policy of the Congress is a most constructive one. It is unmixed loyalty to the British and Mysore throne.

Remarking that the recent Hindu-Muslim riots at Davangere in Mysore are but the outcome of the seeds of poison which have grown into a mighty tree in the recent Bangalore disturbances, which raised their head after the advent of Mirza as Dewan, *Swadeshabhimani (Mangalore)*, 28th June, says that he is behaving like a Moghal autocrat.

THE HINDU, 13TH AUGUST and SWARAJYA, 14TH AUGUST, urge the Princes to accept the invitation to them given by Pandit Motilal Nehru.

The following extracts from the Mysore Residency correspondence serve to explode the myth that the British Government were following a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the Indian States. A scare seems to have been created in Government circles during the struggle of 1931-1932, by the incessant interference of the Residency in the internal affairs of Mysore.

FILES RELATING TO NEWSPAPERS

Sub :—Residency correspondence on certain objectionable articles in *Sampadabhyudaya*.

Letter from the Residency D.O.No.Cl. 2849|337 dated 25th September, 1923, to the Dewan.

“ I enclose a copy of an article entitled ‘ Civil Disobedience ’ from the *Sampadabhyudaya* of the 10th September, 1923. This newspaper has been discussing British Indian politics very freely of late in a crescendo of offensiveness and hostility towards the British Government. It is for the Mysore authorities to consider whether the present article would not justify prosecution under Sec. 124A, I.P.C. The object of the recent series of articles is obviously to hold up the present Government in India to hatred and contempt.”

Extracts from the article entitled ‘ Civil Disobedience ’ in Sampadabhyudaya dated 10-9-1923. (In English).

“ The 25,000 people that courted imprisonment in the early days are instances which prove that Indians are not wanting in disobeying lawless laws We have lately had instances of its success in the Punjab and Nagpur. The Akalis in the Punjab and the satyagrahis in Nagpur have plainly shown that not only British justice and fairplay but also God the Almighty are on their side. It is a pity that India is torn up into many antagonistic communal camps and most of us in our slavish submission to lower passions forget the inestimable advantages that follow a united constitutional civil disobedience. Before we undertake such civil disobedience, we must merge our differences, of caste, colour, creed and community.

If people enact lawless laws for the gratification of their devilish ends they show they are animated by the spirit of Satan. Everyone is justified in offering passive resistance or satyagraha or non-cooperation. Mahatma Gandhi is for non-violent non-cooperation against Satan Even violent non-cooperation against Satan is justifiable. Death or Victory

ought to be the motto of those who embark upon non-cooperation against the upholders of lawless laws. If anyone believes that it is better to die than to be a bond slave, why should he be prevented from carrying out his programme of non-cooperation whether violent or non-violent? No patriot should fight shy of it. Millions of people have set an example of such fights. The history of the world, if closely examined, will be seen to be a history of the conflict between truth and untruth, between law and lawlessness, between justice and injustice, between fair play and foul play, and in short between God and Satan.

“We hope the Indian patriots will calmly think over the matter and realise whether it is not their duty to remove the indelible stain that has been allowed by selfishness to gather round the unblemished reputation of the Empire on which the sun never sets.”

With the letter from the Residency dated 10th October, 1923, to the Dewan, copies of two articles from the Private Secretary to the Resident entitled “India and the Empire” (25th September) and “The Congress” (21st September) are enclosed with the remark that “Mr. Barton would like to know what action you propose to take against the paper. You will remember that the question of suppressing that paper under the Mysore Press Regulation was considered last year. The Mysore Government then decided (please refer to the Chief Secretary’s letter, Confidential D.O. No. 1741/C.B. dated 5th October, 1922), merely to warn the paper, despite the fact that the opinion expressed by the Chief Judge of Mysore Chief Court on a series of articles published by the paper would have justified action under the Regulation. The reason given for not suppressing the paper was that proposals to revise the Press Regulation were then under consideration. A year has passed since the question was before the Mysore Government. The Press Regulation remains unaltered and the paper, heedless of warnings, continues its campaigns against the British Government.”

Extracts from the article “The Special Congress” dated 21st September, 1923, from ‘Sampadabhyudaya’.

“This met on 15th instant. It organised an effective campaign of civil disobedience for the speedy attainment of Swarajya. But the majority of the members of the Congress think that the magnitude of the crimes of the British Indian authorities against the country culminating as it has done in the outrageous decision of the Cabinet on the Kenya question is such that the delegates feel justified to go to any length in upholding the national honour. But the Delhi Congress thinks that all parties in India are of one mind so far as the un-British, the unjust and the unfair nature of the decision of the British Cabinet on the Kenya and other questions affecting the welfare and other vital interests of India are

concerned It is thought that it (C.D.) will drive the self-interested autocrats of India to un-British and unconstitutional excesses and that it will lead in the end to the mending or ending of the British Empire.

“When men are driven to desperation by a violent policy of trampling upon justice and fairplay under the iron heel of autocracy, people driven to desperation cannot be expected to adopt a saner policy. The autocratic Government of India can be brought to their knees by a wholesale non-violent non-cooperation. It is only on the moral and spiritual field, it is only by the social, moral, religious and spiritual boycott, that we can defeat the enemies of the British Empire—enemies whose savage selfishness leads them to acts of unconstitutional autocracy which are bound, in the fulness of time, to shake both the material and moral and spiritual foundations of the justest, fairest, most constitutional of the Empires that ever graced the surface of the Earth.”

Extract from the ‘Sampadabhyudaya’ of Mysore of the 25th September, 1923. “India and the Empire”.

“Even if India had been granted full equality, it is not clear how she could be within the Empire, if she wanted to give her message to the world. When Ireland, long associated with her, does not want to be within the ‘Commonwealth’, when South Africa threatens secession at every pinprick of Downing Street, when Canada where the large majority are Britons has a strong movement to be left alone, why should India alone on earth, separated by culture, temperament, race, civilisation, spurned at every step and frankly told to go to the wall or serve the white man, and when our lives are considered as trash, when it pleases the caprice of a Dyer or O’Dwyer or when the sea catches the mind of some tin god of the bureaucracy, why should India alone be within the Empire? This is the sentiment that has began to rise and fall in the minds of many Indians We have been kicked by an arrogant race and to save our honour we must kick back as violently or be damned for ever If they are bent upon treating us as slaves, we should see that they find Tartars in us They rely upon injustice. We rely upon British justice and fairplay. The latter is bound to prevail in the end Swaraj must be our chief object We should be prepared to bend the Empire to be just and fair. The Indian bureaucracy has no British soul and to create a soul for it, we must touch John Bull’s pocket. That is why the boycott of all British goods has been laid down by the Congress. It is now for the country to follow it religiously.”

In his reply the Dewan states, “This as well as your previous letter of 25th September are now being considered by the Mysore Government and I shall let you have a reply after the Darbar.”

Sri M. Venkatakrishniah, Proprietor, 'The Sadhwi and Sampadabhyudaya' in a letter dated 22-10-1923 to the Dewan states :

"After conversation with you on the 14th inst. I read and carefully pondered over the articles to which objection was taken. After the warning I received from you, I told my editors that the policy of the papers should be unmixed loyalty to the British and Mysore thrones and that the servants of the Government may be criticised when they go wrong. After my conversation with you, I came to the conclusion that the situation at present is such that the criticism of even the servants of the Government of India may be dropped. I have issued instructions to my editors accordingly. Permit me to assure you that the policy you recommended will be religiously observed."

In a subsequent letter dated 30-10-1923, Shri Venkatakrishniah states, "in continuation of my previous letters on the policy of 'Sampadabhyudaya' and 'Sadhwi', I beg to inform you that a review of files of the two papers will convince you that we have always been great admirers of British love of justice and fairplay. India as a whole and Mysore in particular are under a deep debt of gratitude to the British throne as well as to the British Government and the British people, for the peace, prosperity and the gradual advancement in the growth of popular representation in the administration. Where individuals were acting in ways likely to compromise the dignity of British sovereignty, we exposed the shortcomings of such individuals.

"I beg to assure you that earnest efforts will be made that no extracts, correspondence or articles, original or otherwise will be published, if they are of a nature calculated to create anti-British feelings or lessen our love, loyalty and devotion to the British throne, the British Government and Government of India."

Extracts from the reply of the Dewan to the Resident dated 4th November 1923.

As regards the article enclosed with Mr. Barton's D.O. letter dated 25th September 1923 there is room for doubt as to whether a prosecution can be successfully maintained.

Mr. Venkatakrishnayya has now given assurances to me that he will in future avoid the publication in his papers of any articles, correspondence or extracts of an anti-British character. Although assurances previously given by Mr. Venkatakrishnayya have not been of much value, there is reason to hope that he will in future avoid objectionable matter referred to. Accordingly the Government have decided to give one more chance to Mr. Venkatakrishnayya, before considering the question of taking any other steps.

Extracts from Venkatakrishnayya's letter are enclosed.

The letters of Mr. Cater, Private Secretary to the Resident, together with the opinion of the Council was submitted to the Maharaja. The Council considered the matter on 22nd November, 1923, when it was decided that a last chance may be given to Mr. Venkatakrishnayya in view of the assurances given by him in his letters to the (Dewan) dated 22nd and 30th October. Accordingly the accompanying reply dated 4th November was sent to Mr. Cater. On 12-11-1923, Shri M. Venkatakrishnayya was informed of the decision of the Government. "I am desired to state that the assurances now given by you have been noted by the Government and they hope that the policy now indicated in your letters will be strictly followed in conducting the paper in future."

The paper cutting of 'Sampadabhyudaya' dated 13-9-1923 on the present condition of Mysore, the open letter to the Dewan, 9-10-1923, "Surprising Decision and Patriotism" dated 15-8-1923, have been noticed by the Government.

Sampadabhyudaya of 26th November 1921. How to save the British Empire (contributed by Dharmaraya).

" Several Indians are preparing themselves to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Swaraj, to suffer all worst effects of incarceration and even to die, just like the Moplas who died in the train Parents have begun to feel as glad of the death of their children for the sake of freedom as they would if they were blessed with life, as long as the sun and moon endure believing that God is with those who stand by truth and Dharma. He is not in the least afraid of military strength on which autocracy rests. Those who are prepared to sacrifice their lives have no fear whatever. It is now under consideration whether if Mr. Gandhi is hanged, the present revolt against authority would cease. In several parts of this world many countries, of their own accord, came under British rule. But now there have sprung up enemies among the British people alone due to Government's unlawful and autocratic administration. The Irish people have become their foes. The people of South Africa do not like them. Even Indians who were like sheep have begun to oppose the British Government like bulls, tigers and lions without regard to their lives."

The Government requested the Government Advocate to furnish the Government whether a prosecution for an offence under the Indian Penal Code would sustain (30-11-1921).

Residency letter dated 22nd February, 1922 : Two letters of Sri Venkatakrishnayya are enclosed.

"The letters have been acknowledged with the simple comment, that

it is beyond the province of the Resident to discuss with the Editor, the policy of the Newspapers controlled by him."

"In any case it is useless to argue with an individual of the mentality displayed by Mr. Venkatakrishnayya. . . . The Resident does not wish that he should be punished but he feels that he must emphatically repeat the representation already made with a view to removing from this seditious agitator the power to spread lies and calumny against the British Government through the medium of his papers. . . . The Resident considers that the paper should be suppressed, as it can be under the law in Mysore State. . . . Mr. Barton thinks that the British Government may fairly expect the Durbar to cooperate with them in an effort to establish the distinction between the liberty and license of the Press. It is satisfactory that the Palace pension of the Editor has been withdrawn. . . This action will not necessarily restrain his activities. Apart from the abuse and insults poured out on the British Government, there is the question, in which both the Governments are deeply interested, namely, whether through the Editor of the "Sampathabhyudaya" a small group of men in the State—mostly Brahmins—irritated by the Miller Report, are to prepare the soil for revolution in Mysore. That is the ultimate object and there is no use blinking the fact."

Extract from the letter of Sri Venkatakrishnayya to the Resident dated 17-2-1922.

"The advice of the members of Government is most indefinite. I asked them to lay down a definite policy for those papers, so that I may act up to it. They did not favour me with the policy. They simply said "let the tone of the papers be non-anti-British." . . . Again and again the Mysore Government tell me and write to me that both the policy and the tone of the papers are objectionable. . . . I am told that the poor pension given to me probably in recognition of over 50 years of public work in Mysore will be stopped. I told them that they may have the pleasure of doing so, that the pension never elated me and that the loss of it would never depress or disappoint me and that it would, on the other hand give me more freedom of action, if it was stopped."

Sri Venkatakrishnayya acknowledges the benefits of British rule. But he says, "Loyalty and gratitude do not consist in silly, stupid and implicit obedience to orders given without any foresight. The defects of those whom we love should be pointed out and every effort should be made to get wrongs righted."

" For nearly 50 years I served the State and the British Government most loyally. I see that I can no longer do so. I further see the hand of Residency in this uncomfortable situation.

" If the Government of Mysore and you, their friend, philoso-

pher and guide are bent upon a policy of unjust and unfair pricks, I shall retire from the field of governing the policy of the papers and bid you and Mysore Government good bye.

“Hoping that you will kindly consider all these questions and enable me to mend or end these papers.”

Second letter to the Resident dated 18th February, 1922: Request permission to see the Resident at Mysore, “to have the benefit of your advice in the matter, so that we may adopt a policy of constructive loyalty.”

The Executive Council at its meeting on 20th December 1921 decided “to enforce the Mysore Newspaper Regulation in the case of the three papers, the Hilal, the Sampadabhyudaya and the Mysore Patriot after holding the quasi-judicial enquiry provided for in the Government order of 22nd April, 1918 which in the present case may be held by the Chief Judge.”

Notices were issued to the three papers, the Editor of Hilal for promoting hatred towards the British Government and the Editor of Sampadabhyudaya and Mysore Patriot for publishing articles and correspondence calculated to produce ill-feeling and hostility towards that Government (British) and misrepresenting the actions of His Highness's Government so as to bring it into contempt and create dissensions between classes of His Highness's subjects.

The action taken by the Government was reported to the Residency in a letter dated 6-3-1922.

Sri Venkatakrishniah in a letter dated 8-3-1922 to the Chief Secretary states: “Turning now to the peculiar time selected for the proposed action against these papers, I cannot help feeling great sorrow. British India closely following on whose heels Mysore Government passed its Press Regulation has determined to repeal its Press Law. At such a juncture and when we fondly believe, placing faith in the pronouncements of the Dewan in his closing address to the last session of the Representative Assembly, that the “Mysore Press Regulation” is about to be replaced by a comparatively innocuous regulation, that it should have decided to have recourse to its provisions is indeed an irony of fate. It is indeed a double irony that it should have fallen to the lot of the first nobleman of the State to put such law in motion. It is a triple irony, that the fair name of Mysore, “the Model State”, and the pure and disinterested nobility of its beloved Sovereign should be tarnished at such a juncture.”

In conclusion he pleads for a full and open judicial enquiry instead of the quasi-judicial enquiry proposed by Government.

Sir Leslie Miller, who conducted the quasi-judicial enquiry, gave his findings after hearing the parties concerned in the case. In the Report, he dwelt on the general impression created on the minds of the public as well as individual articles objected to by Government.

Government Order on the Report, 2nd October 1922. "In view of the opinion expressed in the Report of the Chief Judge, the Government would be justified in taking action against these three papers under the Mysore Newspapers Regulation. The Government are however reluctant to take this extreme measure, especially as they have decided to repeal the present Regulation and replace it by another enactment with less stringent provisions, and they consider it sufficient to warn the editors of these newspapers against the publication of objectionable articles of the kind which formed the subject of the recent enquiries."

The request of the Editor of Sampadabhyudaya and Mysore Patriot to get a copy of the Report of the Enquiry was negatived by the Government.

F. No. 21/30-31 : Action taken re : certain objectionable leaflets printed at the Caxton Press, Bangalore.

RESIDENCY LETTER DATED 8TH SEPTEMBER, 1930

"Will you kindly examine the enclosed leaflets printed at the Caxton Press in Bangalore City, which are being distributed in the Madras Presidency? I am sure that you will agree that it is most undesirable that such publications should be allowed to emanate from Mysore territory and I hope that you will be able to take steps to put a stop to this practice."

LEAFLETS : TO THE STUDENTS

Sedition be my song. Freedom be thou my soul. Youths!

You, the flowers of Indian manhood. Are you prepared today to take your due share in the shaping of your country's destiny?

COMRADES !

In this hour of National tribulation is your place within the easy seclusion of the lecture halls or is it in the vanguard of the army of Independence? Standing on the verge of a new annunciation we greet you in the name of our motherland and demand of you an answer whether you will today skulk in your schools and colleges and not join this great struggle for independence.

T. SADASIVAN,
Secretary, Coimbatore.

AND SO

The climax is reached. All the members of the Working Committee and all others are snatched away from our midst. It is a challenge thrown by this bureaucracy to the Manhood of India.

A system of Government based upon merciless exploitation of unnum-

bered millions of India deserves to be destroyed without delay. A Government whose existence is thwarted by the free movements of a Mahatma Gandhi, the very embodiment of truth and non-violence, stands self-condemned. No sacrifice is too great to achieve this end. No price is too much for the attainment of freedom.

Take your stand in the forefront of the non-violent army of Indian Independence and carry on the fight to the finish. Success shall be ours and truth shall ever win.

(Sd.) T. SADASIVAN,
Secretary, T.N.C.C.,
Coimbatore.

These leaflets printed at the Caxton Press were forfeited by the order of Madras Government dated 6th September, 1930. (action taken under Section 99-A of Code of Criminal Procedure 1889).

The Proprietor of the Press gave a written understanding not to allow such objectionable matter to be printed in his press. (Letter from Narayana Iyengar, dated 10th September, 1930).

F. No. 22/30-31 : Action taken against 'Subodha'

RESIDENCY LETTER DATED 9TH SEPTEMBER, 1930

"I am directed to forward for such action as the Government of Mysore may consider suitable, a copy of an article headed "The Altar of India's Sacrifice" published in the August 1930 number of the newspaper 'Subodha' of Bangalore.

ALTAR OF INDIA'S SACRIFICE: 'The Subodha' in the course of a lengthy serial historical article under this heading by B. Lakshmana Deva Vidyarthi, Asram, Baroda, quoting various writers purporting to describe the political intrigues in the days of the Peshwas and Tippu Sultan leading to the consolidation of British power in India, as the following :

Let the readers consider carefully how the Statecraft of the English and their thirst for territory made them come to this country like wolves in sheepskin and what enormities and outrages they committed Nana to the end faced thousands of calamities for the freedom of the country and offered his life at the altar of India's sacrifice.

POLITICAL AGITATORS

File No. 78/23-24 : Action taken on the objectionable speech delivered by Mr. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao at the Political Conference at Hariharapur :

*Extract from the letter of the Private Secretary to the Maharaja
Dated 28th January, 1924, to the Dewan :*

“ I am directed to draw your attention to a report which appears in the ‘Swarajya’ of 26th January, 1924, of the proceedings of a Political Conference held at Hariharpur on the 21st January.

“ The speech delivered on the occasion by Hosakoppa Krishna Rao is most objectionable in tone and sentiment. His reference particularly to His Highness is in extremely bad taste if not disloyal. It seems desirable that such wild language should not go unnoticed and I am to request you to kindly let me know what notice you would propose taking of the conduct of a man who is making himself notorious as a political agitator of a particularly mischievous type.”

The letter is signed by Mirza M. Ismail.

Extract from the speech of Sri H. Krishna Rao appearing ‘Swarajya’ dated 26th January, 1924.

Swarajya correspondent reports from Hariharpur that a meeting of influential and important patriots of Mysore was held at the Mutt, Hariharpur on 20th January. “ The meeting was representative in character inasmuch as lawyers, landlords, merchants and last but not least Congressmen also took part in the deliberations.”

Mr. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao's welcome address : Extracts.

“ The object is no other than that of starting a political National Movement in Mysore for rousing the national consciousness for the supreme struggle of reforms and freedom.

MYSORE REFORMS

“ While introducing the Royal Proclamation announcing the long looked for reforms in the last Session of the Representative Assembly, the Dewan made the amazing assertion that the announcement was spontaneous and that there was no demand for reforms from the people. Any casual observer of the trend of public opinion in Mysore could not have failed to note the extreme dissatisfaction of the people with the existing system of irresponsible administration. The long tolerated bureaucratic arrogance, the fetish of prestige and efficiency, impatience of unofficial criticism, the frigid or even cynical disregard of popular feeling, intolerance of non-official advice or intervention, sneering contempt of non-official endeavours, self-centred assumption of superior knowledge tended to intensify the unrest born of a long and deep-felt dissatisfaction.

TRADING ON LOYALTY

The Reforms present us with an autocratic ruler responsible to no one and bound by no constitution, ancient or modern.

The divine right of kings as someone said perished on the block with Charles I and at this stage of the world's progress it is too preposterous a claim to make on behalf of any ruler however good and generous Everywhere the Executive has the whip-hand and the legislature is nowhere. There is not even the remote chance of a revision of the constitution at the desire of the people who have to depend on the whims and fancies of the ruler and his no less autocratic Government who are to remain the judge, jury and party all rolled into one to determine and decide upon the future destiny of the people. It is significant that there is no mention in the proclamation of a word about any form of responsible government.

These attempts of bureaucracy to entrench themselves behind the throne trading upon the loyalty and respect of the people for the Ruler are despicable and reprehensible.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The few privileges that have been given with regard to legislation, taxation and expenditure are wholly neutralised by too many powers of reservation and restoration vested not even in the Crown, but in the bureaucracy The revision of the Constitution being a banned subject, the legislative powers of the Council are hardly worth possessing.

THE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY : In spite of 43 years' experience and faithful services rendered, the Assembly is yet to remain a consultative body without a president or even a vice-president of its own choice.

Extracts of the Speech from Daily Express dated 30th January 1924

WHAT IS OUR IDEAL ?

In considering this question we are met face to face with two unalterable and permanent elements, a hereditary Ruler as representing the executive Government, and the Representation of the people. With these two prime factors we have to construct a suitable policy containing all the essentials of responsible government as understood in the modern political world.

HOW TO ACHIEVE IT

There is no use of making verbal representations to achieve the above objects Without a trained corps of workers pledged to serve the nation at all costs and braving all risks, it is no use to hope for tangible results from any political movement.

*D.O. No. 2471|dated 1-2-1924 from the Chief Secretary to
Deputy Commissioner, Kadur*

Extract : "Government consider the speech delivered by Mr. Krishna Rao to be most objectionable in tone and sentiment. It contains references to His Highness the Maharaja which savour of disloyalty and sedition. Before deciding what notice, if any, should be taken of this speech, it is necessary to ascertain from Mr. Krishna Rao whether the newspaper report of the speech is correct and also whether he has any explanations to offer as regards the objectionable passages referred to."

*D. O. from the Deputy Commissioner, Kadur, to Chief Secretary,
dated 1st September, 1924.*

"I have the honour to submit for the information of Government copies of reports received from the Police and the Amildar, Koppa, regarding a Conference of people held at Hariharpur Mutt on 20th and 21st for the purpose of forming a Central Political organisation in the State designated as 'Mysore Rashtra Maha Sabha.'

Police Report : The Committee consists of the following :

President : Shri K. Ranga Iyengar.

Secretary : „ H. Krishna Rao.

Members : „ Raghavan.

„ P. R. Ramiah.

Extracts from : Letter of Sri H. Krishna Rao to the Deputy Commissioner, Kadur District, dated 6th February, 1924.

"I find that although the translation of my speech into English has been faithfully rendered, yet the passages appearing therein are quotations detached from their contexts in the original

Secondly the passages referred to by you and quoted in the 'Swarajya' do not make any reference to the person either directly or even remotely of His Highness or of the present ruling house of Mysore. The Reforms recently promulgated have been criticised and it is merely an academic discussion of abstract ideas of State, Government and rulers I have the greatest respect for the person of our Ruler"

Opinion of the Council 14th February

"The Council are of the opinion that the explanation offered by Mr. Hosakoppa Krishna Rao is totally unsatisfactory, and while appreciating his assurances of loyalty to His Highness, they consider that the tone of his speech and particularly references made therein to the ruler are highly objectionable and cannot be allowed to go unnoticed. He may therefore

be warned to avoid such language or similar references to His Highness in future and informed that in the event of his failing to do so, Government will be obliged to take drastic action."

F. No. 167/23-24 : Refers to the political activities of one Mr. Jayaramachar in Bangalore. He used to collect subscriptions for Belgaum Congress and through his Harikatha performances further the aims of the Congress.

F. No. 103/24-25 : Action taken on the letter from the Residency regarding the visit of Mr. Gandhi to Bangalore :

RESIDENCY LETTER DATED 16TH MARCH, 1925 :

"I am desired to say that reports have reached the Resident that the Mysore State Congress Committee have invited Mr. Gandhi to pay a visit to Bangalore.

" It is anticipated that a public meeting will also be arranged at which Mr. Gandhi will speak.

"Assuming the invitation is accepted by Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Barton would be glad to know if the Mysore Government propose to take any steps to prohibit the procession or the meeting or both, in which event similar suitable action will be taken in the C. & M. Station.

"It should be possible, by taking timely action against the Organisers, to rob the visit of any political significance without any direct interference with Mr. Gandhi himself."

Letter of the Officiating Dewan to Resident dated 20th March, 1925 :

"Government are of opinion that no action need be taken in connection with the visit of Mr. Gandhi to Bangalore. Mr. Gandhi is not preaching the subversive propaganda which he was preaching before. His activities are now confined to khaddar and removal of untouchability, and the Khilafat agitation too has altogether died out. Mr. Gandhi and his followers are not in any way interfered with in British India In these days of peace and tranquility in British India it does not appear advisable to take any extra measures beyond the ordinary Police measures for maintaining order. Moreover, Indian States are outside Mr. Gandhi's propaganda Any interference on the part of the Government will not only be unpopular, but will excite the feelings of the people against it"

F. No. 104/28-29 : Speech delivered by Mr. Krishna Rao Muduvédkar, a political agitator from the Dharwar District.

SPEECH AT GANDHI MAIDAN ON 2ND DECEMBER, 1928 :

" Butler Committee has been appointed to go into the obli-

gations and duties of the Indian States. The Committee arrived in Indian States and took evidence in camera, in a dark room."

File No. 97 of 32-34 Action taken against Mr. S. Venkatapathaiya for his book "In the Wake of the Indian Ordinances."

RESIDENCY LETTER DATED, 11TH JANUARY, 1933 TO THE DEWAN :

The Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, state that copies of a book entitled "In the Wake of Indian Ordinances" bearing the name of S. Venkatapathaiya, Advocate, Bangalore City and purporting to have been printed at the Indian Press, Balepet, Bangalore, were distributed at the Unity Conference, Allahabad.

2. The book is a miscellaneous collection of Press cuttings, etc., regarding the alleged atrocities of the police and the Government in dealing with the Civil Disobedience Movement after the promulgation of the Ordinances in 1932.

3. The Honourable Resident suggests that a search of the Press might be advisable.

From the Dewan to the Resident dated 3rd March, 1933.

Only two copies of the book available . . . An examination of the contents of the book is necessary before the question of any action that can be taken against its author under law can be considered.

109 of 32-33 Arrest of Mr. Venkatapathaiya

FROM RESIDENT (SECRETARY) TO CHIEF SECRETARY DATED 2ND AUGUST 1933

I am directed to forward herewith a warrant received from District Magistrate, North Kanara, for the arrest of S. Venkatapathaiya, Advocate, Bangalore City, and to request that necessary action may kindly be taken for the execution of the warrant under Section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act XIV of 1908.

FROM THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE TO CHIEF SECRETARY
DATED 8TH AUGUST, 1933

Mr. S. Venkatapathaiya, Advocate, Bangalore City, was arrested on 7th August 1933 and handed over to the Commissioner of Police, Civil and Military Station at 8 p.m. as per orders of District Magistrate, Bangalore.

The Law Association, Shimoga, in a letter to Chief Secretary dated 18th September, communicated a resolution of protest against the arrest of
"One of the distinguished citizens of Bangalore."

EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL MEETING RESOLUTION.

"This association records its emphatic protest against the arrest and surrender to the British Police of Sri S. Venkatapathaiya, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, one of the distinguished citizens of Mysore, and is of opinion that the said arrest and surrender without extradition proceedings is an encroachment on the liberties and rights of the citizens of Mysore."

Resolution passed unanimously.

File No. 55 of 31-32. Political activities of Mr. T. Subramanya.
Letter from Inspector-General of Police to Chief Secretary dated
26th January 1932.

" The audience were addressed by Mr. T. Subramanya. The nature of the speech is anti-British and misleading."

"Mr. T. Subramanya is a confirmed political agitator. He should be warned by the Commissioner and if he persists in making any more such speeches, he should be proceeded against under the law such as security for good behaviour." (M.M.I. 4-2-32).

File No. 56/31-32. Intercepted letter from Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mysore, to President, Bangalore P.C.C. (From Resident to Dewan).
8th January 1932.

Dear Sir,

I am willing to join your volunteer troops The National spirit made me to join the war My age is 15."

Intercepted letter from Hoysala Venkataraman to Mr. K. Suryanarayana Rao, Shanbhogue, Kankanahalli (8-2-1932).

" . . . We are both working here. We are a batch of 35 trained workers."

" In olden days Indian warriors have plucked aside clinging wives and rushed to the battlefield. What we are doing is too small. We have not won Swaraj because we have not yet done biggest thing in our life and done the highest sacrifice we are capable of"

"Karnatak is attempting no-tax campaign. Men and money are needed"

MYSORE CONGRESS

File No. 86 of 30-31. Political Activities in Mysore in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement in British India.

RESIDENT'S LETTER DATED 20TH OCTOBER, 1930, TO DEWAN.

1. I have the honour to enclose a copy of a letter from the Government of Bombay regarding the difficulties which they experience from the activities in connection with the civil disobedience movements of persons from Mysore State and to request that you will kindly have enquiries made of any action which the Government of Mysore proposes to take to put a stop to the activities in question.

3. In view of the grave difficulties with which the Government of Bombay are confronted, I am sure that the Government of Mysore will do their best to render assistance in the matter.

Letter dated 13th October 1930, from the Government of Bombay.

I am directed by the Governor in Council to state that a large number of subjects of the Mysore State have recently come into the Dharwar District of this Presidency and taken part in political work under the control of the Hindustan Sevadala, Hubli

In view of the large number of these Mysorean agitators and the regularity with which they are penetrating into these two Districts, it would appear that there must be some Central Organisation within the State limits which controls and guides their action"

*From Inspector General of Police to Chief Secretary dated,
1st November 1930.*

" I have the honour to state that the movement so far as our information shows is sponsored and conducted by the local Congress Committee of which K. T. Bhasyam, Advocate, Bangalore, is the President and that the local Kannada daily newspaper "Tai Nadu" issues propaganda in favour of and in instigation of the Movement."

*From Inspector General of Police to Chief Secretary dated,
21st March, 1931.*

"At the outset I thought it might be necessary to suppress these people with a heavy hand, but mature consideration has shown that their influence is very restricted and their potentialities for harm limited.

2. In respect of persons, I have already reported that the local Congress Committee has been responsible for and has conducted the sending

of persons from the Mysore State to the Bombay Presidency in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement.

5. In order to be prepared for any action that may be deemed necessary hereafter against the political leaders, I am having "dossiers" compiled regarding each of them, wherein will be recorded a history of their activities and the speeches they have made.

(Sd.) HAMILTON,
Inspector General of Police.

Brief History of Bangalore District Congress Committee.

The Bangalore District Congress Committee was started in the year 1920. In this particular year the members of the All India Congress Committee toured round the whole of India vigorously advocating the Congress Movement At this critical juncture the following persons, viz. M/s. Bhima Rao, H. V. Subramanyam, Ramlal Tivari, D. V. Gundappa, K. Narayana Iyengar, S. N. M. Razvi, K. T. Bhashyam, K. Shamanna, T. T. Sharma, B. S. Sanjeeva Rao, enlisted themselves as Members of All-India Congress Committee.

The main object of the Congress at its inception was to follow the All-India Congress Committee closely in all its activities and in furtherance of the object thereof to carry out *by all means* the mandates issued by All-India and the Karnatic Congress Committee.

File No. 4 of 31-32. Press Statement of Shri K. T. Bhashyam on Flag Question.

GANDHIJI TO CORRESPOND WITH MYSORE GOVERNMENT.

As a result of consultations with Pandit Nehru, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Rajagopalachari, Gandhiji told Mr. K. T. Bhashyam and Mr. Ramaswamy Iyengar of the Bangalore Congress Committee that he would take up the flag question himself with the Mysore Government before asking the people to resort to direct action.

STATEMENT BY MR. K. T. BHASHYAM IYENGAR TO GANDHIJI

"You are aware that in the Mysore State, we are carrying on Congress activities for 15 years in strict accordance with the injunctions of the Indian National Congress We have been hoisting the National Flag in all public places, and on all occasions of Congress activities.

"When we were in Karachi, we were inspired by the Flagstaff there to put up a similar one in Bangalore. It was a tall majestic pole 60 feet high erected near the Railway Station. Hundreds of labour-

ers worked at it and put it in time to enable Nehru to hoist the National Flag on 2nd June 1931 It was a land-mark in the history of the Congress work in the State ”

REFERENCE FROM DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE, BANGALORE,
DATED 17TH JULY, 1931 TO CHIEF SECRETARY

A copy of the report received from District Superintendent of Police enclosed.

“ I need hardly add that while the ideals of the Congress are accepted by a large section of the people in the City, it is a significant circumstance that in the personnel of organisation of the two District Congress Committees organised in the City, there is not a single person of position or standing.”

HISTORY OF MR. P. M. RAMA SHARMA

“ He is entirely depending on labour funds collected from poor labourers. He is always misleading them and goads them to strike. He was responsible for all the labour strikes that took place in mills in the City. During 1929 he formed a Volunteer Corps of labourers and used them against Police. ”

HISTORY OF MR. K. T. BHASHYAM

“ . . . In the beginning of March 1928, he joined Mr. Rama Sharma and brought about a series of Mill strikes He is a very insincere and unscrupulous person and poses himself as a great Congress leader ”

File No. 20 of 31-32

Abstract from a letter from Nehru to Secretary, Bangalore District Congress Committee, (Sent by Inspector General of Police to Chief Secretary—2nd October 1931).

Letter is dated 18th September, 1931. Nehru has stated that the Mysore Government is not technically bound by the truce between the Congress and the Government nor is the Congress Committee, so far as Mysore Government is concerned. . . . Thus it is open for the Committee to take such defensive action as may be fit both in respect of the flag question and the picketing of liquor shops. . . . He adds that “ we have tried and done our best to come to some terms with the Mysore State on the matter in dispute and given them every chance to alter their policy. But they have not made any substantive change.”

Intercepted letter from Assistant Secretary to Secretary, All India Congress Committee. (K.P.C.C.)

The Secretary, All India Congress Committee, received a letter in English dated 17-8-31 asking for 100 copies of each of the Hindi and Urdu translation of All-India Congress Committee Resolution on Fundamental Rights and saying that the Mysore District Congress Committee was asking for definite instructions regarding the hoisting of the new National Flag in Public Offices, especially on the Flag Day the 30th August 1931.

File No. 30/31-32

Intercepted letter from V. S. Narayan Rao to Nehru. (Copy) 26-9-31

“Your considered letter 57|2297 dated 18th September 1931 regarding the Prohibitory Order issued by Government of Mysore. . . . For the present I must regretfully state that there is much lull in the activities of the Congress. . . . By then (after R.T.C.) however, we will be preparing the field as directed by you and will let you know the result from time to time.”

File No. 51 of 27-28

Resolution of the Bangalore City Municipal Council re : the observance of the Hartal in connection with the landing of the Simon Commission on 3-2-28

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

Mr. G. B. Raghavendrachar moved the following resolution which was seconded by Mr. N. Balakrishnayya and supported by Mr. Belur Srinivas Iyengar.

“In view of the fact that Friday the 3rd February 1928 has been declared as a national Hartal on account of the landing of the Simon Commission in Bombay, this Council resolves that the Municipal Offices and Primary Schools under the control of the Municipality be closed on the 3rd February 1928”.

The proposition was put to vote, 14 voted ‘for’ and none ‘against’, carried Nem Con.

The Municipal Council held their meeting on the 4th, Saturday and resolved, “This Council records its deep resentment at the act of the Commissioner in not giving effect to the resolution dated 1st February 1928, to close the Municipal institutions on the 3rd February 1928, and in token thereof adjourns the meeting.”

D.O. No. 4564|CB DATED 19TH FEBRUARY, 1928

“It is a matter for regret that the Council should have sought to associate themselves with a Movement which does not concern the Municipal

administration of the City. It is manifestly undesirable for Municipal Councils in the State to import controversial politics of British India into their deliberations or to lend the weight of their support to movements likely to be subversive of law and order."

File No. 2/31-32. City Municipality's Resolution

FROM DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, BANGALORE TO CHIEF SECRETARY

DATED 13TH JULY, 1931

I submit for information, a report received from Superintendent of Police regarding the Special Municipal meeting held on 9th instant to consider the resolution about the lease of Dharmambudi tank to the Local Congress Committee. . . . "

RESOLUTION 1

"That this Council resolves to lease for a period of 5 years at a rental of Rs. 6 to the City Congress Committee for holding public meetings."

AN ADDITION TO RESOLUTION NO. 3 IS MADE

ADDITION

In exercising this right either by inviting reasonable Congress leaders here or by welcoming them when they come here, this Committee will try to understand the mind of the Government in the matter and thus try to avoid embarrassment to them.

File No. 100/24-25

Action taken against the outside Political agitators to the State.

Government Order dated 15-3-24. Extract to all Deputy Commissioners:

"Notorious political agitators habitually making inflammatory speeches may be prohibited by the District Magistrate from making any speeches in the State and in case they show any inclination to disobey the orders, the matter should be reported to Government with a view to taking action to remove them from the State.

2. "In case of others not coming under the above category, no interference by way of requiring previous assurances as to the substance of any addresses they propose to deliver etc. is necessary. But if any such persons make inflammatory speeches they may also be then dealt with as indicated in para (1) or prosecuted.

3. "Whether any outside politician is to be regarded as "notorious political agitator" or not will depend on the circumstances of each case

and the dossier of the individual in question as found in the records of the C.I.D.

“ The above instructions apply only to the case of outside politicians coming into the State with a view to deliver speeches. The District Magistrates and the Police should continue to watch the activities of the local Congress Committee and other organisations of the kind and bring to the notice of the Government any objectionable features in their work and in public addresses delivered under their auspices.”

These extracts from “ The Hindu ” and other papers for the years 1884 to 1893—from the inception of the National Congress to its growth as a confident and assertive organ of national opinion—give a picture of the early attempts of the national body to attain political maturity.

THE HINDU

MARCH, 1884.

A reader signing himself “ A Graduate ” writes a letter (under the title “ The Fate of Educated Men ”) and deplores the plight of the 100 graduates Madras University turns out annually and accuses Government of not employing them. He says, “. . . . This is a sheer mistake, their independent spirit and upright behaviour being mistaken for disloyalty”. (Friday 7th, p. 5).

Under the item, “ News and Notes ”, the following announcement of a new political organisation being formed in Calcutta.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga in the chair, it was resolved to form the Indian Union ; “ the object of the promoters of the organisation is to act in concert with the other public bodies in India ”, its membership including about all the Hindu Barristers of the Calcutta High Court (two of the chief promoters being Messrs. Patil and Ghose). Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee elected Chief Honorary Secretary. Many leading families have cast in their lot with it. Many High Court pleaders supported it. (Friday 14th, p. 2).

Announcement of the formation of an “ Indian Constitutional Association ” whose prospectus stated, “ this Association has become a political necessity in order to resist the introduction into India of dangerous measures altogether unsuited to the country ”. It also aimed to study laws, and secure greater representation for non-officials. President : Maharaja of Darbhanga. (Monday 17th, p. 5).

Announcement under "News and Notes" that the Indian Constitutional Association will be warmly supported by Anglo-Indians in England. A meeting of the Executive of the London Committee formed to oppose the Bengal Tenancy Bill (Monday 24th, p. 2).

In a meeting of the Chintadripet Literary Society, Mr. S. Subramania Iyer addressing on "The Political Future of India", accepts popular sovereignty "and admits parliamentary government." (Monday 12th, p. 5).

MAY, 1884.

Announcement of the formation of the Muthialpet Patriotic Association and of lectures in Tamil. (Friday 23rd, p. 4).

Announcement of Bellary Native Club, mentioned in a letter of a Bellarian; also mentions "... But there are rumours in the air that it is to be converted into a political body, to discuss legitimate question!" (Friday 30th, p. 4).

SEPTEMBER, 1884.

Under column "Local", announcement of Native Debating Society, the first topic for debate being: "Is a National Union possible in India?" The Debating Society was an allied organ of the City Union. (Monday 15th, p. 5).

DECEMBER, 1884.

Announcement of a new association to promote the social progress of the Hindus, to be called "The Hindu Social Improvement Association". It also had, among other aims, a political one, namely, to quote the prospectus, the creation and spread of strong public opinion in favour of liberal ideas and practices. (Monday 8th, p. 5).

FEBRUARY, 1885.

Under column "Extracts", quotation from *The Indian Mirror* on the starting of a new political association in Bombay, which says, "No time should be lost in starting National Associations or National Indian Associations, if you would like to call it, in every town and village worth the name." (Monday 9th, p. 4).

Under the caption "Political Life in Bombay" a quotation from *Indu Prakash* of Bombay, by "A Political Rishi", refers to the new political association formed last Saturday (*i.e.*, 7th February 1885). The leading lights, Dadabhai Naoroji, Nowrojee Furdoonji, Rao Saheb Mandlik, "the legal Trio" *i.e.*, Badruddin, Mehta and Telang, then Javerilal Umashankar, lastly, Damodar Thakersy; "And it should not be forgotten that, except a few, the rest illustrate in their lives the most notable feature of the

time—I mean the growing capacity and intelligence of the middle class, how these classes are rapidly gaining influence and becoming a power in the city.” (Monday 9th, p. 7).

Under the caption, “The New Political Association of Bombay”, an editorial comment quotes Mr. Tyabjee, a leader of the Association, as saying, “. in times of excitement and agitation it might exercise a moderating influence upon the popular feeling and it might possess strength and wisdom to guide the currents of public feelings in the channels that, while widening the basis of our popular rights, may at the same time add strength and security to the empire, and draw closer together the bonds of friendship and harmony which at present happily exist between Her Majesty’s Eastern and Western Empire.” (Wednesday 11th, p. 3).

JUNE, 1885.

Extract from a quotation from A. O. Hume’s letter to the *Pioneer*, “. My home is in India and I think I can be more useful (it is not much that I can do anywhere) here than in Europe.” (Friday 26th, p. 4).

AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, 1885.

Announcement of a meeting under the auspices of Hindu Students Mutual Improvement under the chairmanship of Mr. John Adam, M.A. (Cantab), Principal, Pachayappa’s College. A paper on “National Union in India” read by a member (P. T. Narasimha Chariar). Some points made: (1) English education to be praised for counteracting the difficulties of a diversity of languages; (2) This does not mean neglecting native tongues; (3) Government to be blamed for not spreading technical education. (Tuesday, 25th, p. 5).

Announcement that the Secretary of the Madras Mahajana Sabha received a letter of compliment on their conference of January, 1885. Hon’ble C. Ilbert, and Hon’ble W. W. Hunter, who says in the course of his letter, “I am one of those who think that the good government of India will, in the future, depend on an increasing share in the duties, responsibilities, and emoluments of the administration being allotted to the people of the land.” (September 3rd, Thursday, p. 5).

OCTOBER, 1885.

Under “Local”, report of the Mahajana Sabha meeting of Wednesday, 30th September, to discuss the possibility of holding a meeting during the current year and also the suggestions made by the Hon’ble Ferozshah Mehta, the Hon’ble K. T. Telang and Mr. D. E. Wacha, Secretaries of the Bombay Presidency Association. Resolutions passed: (1) To have periodical conferences, public lectures, memorials, deputations, public meetings, and such other means as it deems fit. (2) Proposed to cooperate

with the Bombay Presidency Association to put forward Indian views on Indian issues to the electors of the U.K. (Thursday, 1st, p. 5).

Under "News and Notes", quoted from a Bombay correspondent of a Calcutta contemporary—"These are stirring times in Bombay. Among the educated section of the native community, an air of eager expectancy is noticeable, and the feeling is uppermost in many minds that we are on the eve of great changes." (Thursday 8th, p. 5).

DECEMBER, 1885.

Announcement under "Local": "We understand that there will be a Congress of native gentlemen from different parts of India at Poona at the end of this month. The Congress is held under the auspices of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the dates of the meeting are the 28th, 29th and 30th instants." (Saturday 5th, p. 5).

A minor editorial comment on the D.P.I. of Bombay who called Poona Sarvajanik Sabha "irresponsible". (Tuesday 8th, p. 4).

Under "Local" announcement that National Conference at Calcutta will not be held and instead a Conference to be held at Poona next Christmas. The Presidency Association and Poona Sarvajanik Sabha have issued invitations to Calcutta, Madras, Banares, Ahmedabad, etc. "Next Christmas will thus witness a very important event in the capital of the Deccan." (*Hindu* quotes *Indu Prakash*). (Thursday 10, p. 5).

Editorial comment on the coming Congress at Poona: expected to have more than a hundred delegates, "the very cream of the intelligent section of the native community"; this year in Poona, but next year in Calcutta or Allahabad; its aim, "to bring to a focus our scattered political energy and to give solidarity and organisation to native opinion." "It will completely disarm our opponents who assert that the people are not yet capable of being entrusted with political power and responsibility." (Saturday 12th, p. 4).

A letter to Editor under the title "A National Assembly for India" signed by A. B. "... Disarmed and disunited, India can only work constitutionally under a constitutional government. I had, therefore, proposed the means for gaining a constitutional independence as the natural outcome of a united India, which required no arms, regiments, secret societies or disloyalty"—and he welcomes the National Conference at Calcutta. (Thursday 17th, p. 3).

Under "Extracts", quotations from the Bombay *Indu Prakash* regarding the National Congress proposed at Poona to represent all classes of educated natives: "Thus, for the first time in the history of British India, an assembly such as has never been witnessed before in this country, will be seen in the capital of the Deccan, once a great and important Province of ancient India."

“ Thus, in a few days more, we will find that the long-cherished dream of an Indian patriot, namely, a National Assembly or Congress, whatever we may choose to call it, will be realised.” “ The importance of the gathering that is about to take place at Poona, from a political point of view, cannot possibly be exaggerated ” ; emphasis on loyalty and even the Congress hailed as “ a fitting corollary of the national honour done to Lord Ripon ”. It is a manifestation of the political education given by the British ; Englishman advised to watch carefully the spirit of the times and not fight against the spirit of progress. (Tuesday 22nd, p. 6).

Announcement that owing to an outbreak of cholera, the National Congress will be held in Bombay, and not in Poona as originally intended. (Saturday 26th, p. 4).

Under “Latest Telegrams”, a note on the National Congress (special to *The Hindu*). Delegates, guests of the Bombay Presidency Association, were given quarters in Gokuldas Sanskrit College. Mr. Bonnerjee, standing Counsel, Bengal, presides. 71 delegates from Bombay, Poona, Surat, Ahmedabad, Viramgam, Karachi, Madras, Ganjam, Masulipatam, Chingleput, Combaconum, Anantapur, Bellary, Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Lahore, *etc.* Resolutions unanimously adopted. (1) “ recommends the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Indian Administration here and in England, Indian people being adequately represented thereon, and that all available evidence should be taken in India and England.” (2) “ The Congress considers the abolition of the India Council necessary, preliminary to all other reforms. The question of Legislative Council Reform next came up for consideration but the Congress adjourned before adopting any proposition. (Tuesday 29th, p. 3).

Main editorial on the National Congress at Bombay, calls 28th December, “ a memorable day in the annals of our national history ” ; advises Anglo-Indians to recognise the fact that Indian Nationalism has come into its own ; calls the annual conference of the Mahajana Sabha of 1884 a forerunner ; and ends up, “ we, therefore, welcome the Congress with all our heart, and wish every success to our friends at Bombay who have assembled there to further the national cause.” (Tuesday 29th, p. 4).

Under “Latest Telegrams” dated Bombay, 29 : discussion at Congress about a proper substitute for the India Council ; Congress unanimously “ in favour of the expansion of the powers of the Supreme Legislative Council and of Legislative Councils in Provinces in which they already exist, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members ; that all financial questions should be referred to such Councils ; that the members should have the right to interpellate the executive in regard to all branches of administration ; that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be formed in England to consider any representation

sent up by over-ruled members of such Councils against the action of the executive. Chandavarkar, the Bombay delegate, said that defeat of Indians at English general election was owing not to Indian questions but to Irish and Church questions and that Lord Ripon (Mr. Chandavarkar had been to England) had told Indians not to despair; that the effect of delegation (*i.e.*, to England) would soon be apparent. Congress adjourns for tomorrow. Delegates leave for Elephanta as guests of the Bombay Presidency Association.

JANUARY, 1887.

Quotation from a letter of A. O. Hume to *The Statesman*, regarding Mr. Syed Ahmad's dislike of Congress, representative institutions etc. " . . . no honest and able man can possibly dislike our National Congress, be opposed to the gradual introduction of a principle of representation into the government, or disapprove our modern political movement "; refers to Lord Dufferin's (Viceroy's) support of Congress for its " moderate and practical spirit " (words, Hume's); regards Syed Ahmad as being misinformed, for he attacks parliamentary government as not yet suitable to India, but Congress didn't want parliamentary government at all; " it has been emphatically stated (by all leaders) that this country is not prepared for parliamentary government " and points out that it is wrong to assume " that the tentative introduction of a modified form of representative institutions is equivalent to government by parliaments "; recounts Syed's three objections published in *Aligarh Institute Gazette* : (a) " Can qualified members of parliament be found ? " (b) " Is the state of the country adapted to popular government ? " (c) " How will the mixture of nationalities in India affect the working of parliaments ? " Hume's answer is : nobody has suggested the formation of parliamentary government; as for communal disunity, he points to Bombay Municipality, where diverse communities are represented and work harmoniously.

MARCH, 1887.

Quotation from *Indian Nation*, statement by Colonel R. D. Osborn : " Personally I should have asked them (*i.e.* Congress delegates) to be considerably more penchant and aggressive "; " the British people stand even more in need of education than do the masses of the people of India " and accuses the British Press, especially *The Times*, of distorting and misleading. " In reading about India—its past or present condition—I am never so delighted as when I come upon some genuine unsophisticated expression of native opinion. " (Wednesday 16th, pp. 5, 6).

OCTOBER, 1887.

Under " The National Congress and the Native States ", Mr. M. Ran-

gachar writes : " The National Congress has hitherto been a purely political gathering ; and even from the political aspect the success or otherwise of the administration of Native States is a matter of very serious importance to India as a whole. It is in the Native States that the capacity of Indians to govern themselves is being really tried." (Monday 17th, p. 4).

The national importance of associating the States with the work of the Congress had been realised as early as 1887.

DECEMBER, 1887.

A report entitled " Arrival of the Delegates ", — " But there is the more significant fact of several bonafide ryots, following no other occupation but the driving of the plough in the literal sense of the expression, going to Madras from distant districts at heir own cost and immense trouble to themselves to witness the proceedings of the Congress." (Monday 26th, p. 5).

Under " The National Congress ", a sub-editorial note : " The 700 delegates had brought with them about 2000 sympathisers with the great National Movement ". Congress opened by Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao (Wednesday 28th, p. 4).

W. C. Bonnerjee proposes Hon'ble Budruddin Tyabjee to Presidentship. Tyabjee was unanimously elected. His address : " It is representative not of one class or interest, but of all classes and interests, of all the different communities that constitute the people of India ".—" At the first Congress held in Bombay in 1885 we had 75 representatives from different parts of India. In the second Congress held in Calcutta last year, we had as many as 440 representatives ; while at the present Congress we have, I believe, no less than from 650 to 700 representatives of different parts and communities of this great Empire."—emphasises its truly representative, national nature—" And I should like to know where among all the millions of subjects of His Majesty are to be found more truly loyal and devoted friends of the British Empire than among these educated Natives."

Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra moves that a committee be appointed to frame the constitution of the Congress and to report on the 30th to the Congress, for " A Constitutional Assembly without a constitution was a sort of misnomer and an inconsistency and perhaps legal absurdity ";—no hard and fast rules, but some general, simple ones regarding selection of candidates, etc. ; this would quell the attack on Congress that it " was a sort of mutual admiration society, consisting of self-constituted delegates, each one appointing himself his own delegate without being in any way a representative." This was seconded by Mir Hamid Ali of Oudh, who called himself an orthodox Muslim, though he looked more like a Christian. He claimed that " the Mohomedans and Hindus were like ' two eyes ' to

India", supported by W. S. Gantz, Bart., (Madras) who said "It was no figure of speech or exaggeration to say that the Congress was now a great national fact." He gave such reasons for a constitution as that "the Congress was an annual affair; it was at different places, and then it dispersed; and no very great amount of work was done between the breaking up of one Congress and the assembling of another."

A telegram from Nawab Abdool Luteef Bahadur, C.I.E., Secretary to the Mohamedan Literary Society, Calcutta, to the Secretary, Congress, Madras, in which the Nawab, while thanking for the invitation, declines to attend for, "The Mohamedan community are fully convinced that the government are doing their best to promote the just interests of all classes consistent with the requirements of the various nationalities constituting British India, and financial exigencies to which the government are perfectly alive." (Friday 30th, p. 6).

JANUARY, 1888.

Resolutions passed at the Third Indian National Congress, held in Madras on 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1887.

1. That a committee be appointed to consider what rules, if any, now to be framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress on the 30th instant. (proposed by Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra, Bengal; seconded by Hamid Ali, Oudh; supported by W. S. Gantz, Madras, carried unanimously).

2. Reaffirming "the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolutions 111 of the Congress of 1885 and 1886". (Proposed by Surendra Nath Banerjea, Bengal; seconded by T. Madhava Rao, Madras; supported by Somasundaram Chetty, Madras).

3. Putting forth "universal conviction, that a complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity." (Proposed by N. Subramanian, Madras; seconder, Babu Kalicharan Bannerjee, Bengal; supporter, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, North-West Provinces).

4. Representing that Queen's Proclamation be given effect to, that higher grades of Military services be open to natives and the Government establish Military Colleges for natives. (proposer, Babu Narendra Nath Sen, Bengal; seconder, Babu Saligram Singh, Bihar; supporter, Eardley Norton, Madras).

5. Requesting the government to authorise a system of volunteering for the Indian community, "in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe" (proposer, Sankaran Nair, Madras; seconder, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ahmed Hussein Khan, Oudh; supporter, Rajah Rampal Singh).

6. That as the administration of Income-tax, especially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential, in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000, the loss of Revenue thus involved being made good, and further financial difficulties, if any, met by reductions in the existing public expenditure," or also by imposing import duty on the finer classes of cotton. (proposer, Babu Guhaprasad Sen, Behar, Babu Jogender Chander Ghose, Bengal).

7. Demand for "a system of Technical Education suitable to the condition of the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures, etc." (proposer, S. Ramasami Mudaliar; seconder, John Adam; supporter, Sheikh Khadar Baksh, Oudh).

8. "In view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships which the present Arms Act (XI of 1878) causes, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country", the government requested to enable "all persons to possess and wear arms, unless debarred therefrom, either as individuals or members of particular communities or classes, by the orders of the Government of India" (proposer, Sabhapathy Mudaliar, Madras; Babu Bipin Chunder Pal, Bengal, seconded).

9. That rules framed by the Committee formed under Resolution I to stand over until next Congress and meantime copies of it be circulated to all Standing Congress Committees (proposer, A. O. Hume, Madras; Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra, Bengal, seconder).

10. Fourth Indian National Congress be held in Allahabad on 26th December, 1888. (proposer, A. O. Hume, seconder, Raja Rampal Singh).

11. Copies of these resolutions to be sent to the Viceroy in Council, with the humble request that they be forwarded to Secretary of State. (proposer, Rai Jotendro Nath Choudhury, Bengal, seconder, Babu Jyotendro Nath Tagore, Bengal). (Wednesday 4th, pp. 5, 6).

SIR SYED AHMAD'S OPPOSITION

Address of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in Lucknow on 28th December, at 8-30 p.m. attended by Mohamedans of Lucknow and gentlemen from all parts of upper India present at the Mohamedan Educational Congress.

"The reason why I stand here to address you today is because there has grown up in India a political agitation, and it is necessary to determine what action should be taken by the Mohamedan community with regard to it.—Before I enter on this subject, let me briefly describe the methods of rule adopted by our government, which has now been here for nearly a hundred years. Its method is this; to keep in its own hands all questions of foreign policy, and all matters affecting the army" (which Sir Syed approves). For the internal administration, government chooses a Council, consisting of officials and some Raises, because of their social position.

Why Raises? He answers, "It is a great misfortune, and I ask your pardon for saying it, that the landed gentry of India have not the trained ability which makes them worthy of occupying these seats"; emphasises the greatness of aristocracy against a merely English-educated native; about the Council's working, he says, "The method of procedure in the Council is this. If any member introduces a subject of importance and difficulty, a Commission is appointed which collects evidence and digests it. The matter is discussed in every newspaper, and memorials are invited from Associations;" points out how the memorials have real influence over the Council—"In conclusion, whether the laws be good or bad, no one can say that government acts independently of the wishes and opinions of its subjects. Government also is strong militarily and it has given "personal freedom", law, etc.; "so that whatever comfort we can experience under any government we have under the British government." Even Covenanted Service examination in England was quite justified, for conditions in India were not yet ripe for competitive examinations. The result of holding such examination would be the bringing in of low rank people. "And it is the universal belief that it is not expedient for Government to bring in men of low rank"; moreover, the principle of competition implies that all people are of one nation, but even if there are two, as in England and Scotland, if they are politically united, the case is quite all right; but in India it is different. The Hindus themselves are not one nation. "The Hindus of our province, the Bengalis of the East, and the Maharattas of the Deccan, do not form one nation". Thirdly, you may have different nationalities, but "on an equal footing". "Now, I ask you, have Mahomedans attained to such a position as regards higher English education, which is necessary for higher appointments, as to put them on a level with the Hindus, or not?" If you hold competitive examinations, this is what will happen—over all races, not only over Mahomedans, but over Rajas of high position, and the brave Rajputs, who have not forgotten the swords of their ancestors, would be placed as ruler a Bengalee, who at sight of a table-knife would crawl under his chair". "I am delighted to see the Bengalees making progress, but the question is, what would be the result on the administration of the country?" So, he declares, if you want Bengali rule, "then, in the name of God, jump into the train, sit down, and be off to Madras, be off to Madras". If democracy is given, invariably Hindu members elected will preponderate over Mahomedans; "therefore, we can prove by mathematics that there will be four votes for the Hindu, to every one vote for the Mohomedan." Even if the electorate be limited by some income qualification, "now, I ask you, O Mahomedans, weep at your condition. Have you such wealth that you can compete with the Hindus?" The council will be full of Babus, Mitters and Chakraborties—moreover Hindus, more competent than Mahomedans. "Everybody

knows well that the agitation of the Bengalees is not the agitation of the whole of India". About the Mutiny, "the army had revolted; some bad-mashes had joined it; and government wrongly believed that the people at large were taking part in the rebellion". It is wrong to compare India with Ireland, where there is genuine nationalism. "Our nation is of the blood of those who made not only Arabia, but Asia and Europe to tremble." "It is our nation which conquered with its sword the whole of India although its peoples were all of one religion". Moreover, government might be suspicious of Mahomedan agitations. If Congress agitation should spread to Punjab, to the Rajputs, Pathans, etc., "do you think it will confine itself to writing with the pen, giz, giz, giz, giz, giz—and to mere talking, buk, buk, buk, buk?" So, don't join any Hindoo agitations—then government will give us good jobs, in the army. Throughout he uses "my nation" for Mahomedans. (20th Friday, pp. 5, 6).

APRIL, 1888

Under "The National Congress", quote from the *Pioneer*, that at the Allahabad Congress, Mr. Tyabji will make an important announcement to counteract the mischief of Sir Syed. "If the Hindus give a binding promise not to bring forward any subject before the Congress which does not commend itself to the Mohamedan community, the latter is deprived of all excuse in suspecting the movement, or standing aloof from it." (Quote from *Hindu* report). Tyabji said in his letter to the *Pioneer*, ". The principle on which the Congress has been worked is, that only such questions of general public interest affecting the whole of India at large should be brought forward, in regard to which there is either absolute, or at least practical unanimity on the part of the Hindus and Mussalmans." ". I am now happy to be in a position to announce that all the twelve Standing Committees have accepted the rule drafted by me to the effect that any subject to which the Mussalman delegates object, unanimously or nearly unanimously, must be excluded from all discussion in the Congress." (6th Friday, p. 5).

Under the title, "Madras Mahomadans and the Congress". A meeting of Madras Mahomadans was held last Saturday at Rayapeta. Resolutions passed (1) Meeting thanks the Viceroy for assuring them that he will promote the welfare of all classes. (2) Thanks Lady Dufferin for taking interest in womankind of India. (3) Fully agrees with the Mahomedan Address presented to Lord and Lady Dufferin in Calcutta on 24th March by the National Indian Central Muhamedan Association. Moulvi Syed Shah Nizam Moodeen Fakri Saheb, a high priest said, "This meeting declares that the disinclination of Musalmans to take part in any political movement set on foot by the Hindus does not imply race antagonism, but is due to a diversity of interests. The Muhamadan community seriously

hope to live on the best possible terms with their Hindu, Christian and Parsi brethren, whatever the differences as to policy that may prevail." He also said, "I do not hold that the general public of the Muhamadan community did not join the National Congress", most of the respectable of them such as Hon'ble Humayun Jah Bahadur joined it. "How can we then raise objections against their Congress, and why should we not join them in matters relating to the beneficial interest of the general public? Therefore, I am of opinion that all Muslims should join unanimously in holding the opinion that the action of Congress had been and shall be legal and reasonable. Of course, we shall never cooperate in any such resolution of the Congress as may be detrimental to our interests or to those of government in their peaceful administration." But meeting disturbed by confusion and disorder. (30th Monday, p. 5).

JUNE, 1888

A letter by Mr. Shujat Ali, C.S., on the Congress: "I believe that those of my community that hold that the Congress is a movement beset with dangers and should therefore be nipped in the bud are greatly mistaken. They have in the first place misread the signs of the times and secondly overestimated the practical and immediate results of the Congress. The movement is a natural outcome of upwards of half a century of liberal English education, of the study for 2 or 3 generations of English literature, political, scientific and philosophical, and of the free exercise of free thought engendered by that education and generously fostered by the British government in India. . . . The educated—I mean the English educated—native cannot help thinking for himself, cannot help thinking in English and cannot help thinking English thoughts." He advises the Hindus and the Congress, "so let them alone, and welcome only such of them as come over to you willingly." (1st Friday, p. 4).

Another letter of Shujat Ali on the Congress and Muslims. "As regards the Mussalman cooperation with the Congress movement, I do not attempt to conceal from myself the fact that a few Mussalman leaders have taken part in it whether in their individual or representative capacity. But I know equally well (if I may claim to know my community) that an overwhelming majority of thinking Mussalmans in India have not joined it." He concludes, ". . . The Musalmans should cease to proclaim imaginary dangers arising from the Congress movement and the Hindus should cease to parade conservative Musalman sympathy which does not exist." (18th Monday, pp. 4, 5.).

AUGUST, 1888

Under "Congress News", quote from the *Times of India*, about three meetings held in Bombay during last week to decide whether Mahome-

dans as a body ought to join the Congress or not. On 2nd Thursday, a meeting of leading Mussalmans called by Anjuman-i-Ahbab Latif Londi, with Cazi of Bombay in the chair. Mr. Ghulam Ahmed read a paper in Urdu on Congress. M. H. Hakim proposed that they should not join the Congress, seconded by Hajee Ismail Sahib Mintazim. Another meeting was held on 4th Saturday with H. H. Aga Akbar Shah presiding. Proceedings were in English, Urdu, Persian. *Khan Bahadur* Haji Ghulam Mahomed proposed, seconded by the Cazi of Bombay, that Musalmans should not join the Congress. Others also addressed against Congress but Mr. Ghulam Mahomed Akhood, B.A., wanted them (in English) to consider the matter carefully, for Congress referred to the welfare of the native community as a whole and even Government itself didn't oppose it (The Madras Governor had invited delegates to a garden party). Budroodin Khan, also in English, asked them to send delegates to the Congress—but then these words were lost on the audience. Third meeting was held by Anjuman-i-Islam on Sunday 5th, presided over by Cumroddin Tyabji, brother of Budroodin Tyabji, Congress President. There was no clear decision excepting that the majority said they must follow the majority of Mahomedans, and the majority were against the Congress. (10th Friday, p. 5).

Under "National Congress", a letter to the *Pioneer*, as reprinted by *The Hindu*, written by Sir Syed Ahmad. "The National Congress, which the Bengalis and some others have made, has been thoroughly discussed throughout India. In Bengal, Behar, Oudh, North West Provinces, Punjab, Bombay and Madras, influential and distinguished Mahomedans in large general meetings have expressed extreme antagonism to the movement; and have stated their conviction that the Congress, and its objects, and its methods, by which hatred and hostility to the government are stirred up in the ignorant masses, are in the highest degree dangerous for the government, for the country and for the preservation of peace." He argues, even Hindus and Muslims of "real influence", such as Talukdars, both Hindu and Muslim, have opposed it. "Hence it is necessary for us to inform the people of England that the Mahomedans and many influential and powerful Hindus are opposed to it. It is therefore desirable that an association be formed of these Hindus and Mahomadans who are opposed to the Congress. Every member of this Association, which will be called the Indian Patriotic Association, should pay a subscription of five rupees per month; and a request will also be made for donations from those who are inclined further to help the movement." He added that no government servants of any community were eligible as members and requested those wishing to join to send their names either to Munshi Imtiaz at Lucknow, to Raja Shiva Prashad, C.S.I., at Banaras or to Mr. Theodore Beck or the undersigned at Aligarh. (8th Monday, pp. 4, 5).

Extract from *Times of India*, about a Mahomedan meeting called by Anjuman-i-Islam at the residence of Mahomed Ali Rogay, presided over by Cumroddin Tyabji, and addressed by Budrodin Tyabji, Congress President. At the end, the majority were found (though difficult to find it merely by a show of hands) against joining Congress. (15th Wednesday, p. 6).

AUGUST, 1888

Syed Ahmed's letter to Budrodin Tyabji. "I do not understand what the words 'National Congress' mean. Is it to be supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation or can become a nation and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible, and when it is impossible there can be no such thing as a National Congress nor can it be of equal benefit to all peoples." "I object to every Congress in any shape or form whatever, which regards India as one nation, on account of its wrong principles, viz., that it regards the whole of India as one." (dated 24 January, 1888).

Letter of Budrodin Tyabji to Hon. Mr. Amir Ali dated 3rd December, 1887. "If, therefore, the proposed Mahomedan Conference is started simply as a rival to the general National Congress, I should be entirely opposed to it, as it seems to me that our proper course is to join the Congress at Madras, and to take part in its deliberations from our own peculiar standpoint. If, on the other hand, it is not started in any spirit of rivalry, I fail to understand why we should have a separate Conference at all, because in that case our discussions would not be on political questions so much as on moral and social questions." (supplement to *Hindu*, 21st Friday).

SEPTEMBER, 1888

Under "Indian Patriotic Association". The following are its rules, published in a contemporary.

1. Name be the Indian Patriotic Association.
2. Its object shall be (a) to publish and circulate pamphlets and other papers for information of Members of Parliament, English journals and the people of Great Britain, in which those misstatements will be pointed out by which the supporters of the Indian National Congress have wrongfully attempted to convince the English people that all the nations of India and the Indian Chiefs and Rulers agree with the aims and objects of the National Congress; (b) to inform members of Parliament and the newspapers of Great Britain and its people by the same means of opinions of Mahomedans in general, of the Islamia Anjumans, and of those Hindus and their societies which are opposed to the objects of the National Congress; (c) to strive to preserve peace in India and to strengthen the Bri-

tish rule ; and to remove these bad feelings from the hearts of the Indian people which the supporters of the Congress are stirring up throughout the country, and by which great dissatisfaction is being raised among the people against the British Government. Indian Chiefs and rulers who support the objects to be the patrons.

4. Subject to rule (5) any person, of whatever race or creed, agreeing with the objects of the Association, may become a member of the Association on payment in advance of an annual subscription of from Rs. 12 to Rs. 60, according to the wish of the subscriber. V. No person who is a paid government servant can become a member of the Association. VI. Donation will be accepted from members and others and donors' names to be published in a separate list. VII. The names of Islamia Anjumans and Hindu Societies sympathising with the Association, to be published in a separate list. VIII. List of names of member donors, etc., to be sent to England for circulation. IX. Member subscribing Rs. 60 per annum to be sent free of cost, copies of all pamphlets printed for the Association for circulation in England. Other people may purchase such pamphlets. X. Annual Report, including an account of income and expenditure, to be sent free to all members, etc. XI. A European gentleman to be appointed as an Editor to assist in the preparation of pamphlets. XII. Contents of pamphlets published as follows : (a) Articles and news selected from Indian papers, sympathising with the Association, and translation from vernacular papers. (b) Resolutions, etc., of meetings of Hindus and Mahomedans, in sympathy with the objects of the Association. (c) Articles, lectures and essays by members and non-members in support of the objects of the Association ; names of writers published, unless the writer wishes the contrary. XIII. A Committee of members to cooperate with Editor in his work. XIV. All communications to be addressed to Hon'ble Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Bahadur, K.C.S.I., at Aligarh, who will act as Honorary Secretary and Treasurer till further arrangements have been made. (5th Wednesday, p. 3).

NOVEMBER, 1888.

Sir Auckland Colvin on the National Congress, dated Allahabad, 6th November. The *Pioneer* publishes the whole correspondence. First letter of Mr. Hume, " . . . You are personally hostile to the Congress ; that you desire to ruin all who take a prominent part in it ; that you will favour and reward all who oppose it ", etc. In reply Colvin said that the first two Congresses had done nothing to get alarmed about, but with the Madras Congress, " I must admit with the greatest regret that the sympathy with which I had hitherto looked upon the party received a severe check." Then he referred to two tracts issued by the Congress. (1) *The Congress Catechism* by Veera Raghavachariar, (2) conversation between Moulvi

Farid-ud-din and one Rambaksh of Kambakhtpur. He says, "I have read carefully and repeatedly through both of them, and, while I find frequent passages, such as those which I will presently quote, holding up the British Government and English officials in India to the indignation of the people, as unjust, inconsiderate, ill-informed and reckless of the consequences of their actions, I have failed to find in them a single passage in which the advantages conferred upon India by that rule have been so much as referred to," and what is worst is that these are "circulated in thousands about the country". He also objects to the Congress identifying itself with the majority of the people and acting as such, about the Congress demanding increased representation. He says, "I think, in a word, they would, if I might dare to advise them, be more usefully employed in educating the people than in educating the authorities It seems to me unreasonable to ask that a large system of representation should be introduced at the demand of an extremely small and peculiar section of the people, or that the existence of a class which has been created by this Government should be cited as a sufficient reason for modifying to a very serious degree the methods of administration familiar and, on the whole, agreeable to those vast masses of the people who live in the traditions of the Government of their forefathers, whose ideas of piety find their roots back in centuries long gone by, and who are as much out of harmony with the political atmosphere breathed by us of English birth, or desired by their own countrymen of English education, as an elephant would be out of his element in Scotch mists, or a banyan tree in Parliament Street." The Congress, ". . . . represent the wishes of a class and that a minute and exceptional class". On the Congress propaganda that the British Government has not done any good, "I object to this partly because, if without offence I may say, it is not true. I object to it mainly because, while being untrue, it is eminently calculated to further the designs and promote the aims of those natives who are no less opposed to the Congress than dissatisfied to English rule in India, but who will gladly avail themselves of so useful a mechanism for stirring up discontent and so safe a propaganda for the spread of the doctrine that the British rule in India is a calamity". Secondly, India is at present not prepared for those reforms. "Nobody is more willing than I am to recognise and encourage and find room under the Government of India umbrella for the younger men who within the last twenty-five years have, as you say somewhere, sprung into existence as a new factor in the country, but I cannot on that account affect to recognise in these forward spirits of the present generation the political babyhood, for I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that no nation, least of all nations of the East, can be trusted within less than the lifetime of the living man to adopt and to put into practice conceptions of political life confined at present mainly to the Anglo-Saxon race and only by them elabo-

rated after long and painful centuries.” (quoted from the *Times of India*, Friday 9th, p. 4).

NOVEMBER, 1888

Mr. Hume's reply : After dismissing the native rulers who opposed the Congress, as intellectually cyphers, he says, “I might go on and deal one by one with the so-called leaders of opposition, and I know that with the exception possibly of Sir Syed Ahmad (of whom I will say nothing, because I believe he is a little insane on the subject of Congress) there is not one single one of them who, in any way, possessed either the respect or the confidence of his fellow-countrymen even before the Congress question arose and this, moreover, is to me a vital point ; for if really the Congress had divided or could divide the country into two strong opposing factions, I would have nothing to do with it—I say, despite all this, the Congress, instead of dividing, is uniting, is binding up old wounds, and bringing together in harmonious cooperation men who previously scarcely met except to quarrel and even at times fight.” (Friday 16th, p. 6).

The United Indian Patriotic Association : dated Lucknow, 23rd November : Meeting held in Kaiserbagh in Lucknow on Wednesday, the outcome of a consultation between Sir Syed Ahmad and Munshi Newul Kishore in September last, when they agreed to have a general Assembly of the Hindu and Mahomedan talukdars of Oudh to be convened by the British Indian Association with a view (1) To place before them the rules of the Indian Patriotic Association for confirmation, with any alterations that might be suggested, or to frame a fresh set of rules ; (2) To settle the nature of the work to be dealt with and its distribution to the different sub-committees to be formed with Secretaries of their own ; (3) The steps to be taken for inviting the co-operation of all talukdars and nobles in the United Provinces of the North-West and Oudh. Hence invitation sent to all classes for the meeting to be held on 22nd, but many talukdars didn't turn up for lack of sufficient notice, the fact of the Lt. Governor's tour just then and the talukdars' arrangement to meet him just then, hence the absence of Kunwar Harnam Singh, the Secretary of the Talukdars' Association. Some Europeans dropped in during the proceedings, made occasionally lively by the students of Canning College and a few more Congress sympathisers. Proceedings were in vernacular and were opened by Maharaja Pratap Narayan Singh, who was voted Chairman. Munshi Mahomed Imtiaz Ali spoke, explaining the object of meeting. (a) They had different societies opposed to Congress, fully exposed by Sir Auckland Colvin in a letter whose Urdu translation will be circulated among the audience present ; (b) the Urdu translation of Colvin's letter read and appreciated ; (c) discussion took a controversial turn. Disorder broke out—Raja Siva Prasad and Mahomed Imtiaz Ali were main speakers. Raja Siva Prasad's

suggestion to form the Association under Hindu and Mahomedan leaders, but subject to one united body to be called "The General Indian Loyal Association", was not unqualifiedly accepted by Mahomedan party. However, as a result of the discussion, it was resolved that the Indian Patriotic Association and the Anti-Congress Committees of Lucknow be given up, and an Association named "Anjuman Khair Khahan Mulk-i-Hind" be formed, of which Joint Secretaries appointed were Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the Raja of Bhinga, the patron being the Maharaja of Benares. Two Committees or branches were appointed, one at Aligarh and one at Lucknow. For the Aligarh Committee, President and Secretary were Sir Syed, and for the Lucknow one, the Raja of Bhinga, with power to increase the number of members and sub-committees. All committees to act in concert with the two main branches. The objects and aims of the new Association to be the same as that of the Indian Patriotic Association, with perhaps larger scope. The Aligarh branch was concerned with the preparation of and distribution of English pamphlets in England, and the Lucknow branch was concerned for the present with a petition to be presented to the Lt.-Governor, drawn up by the Maharaja of Benares and other Hindus. The petition was originally supposed to be placed before their meeting but later decided to circulate it for signatures, and within a month, to call another general meeting in connection with it. A draft of the petition in the present form ; (a) We, "the nobility and gentry of the United Provinces of the North-West and Oudh, approach your Honour with the view of representing our sense of the political danger which, in our humble opinion, threatens to disturb the peaceful condition of the Empire." (b) Refers to "The growing and mischievous practice" of spreading among the masses ideas calculated to undermine loyalty in the present government. (c) Also "To declare the value of the principles of democracy" and that England "owes its greatness to it" ; to hold up to admiration "the republican form of government in France" ; to show that "in the colonies even the Negroes enjoy the same rights as British-born subjects, implying thereby that the condition of the Negroes is better than that of the people of India" etc. They hated such things as the "Tamil catechism" which accuses "English nation as a body, of having no conception of all the hardships and disadvantages under which we labour under the existing administration here. Nor do the officials in India report to the members of Parliament what we know to be true state of the country". Also the conversation between Fakruddin and Rambukh which contains such stuff as, "—land going out of cultivation, the people having scarcely oxen enough to plough the land that they still till. Half of their houses are in ruins, the government must have their money, and almost every year more money and more money till the poor people are almost skin and bone. In fact, of all the miserable places in the world, India is nearly one of the worst on account

of its despotic government." They also condemned the vernacular papers. (d) So we beg that all this "may be put down by legislation as calculated to engender sedition. The present law does not fully bear on the point. Section 124-A of the I.P. Code cannot be held to apply," etc. (Wednesday, 28th, p. 6).

JANUARY, 1889.

The fifth Indian National Congress (*The Morning Post*) 27th December. Among the confusing incidents was Rajah Siva Prasad's address and his amendment, which turned out to be his petition to the Lt. Governor. He is believed to have said, "that he could take his oath that India was now more prosperous than it had ever been, and no country in the world was so happy (loud hisses and cries of order)". When he tried to read his petition to the Lt. Governor, the President, Mr. George Yule, "arose and stated the Raja must discontinue". "The Raja then retired amidst groans, hisses, and great disorder."

Resolutions: 1. Legislative Council, establishment for Punjab.

2. Mr. Norton proposed "That this Congress having read and considered the report of the Committee appointed by the Congress of 1886 to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service question do approve and adopt the said report, to wit—1. That the open competitive examination be held simultaneously in India and England. 2. That the simultaneous examination thus held be equally open to all classes of her Majesty's subjects. 3. That the classified list be prepared according to merit. 4. That the Congress expresses the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination. 5. That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open competitive examination be not less than 19 or, as recommended by Sir Charles Aitchison, more than 23 years (Hear, hear, and applause). 6. That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments. 7. That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the members of the uncovenanted services and to professional men of proved merit and ability. 8. That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by competitive examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of her Majesty only as are residents thereof. And declare that nothing short of the reforms therein suggested will satisfy the people of this country."

Seconded by Ferozshah Mehta. Amendments proposed by Professor John Adam (Madras) that those selected in examinations held in India be sent to England for further study and training, and any tests, if necessary. Seconded by Shankar Menon.

DECEMBER, 1889.

"It is said that as there is no Indian nation, there can be no Indian National Congress; there is no people, there are only two hundred millions of diverse races and diverse creeds. The lesson I read here is that this Congress Movement is an educational movement, hammering upon the anvil of millions of men's brains until it welds into one common whole men whose desire for political and social reforms is greater than all distinctions of race and creed." As for the complaint that many influential men have not joined the Congress, "Oh! but the sun's rays grow as the sun rises; you are the dawn, I see the day and do not count the rays which are yet below the horizon, but I take account of the gilding of the clouds that glow from the rays I am here because I believe you loyal to the law which I am bound to support."—from a speech of Mr. Bradlaugh. (Monday 30th, p. 5).

JANUARY, 1890.

Reuter's telegram on Congress: "On passing to the consideration of the financial resolution a sum of Rs. 63,000 was subscribed on the spot." (Thursday 23rd, p. 6).

The *Manchester Guardian*: "It seems as sure as anything can be that closer attention must be paid to them, or else a larger amount of legislative authority must be given to the people themselves."

Southport Mercury: "The Tories carry reforms in Great Britain under the pressure of electoral opinion. They sacrifice many prejudices for the sole purpose of retaining a place in political affairs. When they are asked to look at India, however, they see there is no electorate ready to call them to account, and consequently they pour contempt upon Indian aspirations." "Far more extensive powers than the most ambitious Hindu dreams were granted to felons and the children of felons in Australia, and there is no Tory so stupid or ignorant as to declare that the concession was a mistake."

Leeds Mercury: "Having created aspirations of a certain order among a considerable class of our Indian fellow-subjects, it is neither politic nor in good taste to laugh at those aspirations." *Bradford Observer*: "They only embody what was the existing practice prior to the Mutiny, and the prejudices of the Mahomedan minority will not be in the long run permitted to blind Englishmen to the justice of the modest appeal." *Daily Chronicle*: "The great curse of our Indian administration, however, is that our best and most enterprising administrators have no effective public opinion to fall back upon for sympathy or support whilst they are in office. The Indian National Congress will not only create that opinion, but will give it more or less authoritative expression. There cannot be any doubt

that others beside the educated and intelligent natives have felt that the empire suffered from lack of some such institution as this."

OCTOBER, 1890.

From an article of Ripon contributed to the *Paternoster Review* : " A widespread education conducted by European scholars on a European foundation cannot exist in an Eastern country for fifty years and produce no changes in the opinions, the character, and the aspirations of those who have been submitted to its influence. . . , " he also refers to the effect of a " free press " and " easy and quick communications ". (Thursday 16th, p. 6).

An extract from *The Hindu Patriot* : " One of the greatest mistakes that the Congress leaders could commit would be to make it a costly pageantry year after year. "—Need for economy, since host provinces were often put to trouble. (Saturday 18th, p. 5).

NOVEMBER, 1890.

A letter to *The Hindu* by Mr. N. V. Gokhale, High Court Pleader, Bombay, on Congress.

" The Congress is woefully groping in the dark as to the views and intentions of Government in respect of the resolutions transmitted to them and unless an attempt is made to elicit an authoritative declaration from them, the Congress resolutions are nothing better than a solemn farce which will have to be enacted every year without doing the slightest good to the country. " (Monday 3rd, p. 4).

JANUARY, 1891.

(Contribution quoted from " The Indian Mirror ")

The third day : Resolution moved by Mr. Pringle Kennedy : " That the condition of the finances of India having greatly improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt-tax having ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special Memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H.E. the Viceroy in Council " (He said, " The salt-tax is a tax on all incomes down to the lowest. The poorer a man is the heavier is its incidence. " His appeal to delegates : " I appeal to you, one and all in the hall, to show that Western education has brought with it an increase of sympathy and charity for your poorer brethren, for the dumb millions of the land, without which sympathy and charity, all the knowledge of this earth is but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal "). Mr. Wacha who seconds gives figures after stating that the average con-

sumption in India is 10 lbs.; "Is that a sufficient quantity? What is the consumption in Europe and the U.S.? I will give you some figures. In the U.K., there is no duty, and the consumption is 80 lbs., which I admit includes salt for chemical and manufactory purposes. France has a consumption of 50, Germany of 25, Russia, some of whose economic conditions are identical 19, Austria 14, Italy 18, Spain and Portugal, poor as they are, 17. The consumption per head in the U.S. is 39 lbs. per head. Compare, gentlemen, the average of 26 lbs. per head in Europe, which is wealthy and has an income of £15 per head, with the 10 lbs. of India with an income of only £2 (groans)". The whole point was, less duty stimulates consumption, the duty being "2,500 times the cost of production, which is an economic fact almost unparalleled in the history of the civilised world." Even the smallest saving was big enough for the poor, hence the saving on salt will be welcome. (6) Moved by R. M. Mudholkar, "That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in 1862, the principles of which were reaffirmed in a subsequent Despatch of 1865, promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporarily settled tracts in which certain conditions were fulfilled, and to the fact that throughout large portions of the country, these conditions have long since been fulfilled, this Congress respectfully submits that the Government of India is now in honour bound to take up this question of Permanent Settlement without further delay in view of practical action thereon such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand as explicitly promised by Her Majesty's Secretary of State more than a quarter of a century ago."

APRIL, 1891.

A quotation from *The Statesman*: "We have no hesitation in saying that, whether in its manner or in its matter, the reply of the Financial Secretary to the Memorial of the National Congress, praying for the remission of the recent enhancement of the salt duty, is wholly unworthy of the Government of India. Not only is it unsympathetic to the verge of discourtesy, but it is evasive to a degree bordering on dishonesty." (Tuesday 7th, p. 4).

JUNE, 1891.

In a letter written in April 1835 to a native friend (the late Babu Ram Kamul Sen), Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, then Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, gave the following advice. "It must be owned that the people of England, the mercantile and Parliamentary people at least, are too greedy for their own profit to treat Indian commerce with justice; but it is very much your own fault. You submit too quietly. There is a moral as well as a physical force. You employ neither. The latter is, of

course, out of the question, but you must exert the former But you must hold public meetings and talks about them (*i.e.*, rights) and talk boldly too. You can do such things to pay compliments. Why not meet to discuss your rights?" (Monday 29th, p. 3).

JANUARY, 1892.

The National Congress: Nagpur 29th December, yesterday. Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee's tribute to the "Rishi" (Hume) "We come here to confirm, ratify by our seal and sanction the utterances of our guide and prophet." He refers to the influence of the Congress on Government. "Take the question of the police, you discussed that question on more than one occasion, and the Government have taken it up now for careful consideration." "Take another, the excise system, and what do you find? Has not the outstill system been abolished more or less in different presidencies, except perhaps to a small degree in Bengal?" Even regarding the reduction of the salt-tax, the Viceroy has declared that when considering tax reduction, priority will go to the salt-tax. "Is the country well governed at present? I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that it is not. I do not thereby mean to cast any reflection on that illustrious body of officials. Oh, no, it is not the men that are to be blamed, it is the system that I condemn. Indeed, it has often surprised me how the bureaucratic system has succeeded even to the small extent it has. To my mind it appears that the machinery has worked so well because we have here a despotism tempered by a Free Press, and despotism softened by the influence of the freedom-loving instincts of the British nation." The Rev. R. C. Bose, seconding the resolution, asked, "There are, however, a few who sincerely believe that in view of the magnitude of our social evils we are really squandering our energy in political discussions, and who, therefore, counsel the diversion to those evils of the attention we are concentrating on these discussions. We respect these gentlemen, but we must be permitted to say that their advice, kindly given, presupposes a twofold error. What right have they to draw a sharp line of demarcation between social and political evils? Do not political evils eat like canker-worms into the vitals of our national life as decidedly and as thoroughly as social evils?" "The truth is that the two classes of evils, political and social, act and react on each other; if we begin reform in one system and leave the other for a time intact, we cannot be reasonably accused of misdirecting our energies, specially as we believe that a genuine reform begun in right earnest in one sphere of life will and cannot but penetrate into others also." (All this was said in seconding the II Resolution on legislative reform). Resolution III was on increasing Indian participation in administration, reduction of expenditure on military and civil administration, improvement of land revenue, etc., moved by Mr. Pringle Kennedy of Calcutta. Mr. Wacha,

supporting the resolution, referred to land revenue, "we substituted the cast-iron system of payment of cash instead of the old system of payment in kind, which latter was elastic. Secondly, our land legislation is absurdly tyrannical."

JANUARY, 1892.

December 30th, Nagpur. Yesterday, Mr. B. G. Tilak of Poona moved that Government should encourage and qualify people for defending their homes and Government could do this by liberalising the Arms Act (*i.e.*, making it equally applicable to all residents in or visitors to India, without distinction of class, creed or colour, to ensure the liberal concession of licenses wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and to make all licenses granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued), by establishing Military Colleges in India to train both commissioned and non-commissioned officers, by organising a militia of the war-like races, by authorising a voluntary service. Another Resolution on the Civil Service examinations demanded that they should be held both in India and England. Then Ajudia Nath moved a resolution on reduction of the salt-tax, effective enforcement of the excise policy declared in paras 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1st, 1890; and "introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages", as well as raising of the taxable minimum for Income-tax from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. Poor-nender Narayan Singh moved the resolution on reforming the police and judiciary by separating the executive from the judiciary, the extension of the jury system, withdrawal of the power of the High Courts vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal of juries, to insert in the Criminal Procedure Code a provision enabling the accused to choose to be committed to sessions instead of being tried by the Magistrate, and reforming the police service by reduction of numbers, increase of salaries, better recruitment, etc. Mr. H. Moitra moved a resolution on education, demanding increase in expenditure on education, with special emphasis on technical education. The Congress after this closed for the day.

JANUARY, 1892.

Under "Notes" : "For India to be a nation, says the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* very candidly, the first thing necessary will be to develop a leader. When the Indians have been able to do that, the political privileges will come to them as a matter of course. It is not by kneeling and crying that a nation can ever attain a natural growth. The National Congress is now a kneeling body, and therefore its efforts sometimes excite derision." (Wednesday 6th, p. 3). In his letter to the Editor Mr. Thomas Evans

welcomes the continuance of the Congress, for the following reasons : (1) "It will keep interest alive in the movement." (2) "As far as I know, this is the final and only attempt ever made in India to weld the million units of this heterogeneous mass of Indian population into one strong body for the good of the country" refers to Welsh nationality being still intact in England, and the Welsh institution of Eisteddfod, an annual affair, which promotes Welshism. (3) "Again do this if only to teach the people of India the duty of patriotic generosity. This is a lesson which India is very backward in." "While the mass of the people are, alas, miserably poor, there are many who are luxuriously rich, the possessors of lakhs that are either hoarded up or else squandered on dancing girls and debauchery, at weddings, or given to acquire a name or fame, or a title—or it may simply be hoarded up for people to say how rich the owner died." (4) "If nothing more were done than the bringing together into fraternal converse and communion of such large numbers of people of different classes, castes and creeds for some specific purpose in which one and all take a deep interest, that alone is more than worth all the trouble and cost." He ends the letter by saying, "This is above all the one thing in which India fails—a power to coalesce and concentrate. As I once said, India is now a unit without union, a community without communion, and a great nation without nationality." (Friday 8th, p. 4).

APRIL, 1892.

Mr. Eardley Norton, Bar-at-law, addressed a meeting on Congress on Monday in the Framjee Cowasjee Institute. He was on his way then to England. He found Indians intelligent, but he found them lacking in "grip" or "moral courage."

When they wanted to face a dangerous or difficult situation (he was referring not to military matters), whether political or social, his own experience, confined particularly of course to the Presidency of Madras, was that the invariable rule was that his native friends deserted him at a vital moment and pushed him to the front to bear what blame and odium there was. But he believed that in a few short years the whole morale of the nation could be changed. He corroborated the existence of great discontent, referred to by Hume, at least in Madras. (Friday 22nd, p. 6).

MAY, 1892.

"The *Hindu Patriot* supposed to be subsidised by Government". The main editorial : Perhaps the greatest need of the educated Indian people at present is a competent leader. But there are absolutely no indications of such a leader coming into existence or our people accepting one We have yet to learn to confide in one another, and follow one who, with some defects, is yet superior to many and entitled to general re-

spect and confidence. The two great political parties of England ought to furnish us with ample hints as to the most successful way of enlisting for a common object all the favourable forces conducting them to success . . . we have not yet amongst us either a Mr. Gladstone or a Disraeli, and we have not arrived at a social state which can give rise to such great men." (Monday 2nd, p. 4).

AUGUST, 1892.

The Madras Christian College Magazine comments on Dadabhai's success and says that it was a Parsi, not a Hindu, who got elected, and also to Mr. Malabari's social reform work, pointing out that he, too, is a Parsee, "an alien in race and religion." (Monday 15th, p. 4).

Dadabhai Naoroji, interviewed by the *Daily Graphic*, said, "What I should most like to see would be the direct representation of the Indian people at Westminster. But as that privilege has not yet been offered to us, the next best thing we can do is to invite English constituencies to send natives of India to Parliament, when they are otherwise qualified for the trust." On the civil service, he said, "The English officials, as I just said, are excellent: I might almost call them angels. The English Government of India is solid gold. But you can even buy gold too dear, and the price that India pays for English administration is ruinous. No Englishman makes India his home. His children are sent back to England, and a large part of his salary follows to pay for their education. Finally he retires himself to live in England on a pension provided out of Indian taxes. It is a huge system of absenteeism like the Irish landlord system. We cannot get rid of it altogether because we cannot afford to do without some English officials. But we can safely mitigate the evil." About non-elective Government nominations to Councils, he said. "A strong Governor will appoint the best man that he can find; but if there is a weak Governor, pushing ambitious men will work round him and get nominated." He was against the elected members being given power to outvote the Governor; they must be advisory. "If the government chooses to disregard their advice it must have the power to do so." He indicated his interest in labour questions and championed the 8 hours principle as equally good for Indian as well as English factories. He also had faith in woman's suffrage. (Wednesday 31st, p. 5).

JANUARY, 1893.

Mr. Banerjea's speech refers to the success of the Congress since its inception. "The cause of that success, it has been iterated and reiterated by the persons to whom he had referred, was the influence of that great man, Allan Octavian Hume But though the movement was to some extent, and only to a very limited extent, due to the influence which Mr.

Hume had exercised, it was not the influence of this man, of that man, or a third man, which had made the Congress what it was—it was the British professors, who had discoursed to them eloquently on the glorious constitution of their country; it was the British merchants, who had shown them how to deal with the commodities of their country; it was the British engineers, who had annihilated distance and had enabled them thus to come together; it was the British planters, who had shown what was best to be had out of their soil; it was all these influences which emanated from British rule in India that had made the Congress the success it was (Applause). He ought also to have referred to the British missionaries, who had worked amongst them. All that they wished the movement to do was to show the British public that, without strain to the connection that existed between this country and Great Britain, such measures might be adopted by the ruling authorities that some of the grievances under which they laboured might be removed, and that they might have the same facilities of national life as existed in Great Britain herself.” Referring to the criticism that the Congress was indifferent to social problems, he declared, “He himself had very little faith in the public discussion of social matters. They were things which must be left to each individual society to do what it could to improve.” He referred with feeling to the deaths of Ajudhianath and George Yule and also to the late Salem Ramaswamy Moodaliar. He referred with happiness to, and welcomed, the passage of Lord Cross’s Bill on Indian Councils. “They knew that the Act in terms did not profess to give them much; but it was capable he believed, of infinite expansion under the rules that were to be framed. If these rules were framed in the spirit in which the present Prime Minister understood that the Act had been framed—that was in a spirit of true statesmanship—he had no doubt that they would all be glad to put away the first plank in their Congress platform.” If it didn’t come up to their expectation, they would go on agitating. Then he referred to Dadabhai’s election. He had always felt that one of the great evils of the Indian administration was that their rulers were responsible to no one outside of their own consciences.” Though formally, the Government of India was responsible to the Secretary of State at Westminster, who was responsible to the Cabinet, which was responsible to Parliament, in reality, it was not much. He referred to the withdrawing of grants for education in Bombay and Bengal, to the withdrawal of the system of trial by jury in Bengal (in seven districts), to the unsatisfactory administration of criminal justice, and to the lack of knowledge of local languages in Judges. He found fault with the translation of the Penal Code into several languages of India but did not accuse the Government of bad intentions, but only of lack of proper understanding. But because Europeans did not join the movement, was a movement of the people of this

country to be despised?—Formerly when Europeans started something the Government was indifferent on the ground that it was not the native voice, but now they say it is not the European voice. In either case, the Government was indifferent.

JULY, 1895.

From a letter by a delegate from Bombay: "If this position be correct, and I think it is, for many years to come, most of the reforms suggested by the Congress will remain unaccomplished facts. If we are in real earnest, therefore, to awaken public opinion in England the plan is good. But then how necessary it is first to awaken the masses. Without the masses the Congress can hope to do little. With their co-operation, a good deal might be done. Who will deny that the best awakening of public opinion in England would be the mere mention of a resolution on the part of the majority of the people of this country to cease buying English-made things? If you can do this today, tomorrow Reuter will wire your sympathetic resolutions all over England to appreciate the reforms suggested by the Congress, to endeavour to grant speedy redress. But the whole thing hangs on the energy and exertions of our delegates. One thousand delegates are not a small body to carry on agitation among the masses from year's end to year's end." (Friday 14th, p. 5).

Hume's appeal to public bodies in England: You may probably have heard of the Indian National Congress, and are aware that it is a great annual gathering of delegates, elected by the people of every Province and District in India, to discuss and agitate, by constitutional means, for the reform of the many abuses which characterise the existing official administration of India, and the redress of the many disabilities under which her people still suffer.

Although numbers of them are highly cultivated and talented men; leaders of the Bar; eminently successful merchants; with large practice as medical men; professors and principals of colleges; masters of schools; pastors of large flocks; and orators of the highest class, they are all retained to this day in a state of political serfdom, debarred from all real participation in the administration of their own country, and left entirely to the discretion of an irresponsible and, in its own opinion, impeccable bureaucracy, the rank and file of whom are, as a body, in no way superior, intellectually or morally, to those picked men amongst the Indians, who, at half the cost to the country, would discharge, and probably more satisfactorily, the duties now monopolised by this close bureaucracy.

Looking to their poverty (the result of the terrible annual drain of money from India into England) the people of India are unquestionably the most heavily taxed population on the face of the earth; yet they are

denied all representation, all direct voice in the control of their national affairs.

Large sums of money are levied year by year from the immense, but very poor population, from fifty to sixty million of whom are officially admitted to be ever living on the verge of starvation, and multitudes, literally, of whom perish whenever a failure of the periodical rains entails widespread scarcity. Of the money thus garnered at the cost of countless lives and grievous suffering, no less than twenty millions are yearly lavished on the maintenance of a gigantic and ever-growing military force, professedly designed solely to protect India, but, in reality, far in excess of what is required for defence and in practice mainly utilised by Government to sustain them in their constantly recurring unprovoked and wicked attacks on weaker neighbours.

If, as frequently happens, the people of the countries thus overrun, preferring the rule of their own people, oppose this robbery and violence, these forces enable the Indian Government to shoot or hang all who oppose their lawless proceedings, and burn their villages, and then, with an audacity unsurpassed in history, they publish long despatches glorifying themselves for the suppression of "dacoity", or robbery with violence—they themselves all the while being the real robbers.

You know what even our modern Tories, here, do about military matters, in spite of the people of England's attempt to hold them tightly in check—and you can guess what these uncontrolled officials of a doubly distilled Toryism, now happily extinct in these isles, will do, allured by hopes of distinction for themselves and the increase of their patronage, and egged on by thousands of military officers, their friends and relatives, burning for promotion, decorations, increased pay, pensions and titles." (Friday 21st, pp. 5, 6,).

APPENDIX C

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Illustrative of the state of the Government of Hyderabad and the effect on the people.—Courtesy of the Curator, Hyderabad Archives

DECCAN TIMES, FEBRUARY 7, 1880: Moglai Atrocities

We lately drew attention to the disgraceful manner in which thirty-five persons were, seven months ago, incarcerated by His Highness the Nizam's officials in the Goolburga jail, and were still awaiting trial, on mere suspicion of having been associated with the doings of the infamous Wassudeo Bulwant. From facts which are constantly being brought to light it is indubitable that this case may be taken as a sample of the lax and discreditable manner in which justice is administered in the dominions of H.H. the Nizam, and of the unscrupulous abuse of authority by Moglai officials.

Examples are more forcible than generalizations, and it is with the object of drawing attention to the necessity for a speedy and radical reformation in the judicial and police administration of His Highness's country that we feel it incumbent on us to give publicity to some particulars elicited in a dacoity case which have been brought to our notice.

Some time in December 1878 a serious dacoity was committed at Ranjangrow, a village in the British district of Khandesh. The perpetrators were certain Bheels (subjects of H.H. the Nizam) who had crossed the borders and plundered property to the value of Rs. 10,000 or upwards. The British authorities at Khandesh called upon the local Moglai officials to help in the tracing out and arrest of the robbers. Upon this the Moglai police seized indiscriminately a large number of Bheels, and, in order to get them to confess complicity in the dacoity, subjected them to beatings and tortures of the most infamous description, one of the victims, a young Bheel, dying under the tortures he was put to; whereupon the police at once convened a village council or Panch, and the members of this council were threatened and compelled to sign a document to the effect that the deceased had died of fever. The Moglai judicial officials next arrived at the spot, and then for months there was war waged between the police and judicial officials, the former charging the latter with bribery and corruption in the case, and the judicial officials accusing the police of bribery, extortion, torture, rape, and murder. Meanwhile the wretched suspected Bheels were kept in custody.

The whole case was in the direst confusion, and the Sudder Talukdar, or Chief District Magistrate, reported the matter to the Government at

Hyderabad. An Assistant Commissioner of Berar, Mr. Abdul Hak, who was on furlough at Hyderabad at the time, was, with the Resident's approval, temporarily invested with special powers by the Moglai government, and deputed to investigate into this scandalous case, and the mutual recriminations of the police and judicial officials. The result has been the collection of a mass of evidence, which gives a hideous picture of cruelty and oppression, of violence and corruption, simply shocking to contemplate.

Among this mass of recorded evidence witnesses have on oath deposed to the following: to the infliction of cruel beatings by the police, and tortures, some of them too indecent to particularize; to a prisoner having been beaten to death to extort confession; to the drawing up of false Punch-namas; to prisoners being starved for three days; to women being hanged up naked by their hands for two days continuously, to force them to incriminate their relatives; to briberies *ad libitum*; to the rape, by police officials, of two Bheel women while in custody, one of whom was pregnant and miscarried in consequence. Such was the dreadful array of atrocities brought to light. The services of an English doctor were next applied for from Aurangabad to obtain a medical opinion as to the tortures and rape, as the local Hakims were also mixed up in the case. So long a period, however, had elapsed that it was impossible for the English doctor to give any definite opinion.

Several months have now gone by since the investigation, and with the exception of the dismissal of a Sudder Mohtamim, or Police Superintendent, we learn of no further action being taken in the matter. Probably action will be indefinitely postponed, and the case eventually consigned to the limbo of forgetfulness.

Now here we have a sample of doings by Moglai officials which may rival the Bulgarian atrocities. That such things are done is not only a crying shame to the administration of the Hyderabad State, but in some measure to the British Government as well, under whose philanthropical and civilizing influence and supervision the "Independent States" in India are supposed to be yearly improving, and advancing to such a high degree of civilization as to compare favourably with British rule!!

We are constantly hearing of improvements in Native States and of the interchange of compliments and congratulations between representatives of the British Government and Native Princes on progress made. All these are very refreshing to read; but if statesmen would in truth seek to know what real advance has been made we would advise them to look beneath the surface, and they will too often find that, like the veiled prophet of Khorassan, a fair exterior hides a fearful reality.

BOMBAY GAZETTE, SEPTEMBER 15, 1881: The Hyderabad Government.

The following is from our own correspondent: The advent of Sir

Steuart Colvin Bayley as Resident in April last was the signal for the inauguration of a change in the policy of the Imperial Government towards the Hyderabad State, and the Government of Hyderabad has now entered upon halcyon days as compared with the strict—and necessarily strict—supervision of the actions of the Government that Sir Richard Meade exercised. There have been many who have blamed Sir Richard's somewhat severe surveillance over the doings of His Excellency the Minister and the Government of this the greatest independent principality in India ; but anyone who is cognizant of the maladministration that is rampant beneath the fair exterior exhibited to the world at large will heartily admit that so far from Sir Richard's supervision having been strict it was not even strict enough.

Superficially, the Hyderabad State is represented—and there are many whose interest it is so to represent it—as carrying out astonishing reforms and making wonderful progress towards metamorphosing this at present ill-governed principality into a model State for other Native States to imitate and copy. British officers are continually being saddled upon the Hyderabad Government on heavy salaries (on the recommendation of each successive Resident), whose interest it is to represent everything relating to Hyderabad in *couleur de rose* form ; public gardens, Mudrassa-i-Aliyas, club rooms, &c., &c., are erected, regardless of expense, at the capital of the State ; balls, dinners, nautches, and varied entertainments are profusely given to British officers of “light and leading”, with the one sole object that Hyderabad affairs may be represented in rich and glowing colours to the Government of India, and thence, in due course, to the Home Government.

But, alas ! lift the tapestried curtain, and there comes from the interior of His Highness the Nizam's dominions a wail of woe, of oppression, of tyranny, of corruption, of torture, of injustice, of murder. Ryots are fleeced by every pressure that authority can use ; tyranny and torture such as the mind revolts to hear, and, in short, every barbarous means that unprincipled men in power can invent, are exercised for the purpose either of extorting money or of gratifying their unprincipled desires. I would here quote a few cases that have been brought to my notice in official correspondence. Two poor elderly men in one of His Highness's districts were, with the view to gain some unholy object, stretched on their backs in the broiling sun, and heavy stones were placed on them, until they had agreed to the propositions of their tormentor. In a case into which Mr. Abdul Hukk, Police Commissioner, was sent to inquire at Bijapoor, it was proved by the evidence of more than sixty witnesses that the following atrocities were committed by the Sudder Mohitimeen Kutub Khan and his police myrmidons. During an inquiry into a dacoity which had occurred in the Khandeish district on the Hyderabad frontiers, a Gond was beaten and kicked to death by Kutub Khan himself. Another Gond was tortured to death. Two

women were hung up naked by the hair for more than twenty-four hours, and were denied food and water. Two young women who were arrested on suspicion were violated by the police superintendent and his assistants. A number of other persons were beaten and kicked till they passed blood, and eventually died from ill-treatment. These facts are on the records of the Police Commissioner, and were brought to the notice of the late Resident, Sir Richard Meade; but His Excellency Sir Salar Jung has taken no notice whatever of these things. I believe these matters will ere long be brought to the notice of the Secretary of State for India. In a dispute between two patels about a certain field, one of the contending parties brought the assistance of the kotwallee, when one of the kotwallee javans wantonly shot the poor koonbee who had sown the field; and the murdered man was too insignificant a person for his death to be noticed by the district authorities. These facts, and many such, are constantly being brought to the notice of Sir Salar Jung, but His Excellency cares for none of these things; in fact, the "Bismarck of India", as His Excellency has been called, is utterly unable to cope with the anarchy and oppression and confusion that reign unchallenged and unquestioned in the interior of His Highness's territory; and unless the Government of India or the Home Government will patiently listen to, and vigorously inquire into, the abominations that are flourishing rampant in the administration of the districts, nothing really good can be expected in the Hyderabad Government. The statements of well-paid British officials in His Highness's employ, the erection of new buildings and gardens at the capital, the tall talk about for formation of a Legislative Council (God save the mark!), &c., &c., are all moonshine so long as the root of the matter remains untouched. So long as oppression, torture, and murder continue unchecked, with all their hideous concomitants, while the downtrodden ryots are denied simple justice, and until incorrupt judges are located throughout this broad and barbarous land to hear and redress grievances, nothing can be said to have been effected, and the posings before the world of His Excellency Sir Salar Jung, the Prime Minister, as a man of great power and a successful administrator must only be considered as theatrical exhibitions, which time must sooner or later denude of all their tinsel trappings.

Further extracts from newspapers

Hyderabad, 21st March, 1891. This morning's *Deccan Times* has a very sensible leader commenting upon the order recently passed by His Excellency the Minister revoking the licence granted to Mr. A. C. Rudra, Barrister-at-law, to practise in the Courts of His Highness the Nizam for "offensive remarks" made by him regarding the Judges of the High Court in connection with Gallagher *versus* Gribble. "The case of Mr. Rudra" is very clearly set forth, and the great injustice or rather the unheard-of

severity of the order is dealt with in no spiteful or captious spirit. The remarks which have cost Mr. Rudra his sunnudh allude to the Government of Hyderabad being a personal one, to Judges being more or less all partizans of the Government, and to justice being a toss-up in Hyderabad. That the Hyderabad Government is a personal one, even the most unscrupulous of official proteges and apologists cannot and dare not deny; and the partizanship, *i.e.*, the thoroughly subservient character of the Judges, is put beyond a possibility of doubt by the fact that the High Court did not take any notice of the so-called offensive remarks until called upon more than once by the Government to do so. Who can gainsay then that justice is a toss-up here? A statement of these facts made when uncalled for would certainly constitute an unpardonable offence. But in the circumstances in which it was made by Mr. Rudra, it was privileged. His client, Mr. Gribble, stood charged with unprofessional and dishonourable conduct; and to have refrained from mentioning well-known facts calculated to disprove the charge would have been dereliction of duty. That the Judges should have failed to take all this into account and “unanimously resolved” to strike Mr. Rudra’s name off the rolls of the advocates of the High Court is passing strange—if it does not point to partizanship.

The following extracts show that newspapers in Kannada had become aware of their duties and responsibilities even in the last quarter of the 19th century and were fearlessly expressing their views in spite of Governmental control. They played their role in educating the people in the political and social problems of the day. (Kindly supplied by the Government of Madras and the Curator, Madras Record Office).

NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS (1877 to 1920)

Confidential Reports on Native Papers in the Madras Presidency (By courtesy of the Government of Madras and the Curator, Madras Records Office.)

Kannada Newspapers find first mention in the Report for the month of September, 1885, and the Official list contains the following seven papers.

1. *The Karnataka Prakasika* (Bangalore)
2. *Kannada Suvarte* (Bombay)
3. *Mysore Vrittanta Bodhini* (Bangalore)
4. *Christa Sabbapatra* (Mangalore)
5. *Sartha Sanjeevani* (Bangalore)
6. *The Hindu Matha Prakasika* (Mysore)
7. *Goorg Chandrika*

“The only newspaper hitherto received by the translator is the *Karnataka Prakasika*. In the issue of 21st September, the editor, after quoting a correspondent in the *Hindu*, who suggests the deputation of Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Row to England during the general election, observes: ‘In no way would the Dewan Bahadur render more valuable service to this country than by proceeding to England as a delegate for the purpose of representing, in accordance with his own previous experiences, the state of the country and endeavouring to redress her wrongs. But we greatly fear, that for reasons of public policy, this idea will never be carried into effect.’” (Report on Canarese newspapers for the week ending 26th September, 1885).

In the list for October 1885 the number of Canarese papers rises to 32.

The Coorg Chandrika, discussing the case of an Assistant Commissioner, a Mr. Namkal Rao, who was dismissed for having beaten with his shoes a Patil for not providing him with a pair of bullocks in time, says, “If it is really the desire of Government to protect the liberties of their subjects, let them issue a notification inviting the ryots to file complaints against any person in authority, who may be guilty of oppression, and, on the receipt of such complaints, let one or two cases be duly taken notice of and punished. By this means, a real boon would be conferred on the country” (Report on Canarese newspapers for the week ending 3rd October, 1885)

The Karnataka Prakasika: “. . . . The endeavours of Government to foster indigenous industries by discouraging the importation of articles of European manufacture have not hitherto made much result, and if matters continue in their present state, the industrial classes, weavers in particular, will ere long be compelled to abandon their professions and to seek other means of subsistence” (Report for 19th October, 1885).

The Karnataka Prakasika of 19th October, 1885, refers to the Madras Mahajana Sabha delegation to Britain to inform the British electorate about Indian needs so that the electorate may choose members like “retired Anglo-Indians and true friends of India in England, like the late Mr. Fawcett, who will do justice to, and maintain the rights of, the people of India within the walls of the House of Commons” (November 3rd, p. 10).

While the number of Kannada Papers in November 1885 stood at 35, it fell to 22 as on December 1885.

An editorial of *Karnataka Prakasika*: “. . . . But if a member of

that service (*i.e.*, the I.C.S.) says to us : 'I myself will be your leader, because the wind ought to be taken out of the sails of conceited and half taught (native) youths, who would become demagogues,' then, we cannot blame these youths if they turn round and say : 'we are not "conceited" and "half taught" as you suppose, and we, therefore, do not want you to lead us and our people, because your conceit, which is the offspring of "half-education", is just as great as you impute to us ; but we shall guide ourselves and lead our people under the liberal and benign rule of the British Government of India.' (December 17th, 1885).

The Karnataka Prakasika (English edition) on income-tax : "We have no doubt that, in a few days hence, the whole of British India will be alive with legal and legitimate agitation against the imposition of a tax, which is unnecessary, as it is unjust and inequitable in its incidence." (January 23rd, 1885, p. 5).

Condemning the Finance Commission, just announced by the Government, the *Kannataka Prakasika* (English edition) declared editorially that out of its 8 members, "six are out-and-out officials, one is a semi-official the Hon'ble Mr. Ranade, a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay . . . It seems, indeed, almost a farce that such a commission was appointed." The paper suggested that, while retaining the present members, the commission should have additionally 6 non-officials. (February 20th, 1886, p. 6).

In a letter to the *Karnataka Prakasika*, a correspondent pleads, "I think it is the duty of every Mysorean, who has the good of the country at heart, to endeavour to have an association something like the Mahajana Sabha of Madras, to represent the grievances of the public whenever and wherever necessary, and to expose the jobberies of the Government. It is the absence of such an association that is allowing the present government to commit any freak it likes without any exposure or comment The so-called representative assembly is a simple farce. It is not representative in any sense, and the members are too servile with, perhaps, a few honorable exceptions. The Council which costs the State ten thousand rupees annually is equally useless. It is either gagged or roughly ridden over" (May 25th, 1886, p. 11).

The *Karnataka Prakasika* (English edition), in an editorial entitled "Needless Alarm", advises Government not to be afraid of native political associations, and says, "It is clear that the Hindus of all castes and sects are beginning to be alive to the political rights and privileges to which they are entitled, but which will never be conceded to them, unless they take

measures, constitutional and legitimate, to obtain them ; we mean, of course, that the educated and enlightened amongst them should think and act for those who are less fortunately situated amongst their compatriots (May 25th, 1886, p. 12).

In its issue of 31st January, 1887, the *Karnataka Prakasika* laments, " There is no doubt that the independence of Native Princes is gradually declining. All of them are more or less like puppets in the hands of the British Government But if we see the extent of the authority actually exercised by the Resident, it is doubted whether he is not the real ruler of the State. . . . "

In its issue of 21st February, 1887, the *Karnataka Prakasika* (Canarese edition) quotes from the *Bombay Subodha Patrica*, on a brutal assault on native women by European soldiers, and the quotation includes the following : " when one of the steamers of the B.I.S.N. Company was on its way from Kurrachee to Mangalore in November last, some of the soldiers on board began molesting some Hindu ladies, who were travelling with them, by violating their modesty. . . . "

The *Karnataka Prakasika* of the 6th February, 1888 issue compares India with the U.S.A., and draws the inference that the U.S.A. became prosperous after becoming independent of Britain and that India could also do the same.

From the Mysore *Vrittanta Bodhini* of July 12th, 1890 ; " We know that India's peoples are not so strong or so well endowed with courage, with faith, with self-reliance, so large as that they may throw off the shackles of the power and the strength of that benign influence known as the British Government of India "

The *Karnataka Prakasika* of 3rd August, 1891, says : " The disadvantages of British rule in India are not so often discussed as the advantages Even the Negro of the West Indies and the savages of Australia enjoy more liberty than the Hindu "

The *Karnataka Prakasika* of September 14th, 1891, in a long leader on the liberty of the Native Press, says, " But the defects in the administration will not cease to be looked upon as defects even if the Press should be deprived of its liberty. . . . "

Among other papers, the Mysore *Desabhimani* mostly deals with specific complaints against officials and departments, and not with any larger issues.

In a leading article on the Congress, the *Karnataka Prakasika* of 6th August, 1894, declares, “. . . The Indian National Congress should be a guide and teacher to the Indian Councils. . . .”, and suggests, further, that the Congress should pay more attention to issues other than political, especially industries.

The *Karnataka Prakasika* of 7th October 1895, in an article says, “It is little less than disgraceful that so little should be known about a country that is so useful to the power that holds it. A change should be brought about, and India might do much to bring this about. . . .”, and roundly condemns British ignorance of India.

The *Prakasika* of 16th December 1895, referring to the tours of the Viceroys and Governors, comments scathingly, “. . . . They come and go, but the people are no whit better for their coming or going”

Writing on the Congress of 1895, the *Karnataka Prakasika* says, “It might be asked whether there is any necessity for such an institution, whether the rule of the country is not good enough for the people; but acknowledging that the Government has accomplished much, still there is much to be done. It is this that the Congress wishes to do we cannot say that every item of the Congress, if carried out, would be beneficial to the people, but the programme, as a whole, would be of the greatest benefit to them.” (Report No. 1 of 1896, pp. 13, 14).

The *Karnataka Prakasika* of July 27th, 1896, writing about Mr. Rama Gopal Sanyal's book on Criminal Prosecutions of Europeans by Natives, says, “The insults and injuries which the ruling race heap upon the people of this country have necessitated the publication of this book which has reached a second edition. The present edition gives an account of 120 cases, and those who in season and out of season praise the administration of justice in India will do well to read this book. . . .”

The *Karnataka Prakasika* ceases to be mentioned after 31st December, 1898, (*i.e.*, Report No. 14 of 1898). Did it cease publication?

From Madras, the Kannada bi-monthly, *Veerakesari*, comes to be mentioned from 1908. This journal devoted itself to criticism of the administration and its specific lapses.

The *Dhanurdhari* is mentioned for the first time in the list as it stood on 15th, June 1909, and its circulation is given as 400. It is said to be published at the Kaipeta Sachidananda Press, Davangere.

The Dhanurdhari of August 5th, 1909, refers to the story of a blind beggar from Calcutta, a man called Chintamony. The beggar is described to be anti-British, patriotic, and generally, very conscious politically. For instance, he is reported to have refused the repeated offer of fairly attractive alms from a European.

The Dhanurdhari of the same date advocates the observance of 7th August as a Boycott Anniversary Day, as it was on the 7th August, 1905, that political agitation against the partition of Bengal was started. It also attributes to nationalism, "powers superhuman."

The Dhanurdhari of 14th October, 1909, writes against the activities of Christian Missionaries, and commends the efforts of the Arya Samaj for rescuing Hindu society from their coils.

The Dhanurdhari of December 13th, 1909, gives a biographical sketch of Mr. Keir Hardie, the British M. P., and praises him highly as a friend of India. In another article, it gives a collection of Mr. Hardie's notable sayings. In particular, it lists his sayings to the effect that (1) political agitation is important, (2) that Indians should depend less and less economically and intellectually on a foreign government, and (3) that Indians should cultivate self-help.

The Dhanurdhari of the same date refers to the 5th Veerashaiva Conference to be held at Bellary, and suggests that its proposed intention to impose restrictions on seditionists by a resolution was useless. It could do neither harm nor good.

The Dhanurdhari ceases to be mentioned after 1910.

The Sadhvi of 16th January, 1911, in its English columns writes, "The Congress is a link between the rulers and the ruled. . . . The science and art of Government are known only to a few. Blusterers of the stamp of Lord Curzon can never fare well as administrators. Good people are to be protected and bad people punished. . . . The Indian National Congress had been trying to impress the truths of this philosophy upon Indian bureaucrats for a quarter of a century. . . ."

The Sadhvi (Mysore) of February 16th, 1911, writing in a article on the Hindu-Muslim problem, says, "The Hindus are politically dead. It is better that they are no more. Let India become Muhammadan or Christian and then rise from its ashes to earn national glory unfettered by the shackles of the out-of-date superstitions. . . ."

The *Sadhvi* is mentioned in the 1912 list as a bi-monthly, edited at Mysore by Mr. H. S. Venkata Rao.

The *Sadhvi* of October 8th, 1912, suggests that the post of Chief Secretary to the Mysore Government be filled by an Indian, and not a European.

The *Vakkaligara Patrike* of November 6th, 1913, urges the Government to make the Press free, and says, "We, therefore, hope that our Diwan will, at no distant date, repeal the measure or at least modify it and thus restore the full liberty of the press. . . ."

The *Swadeshabhimani* of 15th June, 1914, writing on "Students and Politics", comments critically on the Central Provinces Government Order that "The parents should make over the guardianship of their children to teachers; the children of those who refuse to do so should be dismissed from the school. . . .", and says, ". . . . This Central Provinces Order is a shade less severe than the Madras Order in that it restrains only the school boys and does not apply to undergraduates as in Madras."

The *Swadeshabhimani* of August 4th, 1917, writing on Home Rule for India, says that the Congress and the Home Rule Movement have the same aims, though Congress leaders like Surendranath Banerjea, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Srinivasa Sastri, do not take part in it.

The *Sampadabhyudaya* (Mysore) of 12th June, 1918, referring to Gandhiji's passive resistance, writes, ". . . . This mantram of Mahatma Gandhi is very effective in converting those who are autocratic into constitutionalists. Even the devils will be changed by this into gods. . . ."

The *Swadeshabhimani* of 9th May, 1919, refers to the Punjab disturbances, and says that they were not the result of the Satyagraha movement. It contends that, on the contrary, the high-handedness of the Punjab Governor, Mr. Michael O'Dwyer, was at the root of the disturbances.

The *Swadeshabhimani* of 7th May, 1920, criticises the Press Act for demanding security from a newspaper at Delhi, and condemns it as "suppression".

DISCONTENT IN HYDERABAD KARNATAK

The following letter throws light on Taranath's activities leading to his deportation from Hyderabad

" Confidential.

No. 1171.

From

Mohammad Ali, Esq., H. C. S.,
Inspector-General of Police and Jails,
H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions,
Hyderabad-Deccan.

To

The Secretary to Government,
Judicial, Police and General Departments,
H. E. H. the Nizam's Government,
Hyderabad-Deccan.

Dated, Hyderabad, 22nd May, 1921.

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 167, dated 30th Khurdad 1330 Fasli, I have the honour to state that the facts of the case are that in the beginning of the month of January last anonymous threatening letters were received through British Post by H.E.H. the Nizam and the Honourable the Resident. Proceedings for finding out the writer of these letters were in progress. Eventually confidential enquiries brought to light that these letters had been written by some of the medical students of the local medical school at the instigation of their evil advisers, and that Taranath had a good deal to do with these letters. This Taranath had been instrumental in getting published a number of articles in the *Hindu* newspaper against our Government. He has been a resident of Raichur for a long time. His ideas have always been inimical to the British as well as to H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. When one of his accomplices Rajah Bahadur by name was arrested for writing one of such mischievous articles in the *Hindu* paper in October last, the hatred which Taranath bore to our Government was further aggravated. This youth Rajah Bahadur was arrested and brought to Hyderabad on the 9th December, and was sent to Mannanoor on the 30th December last, and his internment actually took place on the 3rd January 1921. Just about this time or perhaps a few days prior to this incident, Taranath had visited Hyderabad and gone back,

and after Rajah Bahadur's internment Taranath left these dominions and has gone across the border and has never since returned.

The first threatening letter that was addressed to H.E.H. the Nizam bears the date the 3rd of January 1921, the actual date of Rajah Bahadur's internment, and it was these circumstances that led us strongly to suspect Taranath and his associates in Hyderabad to be directly or indirectly concerned with these letters. It was found that his associates in Hyderabad were :

1. K. Raghavendra Rao,
2. Viswanatham alias Visham,
3. Ramanath Rao and
4. Paisely.

Of the above, the first three are medical students from Mangalore, and the last named has no ostensible means of subsistence but he is also from Mangalore side. Subsequently their movements were secretly watched, and when suspicion against them got stronger and stronger their handwritings were obtained. These writings were compared with the writings in the anonymous letters and the result was that the handwriting of K. Raghavendra Rao appeared to be identical with these writings. For a further verification these were sent to Mr. Brewster, Government of India Examiner of Questioned Documents, Simla. The Expert, through his letter No. P. 226, dated 16th April 1921, has given a clear definite opinion that the anonymous letters, 1 to 9, are conclusively in the handwriting of the writer of documents marked K, L and M, and it is admitted that these documents, *viz.*, K, L and M, are in the handwriting of K. Raghavendra Rao. I herein enclose a copy of the letter received from the Government Examiner of Questioned Documents. On receipt of this opinion it evidently became necessary that enquiries should be made from K. Raghavendra Rao and the case completed. In this connection Dr. Curtain was approached and on his summoning Raghavendra Rao he was told that I wanted to see him ; he expressed his willingness to go and see me. In fact he said he himself wanted to see the Inspector-General of Police. On his coming to me I had a conversation with him in this matter. His behaviour and his evasive replies only went to confirm my suspicions against him and his arrest looked reasonable. The facts having been placed before the Joint Magistrate, Atraf-Balda, a warrant of arrest too was issued, and Raghavendra Rao was subsequently arrested. He was later on placed before the Magistrate and a remand of 15 days was obtained for the completion of the enquiry. As the Residency courts refused to issue a warrant for the search of his house and that of his associates, the only hope of obtaining incriminating evidence was lost.

Raghavendra Rao was comfortably lodged in a decent room in the Headquarters of my office, and in the course of investigation after his brother from Madras had been permitted to see him, he, *i.e.*, Raghavendra Rao, divulged that although he himself was not the writer of these threatening letters, he knew who the author was; information with regard to which had been given to him by Paisely—the person whose name appears last in the list of Taranath's associates above mentioned.

3. Investigations had proceeded so far, when orders for his release were received. He was accordingly released on his own recognizance. Now as he is released, it is feared that the desired result could not be produced. After his release Raghavendra Rao gave me a piece of writing, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, which clearly shows that the suspicions against him were not at all unfounded, and his arrest was quite right, based on reasonable suspicion.

4. Taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case, I have reason to say that Raghavendra Rao and his associates were the sole authors of these threatening letters. If only a house search had been permitted and his custody continued just a little time more, I am fully confident the whole facts of the case would have clearly come out, and would have been fully established. I shall shortly submit a report on the subject for further orders.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.)

Inspector-General of Police and Jails."

TWO SPEECHES OF GANDHIJI

SOUTH INDIA KHADI SAMMELAN AND EXHIBITION AT BANGALORE, JULY, 1927

Gandhiji's two speeches at the Khadi Exhibition at Bangalore in 1927—a convincing exposition of the doctrine of Khaddar

I am very happy that I am sitting in your midst in this beautiful city and that I am in the company of our esteemed elder Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. I have been nurtured in the ancient Aryan traditions; and I am embarrassed to play a leading role in any function while Malaviyaji is in our midst. Since my return to my motherland I have taken him to be my elder brother. But the work that has been assigned to me is, I feel, my duty; this has made me overcome that restraint.

After my illness and convalescence this is the first time that I am appearing in a large assembly. I cannot help remembering on this occasion with feelings of profound gratitude the kindness and regard shown to me by the Maharaja of Mysore and the people of this State during the long period my illness and recovery. The profusion of your kindness and hospitality has made me feel that illness itself is a blessing.

But a few of my friends have pained me in one respect. In the appeal made to you for help in the spread of khadi they have said that if you buy khadi cloth and wear it, it will assuage my ailment, thus trying to exploit my illness. I beg of you to discard from your mind thoughts of this type. If you sincerely believe that khadi is of no national importance and if you think that it is of no value in the economic growth of our country, you must discard it, whatever may be my feelings in the matter. In matters of national importance one should not consider the desires and prejudices of a few. If I am so devoid of discretion and power of thinking and if I am so weak-minded as to feel upset over sincere criticism, I believe that it would be better if I remained a permanent invalid, so that the cause of the motherland would not suffer through me.

The exhibition that I am just now going to open is a good means of touching the hearts of the people. What is the meaning of khadi? What has khadi achieved so far? To provide proper answers to these questions this exhibition has been carefully organised. After a sincere and unprejudiced study of this exhibition if you realise the value of khadi, and if even then you do not have the strength of mind to act according to your conviction in the matter, let the love you bear towards me give you courage and strength to overcome your weakness. I say this because I stand before you as the representative of the millions of Indians who are dumb and who are hungry for want of means of earning. Rightly did

Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das call these millions Daridranarayana. Every pie that you give, every yard of cloth that you buy, is a positive demonstration of your sympathy for these people.

I shall speak to you about the opinions of those who are devoting all their energy in the service of Daridranarayana. You can examine the truth of these opinions by carefully studying the pictures you see around you and the results of khadi propaganda. Shri S. B. Patambekar and Shri N. S. Varadachar have won prizes for their essays on hand-spinning. In those essays they have graphically described how the only village industry, spinning, was destroyed. They have described also how, for the villagers who are without work for at least four months in the year, hand-spinning is the only profitable occupation open to them.

Many well-meaning people have suggested huge and imposing schemes for the rejuvenation of our villages. I am convinced, and I say it boldly, that none of these projects are in force to-day and that it is impossible under present conditions to take up and carry out any of them. It is only the charkha that is slowly and silently, but effectively, spreading into all parts of the country. The revival of charkha commenced in 1920. In big towns and cities we saw white caps everywhere, but really in no city was the stock of khadi cloth worth more than a lakh of rupees at the most. If, however, we look into the report prepared by the All-India Charkha Sangha of last year, we find that in 1926 alone 28 lakhs worth of khadi was prepared and the sales were to the tune of 23 lakhs. The capital invested by the Sangha exceeds 18 lakhs. In that year about 50,000 people plied the charkha for preparing khadi. These people had no other means of earning before they took up the preparation of khadi. They had no other work to do during the period which they devoted to preparing khadi. In proportion to the time they spent over their work they earned daily wages from 3 pies to 2 annas a day.

To us this earning appears poor and valueless. But when we consider that 50,000 people eagerly took up this means of earning, that fact should enable us to see that the earning was neither poor nor insignificant. In many places women walk four miles to bring cotton for spinning. Spinning in many places has become the focal point around which many other small industries have sprung up. Weavers, washermen, painters, dyers on cloth, etc., have risen up. The profession of the pinjaras had either been destroyed or was about to disappear. To all these people spinning has provided a healthy revival of their occupations. If there are ten spinners, one weaver and one pinjara can find occupation and earn anything from 4 annas to one rupee a day. In about 1500 villages educated young men are trying to revive spinning and allied occupations. Their monthly salary varies from 10 to 150 rupees. More than a thousand

youths, men and women, are in this way living on the fruits of their honest labour, serving their unfortunate countrymen at the same time.

All classes and all communities have taken to spinning, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Sudras, Untouchables, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and Sikhs. There are also people who work in a spirit of sacrifice without receiving any remuneration. Bengal has given for khadi work two of her best sons, Satish Chandra Dasgupta and Prafulla Chandra Ghosh. Acharya Roy is another. It was Satish Chandra Dasgupta who built the chemistry laboratory for Prafulla Chandra Roy. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh was formerly working as assistant assayer in the Government mint. Both of them gave up their lucrative Government jobs for working for khadi. You know that many flourishing lawyers and doctors have given up their jobs and taken to khadi propaganda. Many merchants have come to realise that a high level of commercial intelligence is required in khadi work as in other fields of trade. In modern days co-operation has spread to all fields of business. Khadi propaganda has its own important place in this new business set-up. The progress achieved in the past six years may appear to be slow. But if you think that this progress is an indication of a future growth, God willing, our villages which are decaying and degenerate may in no distant future become abodes of industry, fair play and serenity.

This exhibition clearly shows you the processes through which raw cotton reaches your hand in the shape of finished cloth. You see in it each of these processes in clear detail. You see also the instruments and the implements used at each stage. Except the pictures and a few instruments, all the others that you see may be prepared in our villages alone.

I want to bring to the notice of the more affluent of the audience before me the beautifully embroidered fine khaddar cloth on show in this exhibition.

In preparing this cloth 400 women of Bombay earn from 6 annas to one rupee every day. The Women's National Association of Bombay is in charge of all this work. A granddaughter of the great Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India, and a lady belonging to the family of the celebrated Petits, are among the workers here.

Madhusudan Das was a flourishing lawyer in Cuttack. The dire degrading poverty of his brethren of Utkal made him wake up from his complacent life. He realised that though working in the field with a plough and a pair of bullocks is good enough work, it was not enough to give joy and satisfaction and a sense of fulfilment if it is not accompanied by some handicraft.

However, I should not come in the way of your going round the exhibition, which is indeed a feast to the eyes. I hope that this exhibition will help you to understand the value of khadi, which is the focus round

which the regeneration of our villages can be achieved. Let this exhibition supply the inspiration to all of you to make those who have leisure and who have the desire, go to the villages to spread the message of khadi; let it make you wear khadi and khadi only; let it also forge a live bond between you and the villagers. In this sacred task—I boldly call it sacred—the harvest is plentiful, the reapers are few, as they say. If you make up your minds you can swell the number of reapers.

I am very glad to announce that this exhibition has been inaugurated. If in the eyes of God this work is right and proper, and if He thinks that the workers are honest and sincere, let Him bless the endeavour. This is my prayer to God.

BAPUJI'S BENEDICTORY SPEECH 8th July, 1927

Brothers and Sisters,

Shri Rajagopalachari is happy and proud at seeing the results of six days' work. But when I see the cloth shops of Bangalore and their flourishing trade on the one hand, and the clothes you are wearing and your ability to start wearing khaddar on the other, I am not at all satisfied with the sales here. Selling khadi is a difficult job. Whatever may be the difficulties sales have been satisfactory. This is a matter of rejoicing. Shri Rajagopalachari's joy also lies in this. We do not have modern urban civilization. If there are any here who dream of achieving that civilization, I declare that the achievement is not possible for some generations to come.

Study our motherland—7 lakhs of villages. India has a length of 1,900 miles and is 1,500 miles broad. The United States of America also is a newly-found country. Millions of acres of land remain uncultivated there. It can be made to yield crops. The density of population also is low. The Englishmen went there and established a new civilization there. That civilization may be suited to that country. But to bring that civilization into this ancient country—a country of sacred rivers, equally sacred Himalayas and noble traditions cherished from hoary antiquity—and to destroy the civilization which grew in religion, there is only one way. That is the way of Chengizkhan. Hundreds of Chengizkhans are necessary for it. It can be done only by destroying all the rural population and retaining a few strong, sophisticated urban people. These urban people may be made playthings of the newly-civilized.

The only useful and effective way consists in harmonizing the best elements in modern civilization with the ancient civilization of India. The one thing that is common to all people, Hindus, Muslims and others, is dire penury. I can understand your boundless enthusiasm when prizes are being distributed for merit in cricket, football, horse-racing and such

things. But I do not know whether you have understood and acquired enthusiasm for the charkha even after seeing this exhibition. I pray God to give you the insight and strength of mind to understand the significance of this exhibition. It is difficult for me to control the emotions that swell in my heart when I speak about this topic. I cannot speak in my normal way. I fervently pray to God to help you to see before your eyes the feelings that are agitating me. God bless you all.

What Congress leaders felt at the failure of the Cripps mission can be seen in this letter of Nehru to the American President. It is a rejoinder also to those enemies of Indian freedom who tried to make the world believe that Congress intransigence caused the failure of the mission.

TO FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

April. 12, 1942,
New Delhi.

Dear Mr. President,

I am venturing to write to you as I know that you are deeply interested in the Indian situation today and its reactions on the war. The failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission to bring about a settlement between the British Government and the Indian people must have distressed you, as it has distressed us. As you know we have struggled for long years for the independence of India, but the peril of today made us desire above everything else that an opportunity should be given to us to organise a real national and popular resistance to the aggressor and invader. We were convinced that the right way to do this would have been to give freedom and independence to our people and ask them to defend it. That would have lighted a spark in millions of hearts, which would have developed into a blazing fire of resistance which no aggressor could have faced successfully.

If that was not to be as we wished it and considered necessary for the purposes of the war, the least that we considered essential was the formation of a truly national government today with power and responsibility to organize resistance on a popular basis. Unfortunately even that was not considered feasible or desirable by the British Government. I do not wish to trouble you with the details of what took place during the negotiations that have unfortunately failed for the present. You have no doubt been kept informed about them by your representatives here. I only wish to say how anxious and eager we were, and still are, to do our utmost for the defence of India and to associate ourselves with the larger causes of

freedom and democracy. To us it is a tragedy that we cannot do so in the way and in the measure we would like to. We would have liked to stake everything in the defence of our country, to fight with all the strength and vitality that we possess, to count no cost and no sacrifice as too great for repelling the invader and securing freedom and independence for our country.

Our present resources may be limited, for the industrialisation of our country has been hindered by the policy pursued in the past by the British Government in India. We are a disarmed people. But our war potential is very great, our manpower vast and our great spaces, as in China, would have helped us. Our production can be speeded up greatly with the cooperation of capital and labour. But all this war potential can only be utilised fully when the government of the country is intimately associated with and representative of the people. A government divorced from the people cannot get a popular response which is so essential; much less can a foreign government, which is inevitably disliked and distrusted, do so.

Danger and peril envelop us and the immediate future is darkened by the shadows of possible invasion and the horrors that would follow, as they have followed Japanese aggression in China. The failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission has added to the difficulties of the situation and reacted unfavourably on our people. But whatever the difficulties we shall face them with all our courage and will to resist. Though the way of our choice may be closed to us, and we are unable to associate ourselves with the activities of the British authorities in India, still we shall do our utmost not to submit to Japanese or any other aggression and invasion. We, who have struggle for so long for freedom and against an old aggression, would prefer to perish rather than submit to a new invader.

Our sympathies, as we have so often declared, are with the forces fighting against fascism and for democracy and freedom. With freedom in our own country, those sympathies could have been translated into dynamic action.

To your great country, of which you are the honoured head, we send greeting and good wishes for success. And to you, Mr. President, on whom so many all over the world look for leadership in the cause of freedom, we would add our assurances of our high regard and esteem.

Sincerely yours,
(Sd). JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

President Franklin Roosevelt,
Washington,
U.S.A.

HOW TO CRUSH NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AMAZING DISCLOSURES

Confidential Official Documents
for Mobilizing Anti-Congress Elements

Some time previous to the momentous meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on 7-8-42, the Government had conducted a raid on the office of the A.I.C.C. and seized some documents and published them, though they were rough and imperfect notes. "As if the ends of ethical justice required it," the following confidential circular issued by the Secretary to the Government of India on 17-7-42, fell into the hands of Gandhiji, who published it with a note on 6-8-42. The Government was caught in its own trap.

I have had the good fortune to have friends who have supplied me with titbits of national importance such as I am presenting to the public herewith. Mahadev Desai reminds me that such an occasion occurred some seven years ago when a friend had unearthed the famous Hallett Circular. Such was also an occasion when the late Swami Shraddhanandji was given an important document, though not of the sensational character as the Hallett Circular or Sir Frederick Puckle's very interesting production and that of his lieutenant Shri. D. C. Das. The pity of it is that the circulars were secret. They must thank me for giving the performance as wide a publicity as I can. For it is good for the public to know to what lengths the Government can go in their attempt to suppress national movements, however innocent, open and above-board they are. Heaven knows how many such secret instructions have been issued which have never seen the light of day. I suggest an honourable course. Let the Government by all means influence public opinion in an open manner and abide by its verdict. The Congress will be satisfied with a plebiscite or any other reasonable manner of testing public opinion and undertake to accept the verdict. That is real democracy. Vox populi vox Dei.

Meanwhile let the public know that these circulars are an additional reason for the cry of Quit, which comes not from the lips, but the aching hearts of millions. Let the masses know that there are many other ways of earning a living than betraying national interests. Surely it is no part of their duty to lend themselves to the very questionable methods as evidenced by Sir Frederick Puckle's instructions.

Bombay, 6-8-1942.

M. K. Gandhi

CONFIDENTIAL.

EXPRESS LETTER.

No. 28|25|42.

Government of India.

Department of Information and Broadcasting.

17th July, 1942,
New Delhi.

From

Sir Frederick Puckle, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India.

To

The Chief Secretaries to all Provincial Governments and Chief
Commissioners, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan and Coorg.

We have three weeks until the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on August the 7th. During this time the matter is mainly a problem of propaganda to mobilize opinion against the concrete proposals contained in the Congress Resolution and against the threat with which the Resolution concludes, described by Gandhi as 'open rebellion'. We have to (1) Encourage those on whose support we can depend. (2) Win over the waverers, and (3) Avoid stiffening the determination of Congressmen with the object either of putting pressure on the Congress, to secure that such action has the support of public opinion inside and outside India. Please intensify your publicity through all available channels with the aim of securing openly expressed and reasoned opposition to the scheme of the Resolution from individuals of influence and important non-Congress organisations. Following are the suggested main lines of publicity :

(1) No question of morale (sic) principle is involved, since His Majesty's Government's declared policy for the future of India is that her own people should devise their own form of independent government after the victory has been won, and that during the intervening period there should be, within the existing constitution, immediate and effective participation of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations.

(2) The question at issue is one of expediency. Are the proposals in the Resolution practical in the middle of war and are they likely to increase the chances of victory for the United Nations, or shorten the war by a single day?

(3) Whatever the answer to (2), there is no doubt that a campaign of Civil Disobedience involves recklessly putting the cause of the United Nations in jeopardy and encouraging the Axis.

(4) Japan is hesitating whether to turn North against Russia, or West

against India. Gandhi admits that acceptance of the resolution means administrative anarchy, rejection certainly means civil commotion; either way it is a direct invitation to Japan to turn to the West.

(5) The Congress Leaders have now become the heroes of the Axis broadcasts, a clear indication that India's enemies think that Congress's proposals are to their benefit.

(6) The only road by which India can achieve her destiny is through the victory of the United Nations. "A free India is not possible in a world of slaves."

2. Some general criticisms of the Resolution are :

(a) The resolution is a party manifesto : it is the Congress speaking and not India. The only grounds on which it could be considered a serious document and not a piece of propaganda would be, if it has been subscribed to by all parties. But it pointedly disregards the wishes and feelings of everyone except the Congress. On the war issue, Muslims, Sikhs, Communists, Royists, organised labour, the Kisan Sabha, and important student organisations are opposed to the Congress. Success of voluntary recruitment proves that on the war issue Congress does not speak for India.

(b) Note the blatantly hypocritical interpretation of the earlier Satyagraha Movement, described at the time by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan as a stab in the back of the British.

(c) Note misrepresentation of the Cripps Proposals which promised to India the choice of Dominion Status or Independence as soon as victory was won.

(d) Note that the Congress have made no attempt whatever to solve the "Communal tangle". On the contrary, for the suggestion that it was possible to come to terms with the Muslim League, Rajagopalachari has been forced to resign from the Congress.

(e) Note the statement that there is a widespread ill-will towards British and satisfaction at the success of the Japanese arms. Such satisfaction is confined to Congressmen, and if there is ill-will it has been intentionally fostered by the Congress who if they had been serious in their protestation of sympathy with the cause of the United Nations, could have swung the opinion the other way.

(f) Note claptrap about transferring power to workers coming from the Congress, a purely authoritarian body in its organisation and dominated by big business and the middle classes. The workers in any case are at present unfranchised and they certainly cannot be enfranchised in time for them to have any influence on a provisional war government.

3. Concrete proposals in the form in which they are stated in the Resolution are vague and impracticable. They mainly amount to a "cock-eyed" version of the Cripps Proposals: these were democratic, they envisaged a general election in order to secure representative legislatures,

a Constituent Assembly democratically elected, and the free discussion of proposals for the future constitution. They provided in fact, to use Gandhi's term, for the "orderly withdrawal" of British power. There is nothing democratic about the Congress proposals. They seem to envisage the handing over of power to provisional Congress Government, which shall then itself decide what future arrangements are necessary. Note that British rule is first to be withdrawn; after that a Provisional Government is to be formed. What is to happen in the interval? How and by whom is the Provisional Government to be formed and under what constitution will it function? The Congress has taken no steps to secure support from other important elements, and these elements will not consent to authority being handed over to Congress even temporarily. The scheme must involve a long period—months at least—of uncertainty during which if there is any authority in existence capable of carrying on King's Government, it will be weak and uncertain. During this period are the Japanese likely to remain inactive? The threat of Civil Disobedience is a direct invitation to the Japanese, but the acceptance of the proposals by the British Government would create a situation which would be an equally open invitation to India's enemies.

4. The proposals for co-operation in the war are negative. A wish is expressed, not, "as far as it is possible", to embarrass the war effort or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. There is no word of any resolve to fight the total war to the end alongside others. This attitude is in harmony with Gandhi's recent writings. He has assumed that the establishment of national Government would be followed by the disbandment of the Indian army, and he has talked of India sending emissaries to the Axis. The most he himself ever promised is permission for troops of the United Nations to stay and defend India without any promise of active aid in their task. His latest pronouncement of July the 15th is as follows: "I can say that a Free India will make common cause with the Allies, but I cannot say whether Free India will take part in this militarism or she will choose her non-violent way. But I can say without hesitation or sense of shame that if I can possibly turn India towards non-violence, then I would do so". In addition, it may be noted that the Congress itself is rotten with pacifists and appeasers and as a body has never undertaken on any conditions that a Congress Government would concern itself with anything except the "defence" of India, *i.e.*, active co-operation to win the war has never been promised and is not promised now. It is noticeable in the present Resolution that though there is much talk of resistance to aggression the nature of that resistance is nowhere described, and there is studious avoidance of any reference to violence or non-violence throughout. The Resolution professes to deplore "passive acceptance of aggression", which is exactly what Gandhi has been preach-

ing for years. The spirit of petainism prevalent at Wardha and inspiring large sections of Congressmen is illustrated by a remarkable article by Mahadev Desai in the Harijan of July the 12th. Reference is to page 226 of the English edition, paragraph under the head "A desperate game". This article might be used with effect in conversation with educated people.

5. The resolution ends with a threat expressed in vague terms, which both Azad and Gandhi have since explained to mean a mass movement on a widest possible scale. If Congress cannot get their own way, they will not be content, stand aside and let others get on with the job, but will throw India to the Japanese and Germans. The following Persian proverb may be useful :

Na khud khuram
Persida shavad ta

na bi-kas diham ;
bi-sag diham.

"I will not eat it myself nor will I give it to anyone; let it rot, so that I may give it to the dogs".

6. It would be advisable at the present stage to abstain from attacking the Congress too directly, *e.g.*, by calling it a Fifth Column, *etc.*, and certainly to abstain from attacks on individuals; either will only rally loyal Congressmen in support of a cause in which they may not genuinely believe. For the moment the object is to mobilize public opinion against the Congress policy as detrimental to the successful conduct of the war. Loyalists and waverers may be assured that Government has the means to deal suitably with trouble and intends to use them.

7. The National War Front should be used to the fullest to oppose proposals which can only be detrimental to the war effort. Speeches, letters to the local press, leaflets, cartoons, posters, whispering campaigns are possible media for local publicity. Instructions to All India Radio Stations will be given by the Centre.

Following are suggestions for cartoons or posters :

(1) The scene is the room of a house, with doors on left and right. Through the left door a British soldier is disappearing and a Congressman is waving good-bye to him from the middle of the floor. Next to the Congressman is a peasant looking towards the right door, through which the head of a Japanese soldier appears. Possible caption : "Babuji, look who is coming".

(2) Scene : a crossroad. A sign-post pointing to VICTORY. Two travellers : one says, "which is the road to independence?" other answers, "Come along with me. The road to VICTORY leads to where you want to go."

(3) Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo each with microphones each saying "I vote for the Congress Resolution."

(Sd.) F. H. PUCKLE,
Secretary to the Government of India.

CONFIDENTIAL

EXPRESS LETTER

Government of Orissa
Publicity Department.

No. 895 (19) Pub.

From

Rai Sahib D. C. Das, M.A.
Deputy Secretary and Publicity Officer to Government.

To

All Collectors
All Sub-Divisional Officers,
Dated Cuttack, the 22nd July, 1942.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 878 (20) Pub. dated the 21st July, 1942, I am directed to forward a copy of Confidential express letter No. 28|25|42, of the 17th July, 1942, of the Government of India, Department of Information and Broadcasting, and to request that immediate action may be taken to intensify publicity on the lines suggested therein through all available channels with the aim of securing openly expressed and reasoned opposition to the scheme of the Congress Resolution in question from individuals of influence and important non-Congress organisations in your district|sub-division. The non-Congress Organizations, known to this department as existing in the Districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Ganjam are noted on the margin. There might be similar non-Congress Organizations in other districts and more such organizations in the Districts of Cuttack, Balasore and Ganjam besides the various War Committees now functioning in the Province.

Cuttack

Oriya People's Association.
 Oriya Muhammadan Association.
 Orissa Landholders' Association.
 All Orissa Bengal Settlers' Association.
 Domiciled Bengalees' Association.
 Orissa Women's League of Service.

Balasore

Orissa Millowners' Association.

Ganjam

Ganjam Landholders' Association.
 All Orissa National Association.
 Andhra Mandali.
 Oriya Samaj.

The non-Congress organizations may be requested to call meetings and pass resolutions on the lines suggested in India's (*sic*) letter attached. The resolutions passed should be given the widest possible publicity through as many newspapers as possible not only of this province but also of other provinces. The services of the representative of the United Press and Associated Press may also be utilised, as far as possible, for the purpose. The best way by which individuals of influence of your area may express their opposition to the scheme of the resolution of the Congress will perhaps be to contribute articles to non-Congress papers on the suggested lines. The editors of non-Congress Newspapers may also be approached to write leading articles opposing the scheme of the Congress Resolution on the suggested lines.

As we have less than 8 weeks until the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on the August 7th, very prompt and effective actions are requested.

I have the honour to be,

Sir

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) D. C. DAS,

Deputy Secretary and Publicity Officer to
 Government

LOUIS FISCHER'S SPEECH IN AMERICA

Published in the "Hindu", 16-5-1943

One of the small number of Westerners who had a clear understanding of India, Louis Fischer shows how England was not ripe for India's freedom.

When we discussed world affairs in the past we talked in terms of the five hundred million white people who inhabit the Western Hemisphere and Western and Central Europe. But there are in India and China and in the small neighbouring countries alone one billion persons—and they are insisting on a life of dignity, on a life of freedom. If we try to stop them there will be an explosion the historic importance of which will dwarf even this great World War.

The symbol of India's unanimous wish for freedom is Gandhi As I sat with him on the ground in his little mud hut in the centre of sizzling hot India I had the impression as I listened to his voice that I was listening to four hundred million voices and the impact upon me was overwhelming.

He is a Hindu, but he believes in many of the principles of Christianity, and the early Christians at least understood sacrifice and renunciation. Sacrifice and renunciation make a tremendous appeal to Indians, and the British controvert their own statements of Gandhi's waning influence by the tremendous energy and money they spend in trying to prove that Gandhi's influence is waning.

Gandhi begged twice this summer to see the Viceroy, but the Viceroy refused. Gandhi wanted a conciliatory agreement—the Viceroy would not have it. The reason is simple. Winston Churchill said when he was fifty-five, and he has not changed since then: 'The truth is that Gandhism and all it stands for will sooner or later have to be grappled with and finally crushed.' And this is Churchill's first opportunity in high office to grapple with Gandhi. The British have definitely decided to try to break Gandhi, to try to break the Indian movement for freedom. Chiang Kai-shek has warned Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt that this attempt to suppress a great movement for freedom in the midst of a great war for freedom may drive all of Asia into the arms of the Axis. I am not anti-British, I am anti-Tory. I am not anti-British, I am anti-Imperialist. The men who would not save the Spanish Republic, the men who killed Czechoslovakia, the men who went to Mussolini and to Hitler and found them wonderful, are still in the British Cabinet and I do not expect those reactionaries and Tories to give India freedom.

Some people who think in two dimensions say : ' Hitler and Mussolini and Franco and Japanese militarists made this War '. That is correct ; but we made them. Hitler, maniac, madman though he be, he is nevertheless the child of our civilization.

After all the peace will be no better than the men who make it. Governments create peace in their own image. Peace like charity begins at home. Some day we may be grateful to Gandhi for having raised for all of us that fundamental question of whether we can purify ourselves during the war so as to be capable of making a better world after the war.

I came away from India with the conviction that the obstacle to Indian Independence does not lie in India. It lies in England. India is a very good thing. Many interests, companies and families in England have grown rich on India. Neville Chamberlain was an appeaser because he was afraid that if England became involved in a war, his England (the England of caste and privilege and money and aristocracy) would die. But Churchill says : ' No : England can fight this war, and win it and remain the old England '. And Churchill's England includes India. . .

The question therefore is not whether India is ripe for freedom but the question is whether we are ripe for Indian freedom.

Lord Keynes said in a speech : ' After this war England must increase her export 50 per cent over 1938. There are no ifs about this. Otherwise England is sunk '. How can England give up her Empire ?

NOTE ON GOA

A convincing rejoinder to the Western condemnation of the India Government's Goa action. (Kindly supplied by the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.)

I accepted the request of some of our fellow Indian students to speak to them about the situation in Goa because I felt, as they did, that sufficient publicity had not been given to the Indian-Goan point of view on this issue. The very fact that we are meeting today after the action in Goa is over shows that our action in Goa was not premeditated. We did not choose the time for this action, although it is no secret that our Prime Minister had declared on the 16th of August in the Rajya Sabha and 17th of August in the Lok Sabha that the use of force for the liberation of Goa could not be ruled out. We were hoping, perhaps against hope, that Portugal might still come to her senses and agree to a peaceful withdrawal from Goa.

The reaction of various circles in Western countries, particularly the

U.K. and U.S.A., was due to many factors. There are some who genuinely believe that our action was contrary to our declared principles. We should, therefore, not jump to hasty conclusions but try to analyse the causes for this reaction and put our case across calmly, coolly and in an objective manner. A certain section of the British press which is traditionally anti-Indian and never misses a chance of beating India with any stick they can get hold of, is determined not to be convinced and we should, therefore, not bother about it. There is, however, a large body of opinion in Britain which is recovering from the sudden and somewhat emotional outburst of the British press and is taking a more sober view of our action in Goa. It is likely that the spate of British criticism which came up so suddenly will also die down as suddenly. We should, therefore, not be unduly disturbed by it.

Another important fact to be borne in mind is that the world consists not only of the NATO countries inhabited by only about 400 million people but also a vast number of other countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe with about 2000 million people who have almost unanimously supported India's action and condemned Portuguese colonialism in Africa and in Goa. I should like to invite your attention to the latest resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly on the 19th of December by 90 votes to 3 with two abstentions condemning Portugal for its refusal to inform the UN on conditions in her overseas territories, and establishing a Special Committee charged with investigating the situation in Portugal's colonies. I should also like to invite your attention to the debates in the Security Council, where no action could be taken on Portugal's complaint because Ceylon, Liberia, the UAR and the Soviet Union voted against it. It is unfortunate that the proposal of Ceylon, Liberia and the UAR calling upon Portugal to terminate hostile action and co-operate with India in the liquidation of her colonies in India could not be adopted because of the opposition of the UK., U.S.A., Turkey, France, Equador, Chile and Kuomintang China.

The main Western criticism of the Indian action in Goa may be dealt with under the following headings :

(1) It has spoiled the image of India and of Mr. Nehru as a staunch supporter of peace and non-violence and thus decreased their influence with the various countries of the world in favour of peace. Mahatma Gandhi's name has been dragged into this invariably.

This criticism is based partly on sentimental grounds, partly on lack of appreciation of India's policy, and partly on a deliberate desire to embarrass India.

Firstly, Gandhiji never said that force should not be used in any situation. I remember when I was a student in the early thirties, Gandhiji wrote : "Violence is bad but slavery is worse." This was in connection

with the throwing of bombs by Bhagat Singh and J. N. Das in the Central Legislature. Again, when a delegation of the Goa National Congress met Gandhiji in 1946, he said: "I venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognise the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than depend on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government." Again in October, 1947, when Pakistan invaders attacked Kashmir, Gandhi approved the Government of India's action in sending troops in aid of the people and Government of Kashmir. Thus, to identify Gandhiji with a passive policy of not using force under any circumstances is a deliberate distortion and misunderstanding of his teachings.

Secondly, the Government of India has never abjured the use of force, although she has always tried to arrive at a peaceful settlement of disputes as far as possible. International Law and the U.N. Charter do not prohibit the use of force in all circumstances.

Thirdly, neither International Law nor the U.N. Charter can take away the inherent and sovereign right of a people to revolt against an oppressive ruler in order to gain their freedom. Past history as well as recent history is full of examples of such revolts and revolutions which have led to the freedom and independence of scores of countries which today are members of the United Nations.

Lastly, it ill becomes Governments who have themselves not hesitated to use force under very different circumstances in order to suppress national liberation movements or to encourage revolts against recognised Governments to condemn the use of force by a peace-loving country like India as a last resort and under very grave provocation. As the Soviet delegate pointed out in the Security Council debate on the 19th of December, the use of force in the Suez by the British, and by the French in Algeria, and the encouragement of the use of force by the U.S.A. in Cuba and Guatemala, and the sending of the 6th fleet to the Lebanon are instances which put these great countries out of court.

I am not trying to justify or compare the action we have taken in Goa with the use of force by the U.K. in the Suez or by France and the U.S.A., in other countries. I only wish to point out that it is not fair for Western countries to create a false image of India and put it up on a pedestal, as it were, and then knock it down simply because India exercises her sovereign and inherent right to liberate the last vestiges of colonialism from her territory by resorting, as a last resource, to the use of force. I should like to emphasise this point because we do not want a false image of India to be created in Western minds, because that will neither help us nor the Western world. I am, therefore, glad that the West has realised that India does not merely talk but can take strong action if and when necessary. Our action in Goa should thus have a sobering effect on Western

minds, who will, I hope, take a more realistic and practical view of our policy as well as our strength. I also hope that this action of ours will have the desired effect on some of our aggressive neighbours, who have been taking undue advantage of our passion for peace.

As for India's influence on the rest of the world, as I have already pointed out, the world does not merely consist of the NATO powers. In the vast majority of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, India's action has been welcomed. It has given further encouragement and hope to countries in Asia and Africa which are still suffering under colonial rule. It has also served to give a warning to colonial powers that if they are not willing to part with power peacefully, they will have to reckon with physical force from the people of the colonial areas and their friends. This has naturally come as a shock to colonial powers who had hoped that India's policy of peace would perhaps delay the freedom and independence of their colonial territories. It is just as well that India's stand on this issue should be clearly understood and her action in Goa serve as a warning to colonial powers. I believe that our action in Goa will thus have a good effect in favour of freedom not only in Asian and African and Latin American countries but also in Western countries.

(2) *Legal Objections*: India has been condemned in the NATO countries for having violated International Law, the U.N. Charter and the findings of the International Court of Justice. People who criticise India on this ground seem to forget that International Law is not something immutable; it is a dynamic thing that develops and changes from century to century and from decade to decade, and is shaped by events and developments in the world continuously. The U.N. Charter itself is a development of International Law. The principles enunciated in U.N. resolutions themselves constitute an important development in the field of International Law and convention. I should, therefore, like to invite your attention to two very important resolutions passed almost unanimously by the United Nations, No: 1514 of 14th December, 1960, and No: 1542 of 15th December 1960. Resolution No: 1542 stated: "In the light of the provision of Chapter II of the Charter, General Assembly Resolution 742 (viii), and the principles approved by the General Assembly in Resolution 1514 (xv) of 14th December 1960, the territories under the administration of Portugal listed hereunder are non-self-governing territories within the meaning of Chapter II of the Charter." Goa and various parts of India under Portuguese control were listed as "non-self-governing territories." Operative paragraph 2 of the Resolution provided: "Obligation exists on the part of the Government of Portugal to transmit information under Chapter II of the Charter concerning these territories and that it should be discharged without further delay." This Portugal has refused to recognise or comply with.

Now let me quote paragraph 5 of the previous Resolution No : 1514 of 14th December, 1960. It states: "Immediate steps *shall* be taken in Trust and non-self-governing territories or all those territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer *all* powers to the peoples of those territories, without any condition or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy *complete independence and freedom*." The Preamble to that Resolution furthermore states: "Aware of the increasing conflicts resulting from the denial of or impediments in the way of the freedom of the people, which constitutes a serious threat to world peace."

It is thus clear that according to the Resolutions of the United Nations itself, the continued refusal of Portugal to transfer power to the non-self-governing territories of Goa, Daman and Diu, and her persistent refusal to submit any information regarding them to the United Nations, constituted a serious threat to world peace. The action of India, therefore, in coming to the aid of the people of these non-self-governing territories to gain freedom was not a violation of the Charter but rather a fulfilment of the directive to members laid down in this very important Resolution of the U.N. It was the refusal of Portugal to transfer all powers to the people to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom (I am quoting Resolution No : 1514) that constituted a violation of International Law and practice as developed in the United Nations and was a serious threat to world peace. India's action, therefore, is not only not a violation of the U.N. principles but their vindication and the vindication of the inherent right of a people to enjoy freedom and independence. The freedom of India and the liberation of India from foreign rule was incomplete as long as these pockets of Portuguese colonialism continued on our territory. Our action in Goa was, therefore, the exercise of a sovereign right by the Indian people on their own territory and not an act of aggression against another power or against another territory. One cannot commit aggression on one's own territory.

We do not base our right to free these territories from Portuguese control on any treaties but rather on the sovereign inherent right of an oppressed people to free themselves from colonial domination. The right to enjoy such freedom and independence has been guaranteed by the United Nations resolution No : 1514 of 14th December, 1960.

We followed all the processes possible for a peaceful settlement of this problem ever since our independence 14 years ago. After the British left, we persuaded the French to peacefully transfer their colonial territories in India to us, which they did in 1954. We opened a high-powered diplomatic mission in Lisbon in 1949, mainly to discuss a peaceful transfer of their colonial territories in India, but had to close it down after four

years of long and fruitless negotiations. We curbed attempts by Goans in India and their Indian sympathisers to launch a non-violent civil disobedience movement in Goa, but even this had no effect on Portugal. When in 1955, hundreds of unarmed volunteers entered Goa, 22 of them were mowed down by Portuguese machine-guns and over 200 were seriously injured, and the bodies of the dead and injured were trampled upon by Portuguese soldiers. We made further efforts through the allies of Portugal to influence Portugal to a sensible frame of mind, but even these attempts failed. The U.N. Secretary-General, in his letter of 13th December addressed both to the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Portugal, pleaded with both for negotiations in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and, what is more important, in accordance with the principles formulated by the United Nations—these principles are embodied in Resolutions 1514 and 1542 and other decolonising resolutions in the General Assembly—but Portugal refused to have any negotiations on the basis of these principles. The U.S. Government also tried as late as about the 10th of December to persuade Portugal to start negotiations on the basis of their withdrawal from Goa. But even then they refused. I do not know what efforts, if any, the U.K. Government made in this direction. If the allies of Portugal could not persuade her to act in accordance with the U.N. Charter and the U.N. resolutions, it is hardly fair for them to condemn India and deplore the action taken by her as a last resort in the face of grave provocations by the Portuguese in Goa.

Let us now examine the facts. Geographically, ethnically, culturally, racially and economically Goa is a part of India. Goa is as Indian as Dover is English and Marseilles is French. The legal fiction propounded by Salazar that Goa is an extension of Portugal and an overseas province goes against the very terms of the U.N. Charter and the U.N. resolutions which have listed Goa, Daman and Diu as “non-self-governing territories.” It is significant that while Albuquerque overpowered Goa in 1510 by “burning the city and putting everything to the sword, when no life was spared of any Musalmans and their mosques were filled up and set on fire and we counted six thousand dead bodies,” the liberation of Goa in 1961 only cost about 50 killed and less than 100 wounded on both sides. These figures and the swiftness of the action in Goa prove—if proof were needed—that there was absolutely no local support for the Portuguese rule in Goa. The slight damage caused to property was entirely due to mining done by the Portuguese authorities and the lawless elements let loose by them on the eve of their defeat.

Why did India have to use force?—our friends in the West ask. Because the Goans had expected that they would be free and integrated with the rest of India after the British left in 1947, and particularly after

the French followed suit in 1954. Portugal refused to pay heed to the warning of history and the pleading of India. For fourteen long years, India tried to negotiate with Portugal, but failed. Portugal defied the advise of her allies and the resolutions of the U.N. When unarmed satyagrahis crossed the Goan border in protest on 15th August 1955, 22 of them were shot dead and over 200 seriously injured by Portuguese bullets; over one thousand were arrested and tried and awarded long terms of imprisonment, up to 28 years. Portugal did not allow any civil liberties or freedom of expression inside Goa—as indeed inside Portugal itself. The Portuguese massacred over 50,000 Africans in Angola.

India should have used force to liberate Goa way back in 1955 when the unarmed satyagrahis were massacred in cold blood. But India was patient. After the massacre of over 50,000 Africans in Angola, Goa became a test case for India as well as the world. It is strange that the allies of Portugal, who are today condemning the use of force by India for the liberation of Goa, said nothing against the massacre of 50,000 Africans in Angola. Nor was this all. The Portuguese sent reinforcements in troops and aeroplanes and in warships to Goa from August 1961 onwards. They shot at an Indian merchant vessel and Indian fishermen's craft, killing one and wounding another, without any reason. They crossed into Indian territories a dozen times, and the last one was in the morning of the 17th December when they crossed more than 400 yards into Indian territory and fired machine-guns on an Indian village. If this was not enough provocation, what was? Is there any instance in history where an independent country has acted with such patience and so long before resorting to force to come to the aid of its own brethren on its own territory under colonial domination? I wonder how the British or the Americans would have reacted in similar circumstances. How indeed did the British act in the past? In 1835 a Goan, Bernardo Paes da Silva, organised a military expedition to liberate his people. He was helped by the British, who provided some naval and army officers to strengthen the hands of the Goan patriot against Portuguese tyranny!

We have ample evidence to show to the world that Portugal was determined to keep her domination on her overseas colonies and refused to accept the verdict of history or the decisions of the United Nations. Portugal even refused to act within the terms of the appeal sent by the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations to negotiate with India in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the principles laid down by the United Nations, *i.e.*, the two resolutions of 1960 about colonialism, which were subsequently re-affirmed in 1961. Portugal even refused the proposal of the U.S. Government to start negotiations with India on the basis of withdrawing from Goa. Therefore, India had no other alternative but to use force in order to aid her brothers in Goa, Daman and Diu.

What would have happened if India had not taken this action? The temper of the Indian people had been roused. Five thousand volunteers of the Goan National Congress and ten thousand Indian volunteers were ready to march unarmed into Goa. Indian troops would either have to shoot them to stop them from going into Goa or the Portuguese troops would have shot them dead, as they did in 1955. India had, therefore, reluctantly to use force as the lesser of the two evils.

Democratic India cannot be insensitive to the rightful representations and demands of her people; democratic India, which gained her independence from the British and the French, could not be insensitive to the demands of the Goans. Other democratic Governments in the West should appreciate this when even on such matters as immigration and the Common Market, where the demand is not so widespread, they have to give in to the wishes of the majority even against their own principles. India, on the other hand, used only a symbolic token force, in a just cause where the whole of India and Goa was behind them. It is significant that no political party or leader, except Mr. Rajagopalachari who is a law unto himself, has raised any voice against India's action. On the contrary, there was a unanimous demand, in and outside the Indian Parliament, for such action, and the Government was criticised severely for not having taken it earlier.

To sum up, India's action in Goa is justified on moral grounds, on legal grounds, as well as on democratic principles. We tried to persuade Portugal to agree to a peaceful withdrawal, but Portugal was determined to stay on. We waited for 450 years and we tried every means possible from the day of our independence to have a peaceful settlement through negotiations, but we failed. There was, therefore, no other alternative.

Far from decreasing India's moral influence or stature in international affairs, the liberation of Goa is only an indication of her wider sympathies for the oppressed people in all colonial areas. India's action in Goa has the support of the vast majority of the countries of the world, particularly in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. It is significant that only the NATO powers and those allied with them like Pakistan and Turkey have criticised India. It is even more significant that countries like Liberia have strongly supported India in the Security Council. The facts speak for themselves, and we have no reason to be ashamed of what we have done. If anything, we should feel proud for having acted in accordance with our oft-repeated principles. But we should not feel exalted or proud or vindictive. India has a history full of tolerance towards various races and religions of mankind. We have conquered culturally and spiritually our military conquerors. Our Constitution gives freedom of expression and worship. We shall retain and encourage the good that Goa has gained from Portugal and retain her

personality and character. The Christians of Goa will now be able to develop in their own way and in accordance with their genius in the company of over twelve million Christians, their compatriots in other areas of India. We shall develop Goa economically, educationally and politically, so that she will be a proud member of our union. We have every reason to hope that Goa will be happier, more prosperous and much more free with her motherland than she could ever have hoped to be under foreign domination.

A leader in "Sharana Sandesha", a Kannada paper known for its journalistic integrity and impartiality, writes that Gandhiji's condemnation of the Praja Sangh of Ramdurg was somewhat hasty and ill-conceived. (Translation)

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RAMDURG OUTRAGES

It is already a month since murder and loot were perpetrated in Ramdurg. Many popular leaders have visited the place, seen things by themselves, ascertained the real facts from the people, and issued their statements. The opinions and conclusions arrived at in these statements vary. We have published some of these differing opinions in our paper.

A perusal of all these statements makes it clear that some people have given a communal colouring to the unhappy events, some have laid the whole blame on the Government, while some others declare that the people themselves are wholly responsible. The examining judge must ultimately decide which of these opinions is true. We have stated in our issue of the 24th of April, that it would not be right on the part of anybody to give any verdict until the findings of the court come out.

It may be noticed that the publishers of *Jayanti* have expressed the same opinion in their paper. If we look into the facts of the case bearing the above in mind it may help to arrive at the truth. The varying opinions of some leaders, which we have given elsewhere, are sure to expose the propriety of such accusations and counter-accusations which those statements contain.

The outrage has taken place, and is over. It has become a memory. But truth should not get thinned out or shaded in the same way. Truth must be found out at any cost and brought out into the open: This is the primary duty of all. It is essential from another point of view. It is only by discovering the truth that the real culprits can be brought to book, and gruesome happenings prevented in future.

No one should attempt to raise ahimsa on to a pedestal hiding truth at the same time. In that case it is not true ahimsa at all. Hiding the

truth is only a preparation for violence. With Gandhiji ahimsa and truth are the two faces of the same coin. One cannot exist without the other. So, we must wholeheartedly condemn the hiding of truth as much as we condemn violence. Just as people who indulge in violence are unworthy of treading the path of Gandhiji, so also those who attempt to hide or distort truth are unfit to be Gandhiji's followers. The latter do not deserve to be leaders of the people.

What we have to see is not arguments and counter-arguments of controversialists; not the cleverness which upholds a party view; nor even the desire to support and help one's own people. These are valueless trifles before truth. So those who profess to feel pained at the happenings in Ramdurg must first try to find out the real truth and lay it bare before the public. This is the only way by which they can conquer their pain. In the same way, what we also want is the truth about the Ramdurg events. It is only this truth that can help us and give us strength in our future political fight.

Let us remember that we will be doing our country a fearful wrong if we do not expose the truth and try to cover it up by different political or other principles.

Of all the people who have advanced their opinions on the Ramdurg outrage, Gandhiji is the foremost in importance. The whole country was eagerly waiting to learn his reaction to the events. On the 29th last Gandhiji gave his opinion in *Harijan*.

Every word that Bapuji utters or writes has a profound effect on the whole of India. We must look at his opinion bearing this in mind. Nobody has any remark to make against his forthright condemnation of violence. Similarly, no-one objects to his proposing that a high court judge should thoroughly examine the case.

We do not, however, agree with Gandhiji when he says that the people took to violence in a retaliatory spirit and deliberately. He is issuing this verdict already on the strength of the scanty information which has reached him. This is in our opinion, somewhat hasty.

Gandhiji himself has proposed an inquiry by a high court judge. Of the matters to be examined in the court the most important is whether the people had gone to the jail with a preconceived plan of committing an outrage or whether they were roused into frenzy by other events. In fact, this is pivotal to the case. We ask, was Gandhiji justified in pronouncing a verdict on a matter of such vital importance which is *sub judice*? Will it not hamper the process of arriving at the truth? Shri Patil Veerana-gowda and Shri Hallikeri Gudleppa have stated in their statement that the outrage was not premeditated, and that the people had no weapons with them. So it is clear that there is a firmly held view different from the view of Gandhiji. Which of them is in accordance with the true

facts of the case can be decided only at the end of the judicial examination. So, was it right on the part of Gandhiji to issue his condemnation at such an early stage?

We are in full agreement with Gandhiji when he says that he will not examine at this stage the provocation caused by the Rajasaheb. There are differing opinions on this also. This is another point about which the truth can come out at the final verdict of the court. Gandhiji should not have pronounced his opinion in such a categorical manner about the guilt of the people. Everybody desires that truth must come into the open without any kind of compulsion, pressure or personal influence. Speeches or writings which in any manner prejudice the course of justice should always be avoided. —8 May, 1939.

The "Karnataka Front" also takes objection to the hasty remarks made by Gandhiji about the tragic events at Ramdurg, without a full examination of all the facts of the case.

LEADER ON GANDHI'S VERDICT IN THE HARIJAN

It is with the sense of highest grief and sorrow that we have to criticise the statement and observations made by Mahatma and published in *Harijan* last week. However shocked and stunned we may be, our duty in the cause of upholding the rights and liberties of a struggling people is imperative notwithstanding the fact that we have to dissociate ourselves from the view taken by the Mahatma, for whom we have the highest respect and admiration.

In the article in reference the Mahatma makes two observations, that the Chief of Ramdurg is a friend of the Congress, and that he sensed violence and untruth in the agitation that was carried on. The statement that the Chief of Ramdurg is a friend of the Congress, we humbly submit, is entirely false. So also the statement that the agitation was surcharged with untruth and violence is materially incorrect. No doubt the agitation culminated in violence, which fact is highly reprehensible, but there was provocation on the part of the State which temporarily maddened an infuriated mob who in a fit of frenzy were impelled to do rash and violent acts which though they cannot be upheld or justified have yet to be sympathetically considered.

There is another viewpoint from which the happenings in the Ramdurg State have to be considered. The struggle was between a savage and backward people on one side and probably an equally savage and backward State on the other. The history of the misrule of this weak Prince, the so-called friend of the Congress, for 15 years reveals a sad and

pathetic story, devoted entirely to personal self-aggrandizement and a zeal for increasing the revenues of the State by any imaginable means, not caring for the capacity or position of those poor and harassed people from whom the resources were sought to be extorted. The machinery and the personnel of the machinery used for the purpose of recovering the dues were equally heartless and undeserving. Officers from outside the State having very little sympathy with the subjects of the State or their well-being were selected and appointed without having any regard to the promotion of civil institutions or developing even rudimentary institutions which indicate a rule or administration which can be called civilised. During the last 15 years the income of the State has been doubled. Formerly it was one lakh, and later on it was increased to two lakhs. How was this additional income utilised? What efforts were made to promote the education of the people or to develop the health, sanitation, industry or commerce of the State and its people? Money flowed into the State treasury and was utilised for the personal expenditure of the State.

Income even at Rs. 500 was taxed, even manure pits and corn pits were subject to taxation, and the land revenue was several times higher than that in British India. No wonder that the poor uncared-for subjects remained as much savages as before. We characterize this administration as savage, and here we have a case between a savage people and a savage State. Therefore the standard of morality from which this affair has to be judged cannot be the same as that to be applied in the case of an enlightened people and an enlightened State.

The people, who were impoverished in the highest degree and who had practically become insolvent, were required to pay an exorbitant tax. Such a people were struggling and fighting for their legitimate rights of being governed with their consent and of being taxed as they could bear and to the extent legitimately needed for carrying on a humane and civilized administration, not for the benefit of an individual (personal) ruler but for the benefit of the State as a whole and for the public welfare.

When this struggle was going on the Congress leaders intervened and tried to bring about a compromise which they thought reasonable from their own standpoint, while the subjects who were the real parties to the dispute was not satisfied. The leaders tried to impose their terms upon the unwilling subjects, and hence the catastrophe. Were they the leaders of the struggling masses? Did they have any interest in them or in their welfare? Here we have a confession from the Mahatma that they were the friends of the Chief, who probably had an interest in his welfare.

It was under such circumstances that the Darbar took it into its head to dispense with the services of Sri Koundinya, who had studied the local conditions and understood the grievances of the people, which he wanted to redress and did in fact succeed to a certain extent. If he had been

allowed and trusted to carry on the administration the result would perhaps have been happy. There is room to suspect that his removal was under the advice and at the instance of the so-called leaders who intervened uninvited.

The State after the removal of Sri Koundinya imported as officers to carry on the administration and also the police department, men who were known as strong officers and who were expected to crush the agitation. These people did their work as was expected and gave very strong provocation to the backward and savage people, with the result that they were driven to commit mad acts. This in short is the genesis of the whole situation.

Now coming to the point as to whether the Chief is the friend of the Congress, we want to know what test is applied. Is he a friend because of the past misrule and self-aggrandisement? Is he a friend because he dismissed a sympathetic officer? Is he a friend because he appointed tyrants and unfeeling and highhanded officers? Is he a friend because violence was used and is being used in the State? Is he a friend because no help was rendered to the wounded or any medical or other step was taken to render First Aid to the wounded? Is he a friend because total indifference is shown to the injury that has been caused to the public welfare? We want definite answers to all these questions. If these indicate a feeling of friendship or otherwise we emphatically assert that he cannot be the friend of the Congress if the Congress is a friend of the oppressed masses which it professes to be.

Now coming to the second point, as to whether there is untruth and violence in the agitation. With great respect for Mahatma we beg to differ from him. The agitation was, as we have shown above, for bread and elementary rights, which was tried to be met by lathi charges and firing until the ammunition was exhausted. This shows that the violence on one side, that is, on the part of the State, is likely to be one-sided, and the violence on the part of the people was under provocation and was not the primary intention or object of the agitation.

The Mahatma says that he sensed violence only in the agitation. This is because in the other nostril of the Mahatma there was Vallabhbai and other satellites. We appeal to the Mahatma to free himself from this influence. Let him blow his nose and he will smell violence and untruth on the part of the State as well. The vision of Mahatma also has been clouded because he is looking through the smoke spectacles of Sjt. Gangadharao Deshpande. Let him throw away these second-hand spectacles and see with his own eyes and his vision will be cleared.

We appeal to the Mahatma to be himself again, that Mahatma of the years 1920 and 1930. Now as he says his body has become frail and his mind inert; he has been wasting the most valuable time at his disposal

in wooing the Thakore Sahebs and Viravalas in different States. He is talking of cows and tigers and of satiating the thirst of tigers by asking the cows to enter the jaws of bloodthirsty tigers. Round about him he has gathered tigers who have already tasted human blood; ere this three innocent cows have been sacrificed to satisfy the thirst of these tigers. Poor Nariman was the first victim, Dr. Khare was the second, and the recent and most cruel of all is our poor ex-Congress President Sjt. Bose, who was the idol and inspiration of the ardent and clamouring youth. In sacrificing these cows the Mahatma has himself used violence. There was a clear mandate of the Tripuri Congress that the Mahatma was to nominate the members of the Working Committee. The Mahatma refused to obey this mandate. Although even according to him the Congress is greater than himself, the persistent and obstinate refusal to recommend the names of the Working Committee cannot be considered less than an act of violence. He brought about such a situation that its legitimate effect was to coerce Sjt. Subhas to tender his resignation of the Presidentship; this was another act of violence. The refusal to do his duty according to the mandate of the Congress irrespective of the consequences was an act of untruthfulness. For the *Bhagawad-Gita* enjoins on every individual to do his duty irrespective of the consequences; it is a doctrine of faith, and not to do it is to do an act of untruthfulness. Therefore, in the very words of the scriptures we appeal to our Mahatma to awake and follow the advice given in the *Bhagawad-Gita*.—*The Karnatak Front*, 11th May, 1939.

The following correspondence throws light on the efforts of Mysore leaders to merge the local Congress with the all-India body and the attitude of the State Government towards it.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

File No. 41|33-34

Visit of Mr. Gandhi to the State

Resident's letter to the Dewan dated 12th December, 1933.

In connection with Mr. Gandhi's Harijan tour, the Government of Indian are anxious to have as full information as possible both regarding his activities and their effect on British India.

I would ask if His Highness's Government would be prepared to co-operate by sending me confidentially information in connection with Mr. Gandhi's visit to the State. If they are prepared to do so, I would suggest that that communication might be somewhat on the following lines:

(1) A brief account of his activities, both those connected with the Harijan Movement and those unconnected with it.

(2) An appreciation of the effect of his visit on public opinion and on the various sections of the community, *i.e.*, Orthodox Classes, Depressed Classes, Congress supporters, *etc.*

From Inspector General of Police to the Chief Secretary, dated 16-1-1934

" I write to inform you that Mr. Gandhi entered the Mysore State on the morning of the 4th instant and left Bangalore on the night of 9th. During his six days stay in the State, it is learnt that he had public engagements only on the first four days. He visited 8 villages and 11 towns In most of these places he was presented with addresses and purses.

As regards the appreciation of the effect of his visit on public opinion it is learnt that the conservative orthodox classes were not in favour of his propaganda and that both in Mysore and Bangalore Cities, they distributed handbills protesting against the same.

The Depressed classes and the Congress supporters are reported to have evinced interest in the movement but in some places the Harijans were disappointed at Mr. Gandhi's failure to visit their quarters. The other classes are said to have been generally sympathetic.

File No. 4 of 35-36

Activities of Smt. Kamaladevi and Mr. H. Krishna Rao

Copy of the letter from Chief Secretary to I.G.P., dated 26-7-1935.

I am desired to invite reference to the Special Branch abstract for the week ending with Saturday the 20th July 1935, in which it has been reported that there is a recrudescence of activity on the part of the Congress organization in Bangalore and Mysore Cities. In Mysore City a meeting is stated to have been held on 17th June at the instance of Mr. H. Krishna Rao at which it was decided to take steps to reorganise Taluk Congress Committees. On the 18th instant a meeting is found to have been held in Bangalore City where it was decided to form a 'Young Mysore Association' which was subsequently inaugurated by Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. It is understood that the object of the Association is to expound socialistic principles in Mysore State and the sponsors of this organisation include some of the volunteers, who were imprisoned in British India during the last Civil Disobedience Movement.

2. I am to observe that she is an undesirable type of politician

and that she should not be allowed to come and deliver speeches here which are likely to mislead and poison the minds of our youth.

. . . . The Congress activities which are being developed in Bangalore and Mysore may also be kept under careful observation and any undesirable developments may be dealt with by taking prompt action.

File No. 16 of 37-38

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S LETTER TO DEWAN AND THE REPLY

From Pandit Nehru to Mr. Mirza dated 30-9-1937.

I am venturing to address you on the subject of Congress activities in the Mysore State. For some years past many restrictions have been placed on the normal work of the Congress organisation in Mysore State. During the past year a large number of references have been made to me about additional restrictions placed on prominent Congressmen and others who have either visited Mysore from abroad or are residents of Mysore. I have before me a long list of various orders suppressing civil liberties which have been issued by officers of Mysore Government during this year 1937. . . . But the text of these orders makes it clear that they are directed against those who do any kind of Congress work, however normal and constitutional it might be. The desire of a Congress man to "popularise the establishment of local Congress Committees" is held to be something approaching an offence. Meetings have been prohibited over wide areas and a regular campaign against the National Flag instituted. All this shows that the Mysore Government is inspired by a spirit of hostility against the National Congress, the National Movement. As President of the Congress, I cannot ignore such happenings wherever they might occur. I am therefore taking the opportunity of writing to you to find out directly from you what the policy of the Mysore Government is in regard to the Congress and what it is going to be in the future. We have to fashion our own policy accordingly.

Mysore has often been said to be a Progressive State, but the facts that have been placed before me go to show that in regard to the suppression of civil liberties, it is one of the most backward States in India. Even in parts of Rajputana, which are otherwise far more backward, there is a greater measure of civil liberty than what prevails at present in Mysore. The attitude of the Congress towards the Indian States is well known. We seek to carry on normal, constructive and organisational work in a constitutional manner there. We have no desire to invite conflicts. But it seems to me that the Mysore State is desirous of preventing us from carrying on this normal work even at the risk of conflict. I would like to be clear on this issue before I advise my colleagues in Mysore and Karnataka what they should do.

The Congress is not only a great national organisation but it happens to be connected intimately to-day with provincial Governments of Bombay and Madras as well as some other Provinces. I do not know if the Mysore State desires to co-operate with the Provincial Governments which adjoin its territories, or has no such desire. These Governments must inevitably be affected by the attitude of the State towards the Congress.

I shall thank you, therefore, if you will kindly let me know whether Congress work can be carried on in its entirety in Mysore State, whether Congress leaders and workers from outside can visit the State in furtherance of this work, whether Congress Committees can be organised in the State and Congress workers enrolled and whether the National Flag can be exhibited in the State at Congress functions from such private buildings and cars on which the owners desire to put it up.

I might add that the National Flag is not used or exhibited in token of any hostility to the Mysore State Flag. It is the flag which represents the idea of India's freedom and of Indian unity.

I shall thank you for an early reply.

(Sd.)

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Reply of the Dewan to Pandit Nehru dated 8th October 1937

Before replying to points raised, I should like to say that I am much obliged to you for adopting the method of direct approach. We are, I believe, at one in the objective of our work, namely, the good of India, and in the furtherance of that purpose, it is extremely important that we should cooperate where we can, and where we differ should agree to define the sphere of our differences.

Now to come to your concrete questions, I should like to assure you that the Government of Mysore is not inspired by a spirit of hostility against the National Congress nor does it wish to put any obstacles in the way of normal constructive work of an all-India character that is carried on in a constitutional manner.

On the other hand, we cannot tolerate subversive agitation, under which head I include attacks on the constitution in general and on the position of our Ruler in particular. The position of the Congress, in so far as our internal politics is concerned, should, I consider, be that of a friendly neutral.

As regards the Congress Flag, we have no objection to its use at Congress functions or in private buildings or cars. But we cannot permit it to be used in places or on occasions for which the State Flag is the appropriate emblem.

While I have endeavoured above to define the position as clearly as I

can, I am sure you will recognise that in the new situation in which we find ourselves there is considerable room for differences of interpretation and for mistakes on the part of your colleagues and my subordinates. At the same time, in considering the action to be taken in regard to Congress workers, we have to be guided by what we know of their past record of utterances. There is thus everything to be gained by a policy of reasonable restraint.

I am hoping to make a public announcement of our policy at the opening of the Representative Assembly on the 16th instant and trust that it will serve to clear many misunderstandings. I shall give myself the pleasure of sending you a copy of the same.

(Sd.)

MIRZA M. ISMAIL.

File No. 37 of 37-38

Copy of the letter purported to have been written by Sri. K. T. Satyanarayana Setty, M.L.C., to Subhas Chandra Bose, President, Indian National Congress.

Unable any longer to bear the strain of keen disappointment felt by me and my friends at the resolution of the Working Committee vetoing the formation of Congress Committees in Indian States, I write to you, as a last fruitful resource, soliciting your staunch support to have the resolution modified so that the agitation for full Responsible Government and the grant of full Civil Liberties may be carried on in Indian States in the name of and under the aegis of the Indian National Congress . . . In their latest statement Travancore Committee . . . declare the resolution as (1) Self-Contradictory, (2) Departure from the spirit of Congress Policy, (3) Frustration of high hopes it had held out to the people of the State, (4) Gross betrayal of them in their hour of need. I would urge that the last view is the most apt in case of Mysore Committee. . . . I am afraid that some members of Congress High Command have swallowed the sugar-coated pills prepared by Government and administered through friends.

These two extracts are from "Hyderabad Affairs", Vol. IV. The first describes the deterioration in the condition of the people under the British rule; and the second, a brief extract from the "Times of India" of 28-3-1876, describes the white sahib mentality.

I. *Forty millions starving.* Forty millions of people are in a chronic state of starvation.

II. *Nine millions died from want of food.* During the past twenty years over nine millions of people have died from want of food.

III. *Great increase of public debt.* In twenty years, *i.e.*, during the period between 1858 and 1879, India has been under the direct rule of Great Britain, we have trebled the public debt, raising it from between fifty and sixty millions to between one hundred and forty and one hundred and fifty millions.

British rule worse than native in time of calamity. So far as the mass of the inhabitants are concerned, all this time—as I have already shown, and shall show in fresh detail—life has been made increasingly hard to them; their struggle for existence has become fiercer, their life far less worth living. It has happened that precisely in accord with the prevalence of the more complete English mode of rule (save and except under Lord Northbrook, in Behar in 1874) in time of calamity the suffering of the people has been greatest: where native administration has had sway the conditions have been easier and better for the sufferers.

Native administration in famine times. This was strikingly manifested during the famine of 1876–77. Mysore and the Nizam's dominions are both Native States. The first-named State at that time was under the special control of the Government of India, and was administered by a strong force of English officials. To say nothing of the money-loss involved in crop-failure, the destruction in other respects was frightful; one-fourth of the population was swept away. In the latter State, where an able Indian statesman holds the reins of power, the distress was grappled with in a masterly manner in the earlier stages of the calamity, and the death-rate was only slightly above the average. The Nizam's dominions had practically recovered from the famine within a year or two of the height of the distress. It will take Mysore a generation, or maybe a century, to completely recover itself. Comparison between Sir Salar Jung's districts and those in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, again under British control, exhibits the same features as would a comparison between the two Native States.

Comparison favourable to native administration. In the Nizam's dominions you have the English system of administration thoroughly grasped by an Indian statesman, modified so much as might be necessary to meet existing circumstances, and carried out by Indian agency. The result is far superior to what can be accomplished where English ideas are carried out by English officials who are aliens and foreigners—who do not thoroughly understand either country or people, and, what is worse, in too many instances, do not care to try to understand them. Herein lies the radical defect of our present arrangements in India, and until a change is made neither will India be so well ruled as it ought to be, nor will justice be done to the country and its inhabitants.

Indian experience not sufficiently availed of. India is in a worse condition than it would have been had our countrymen relied less

upon their own theories, and trusted more to the experience stored in native minds, which experience was available to them, had they cared to seek it. The fact need hardly be stated—it is so patent—that Indians, while not unmindful of certain benefits which have accrued to their country from British supremacy (indeed, the leaders of Indian opinion are always ready to pay the sincerest homage to such good as has been accomplished) would be reluctant to admit that our rule, on the whole, has been all that could be desired, or has made for the lasting good of the land. But because their attitude towards us must be hostile it does not at all follow that their opinions are valueless. On the contrary, and it is noteworthy, the worst the Indians say about their country, and its decadence in some respects, is more than borne out by independent observers. For instance, the memorandum prepared and published by Mr. J. Caird, C.B., after his visit to India in connection with the Famine Commission is a serious indictment of the manner in which the country is administered.

Justice Cunningham's admissions. Special apologists, such as Justice Cunningham, of the High Court of Justice, Calcutta, and others, against their will and in spite of their denials, are compelled to support the views of outside observers. Mr. Cunningham has recently produced a work, *British India and its Rulers*. Like Sir Richard Temple's *India in 1880*, it is indeed a glorification of our rule. Yet the Judge is compelled to state that the old native manufactures have died out, or have been superseded by European fabrics. He also admits that famines have occurred with great regularity, and with terrible effect. Since the beginning of this century there have been eleven great famines, which have affected large provinces. Some part of India suffers from famine two years in every nine; a famine of some sort or other may be expected every eleven or twelve years; and a great famine—such as that which devastated Madras in 1876–77, or Bengal in 1774—may come twice in a century.

Indian opinion on increase of Famine. The Prime Minister of the Maharaja Holkar, in a memorandum on famines in India, does not hesitate to assert that in his opinion, and in the opinion of those who, like him, have special and full knowledge, great decadence has accompanied our administration. "In the fourteenth century," says Mr. Raghunath Rao, "there was only one famine in India. In the fifteenth century it was the same. In the seventeenth century there were two famines. In the eighteenth there were eight famines. In seventy-seven years of the nineteenth century there were more than 12 famines; I am told there have been eighteen famines." There may be unintentional exaggeration here, as local severe scarcities in the present century are probably counted as famines; in past centuries they would most likely have passed unrecorded. The very able and exhaustive report on the famine in the Nizam's dominions, prepared by Maulvi Mahdi Ali, Revenue Secretary at Hyderabad, however, gives

evidence which goes entirely to support the position taken by the Maharajah Holkar's Minister.

TIMES OF INDIA, MARCH 28, 1876

The following letter is from Captain R. F. Burton, dated 19th instant, on board the B.I.S.N. Co.'s str. Coconada : —

“ In my last I told you how clean we had found the city, which Murray has branded ‘one of the filthiest in India ;’ how we had escaped the ‘insult and perhaps personal injury’ threatened by Berar ; and how pleasantly we had been received by ‘the most disorderly, turbulent and ferocious set of ruffians within the limits of India.’ It is a favourite Anglo-Indian theory that ‘Native States,’ Moslem and ‘Gentoo’, should be left, like plague spots, by way of contrast with the clean and orderly state of society under Christian England’s rule, and upon this model the theorist often trims his facts, not a little to the detriment of the facts.”

Moulana Mohib Hussain was a unique figure among Muslims in the last quarter of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th centuries. Scholar, poet, divine and journalist, he had very liberal views with regard to all questions that concerned the country. Below are given two extracts, one a tribute to his journalistic services by Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, and the second a free translation of a few of Mohib Hussain's couplets.

Paying a tribute to the journalistic services of Maulana Mohib Hussain, Shri Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, the ex-editor of *Payam*, writes : —

“ Though the late Maulana Mohib Hussain had declared a holy war through his writings, half a century ago, and there was no doubt that his aims and intentions might have gained further strength by his impressions of Jamaluddin Afghani’s company, the period (about 1904), while he was introducing his Reforms Movement, through his daily paper *Ilm-o-Amal*, was marked by a national revolution throughout the continent of Asia, while India also was entering a new era. A slight reflection of the repercussions exercised by the conditions then prevailing outside the Deccan, on the minds of the people possessing some intelligence and vision, may be seen in the pages of the *Ilm-o-Amal*.

In the first place, what is most surprising for me is the fact that in the latter half of the 19th century, Maulvi Mohib Hussain was courageous enough to raise the banner of his revolt against the reactionary elements of the country. He desecrated the conventional traditions of the social life of the day and could bear the prejudice and anger of the social monopoly holders of his time. His inherent ability and originality enabled him to accomplish this task, single-handed and friendless It was the time when the atmosphere in Hyderabad was not at all favourable for any poli-

tical discussion. In spite of it Maulvi Mohib Hussain had already touched the 'Forbidden Tree' of political criticism. You may imagine the political inertia which had overrun every walk of life here, 40 years ago. You may also imagine the presence in Hyderabad of a journalist who was bold enough to protest against the posting of the European police for the arrests of the European offenders, who also wrote articles against the evil of corruption, who emphasised the need to send young men from Hyderabad to Europe and America for higher studies, who opposed feudalism, and used his pen with full force on the problems of the workers and peasants and who claimed the rights and privileges of journalism. He wrote :

"It is the first duty of the local papers to reasonably criticise the Government actions and to actively protect the rights of the subjects."

He wrote in his paper as to what lesson India should learn from the victory of Japan. He published in his paper the Presidential Address to the National Congress and commented upon the Congress movement :

"While the ultimate aim of the Congress is to convey the grievances of the people irrespective of Hindus and Muslims to the Government to get them redressed, to create some political thought in the country, to make the people know their own rights as well as those of the Government, it is strange that certain prominent Muslims of the North-Western Province (perhaps he meant Sir Syed Ahmad Khan) should have shown their opposition to that body. Is it an offence to know one's own rights, to discuss them and to bring them to the notice of the Government in the shape of a memorandum?"

Even 16 or 17 years earlier than this he had written in his *Mualim-e-Shafique* with the same courage : —

"We fail to understand why Indian people are not allowed to associate with the Government now and why they are not treated as equal to the European subjects in respect of all the powers. What reason for discrimination remains there to prefer Europeans to Indians? A matter in which all the newspapers are raising criticism, is that native judges are not given powers to decide the cases of Europeans, even if they are superior to the European judges in their ability and efficiency. On the contrary, a European judge is given full power to decide all kinds of cases of Indians, whether they may relate to worldly affairs or religious matters, even if he has freshly arrived from England, even if he is completely unacquainted with the rules and customs current in India from the very beginning. We have regarded this discrimination as an injustice. Now it has become frivolous and quite unreasonable. We boldly declare that such discrimination ultimately leads to very undesirable results for any Government.

“While this English Government claims to be attempting to divert all its Indian subjects from prejudice and injustice to fairplay and justice, at the same time it throws the blame of prejudices and injustice on the former Government of India. It describes the Muslim Kings as communalistic and aggressors in its writings, schools and books of history. In spite of all this, it does never judge its own actions.”

COUPLETS OF MOULVI MOHIB HUSSAIN

Our nation is most conservative and adamant in nature,
It adheres to the oldest customs and habits.

There is a rivalry between the right and the wrong from the very beginning,

Wherever there is corruption, no justice can be found there.

Industrialists of Europe are extracting all the wealth from India and taking it to their own country ;

Then how can poverty-stricken India be prosperous ?

Even if they attempt to resemble an Englishman by wearing a civilized dress,

They cannot hide their rustic face.

Love of motherland is enjoined on every son of the soil. Every person should keep this duty foremost.

The soil of the motherland requests every child at the time of its birth :

“I have a request to make before you most humbly :

Face every calamity for love of motherland.

In the trying moment be prepared to lay down your life for me.”

Our respect and honour rest only on the freedom of the motherland.

You have not yet faced the disrespect of slavery.

Those nations, which have come under stranger's rule, have been eliminated.

In slavery all the rights of the children of the country are destroyed.

Slaves are never given the rights and privileges of free people.

Political Verses

Teerths and the disciples of Gurus are no longer to be seen ;

We find the shouts of ‘cheers’ at every meeting in the country,

The Congress, the gathering and these rejoicings

Lend a pleasant colour to the meetings of Indians.

The foreigner cannot like the friendships among our countrymen.

But a brother is fond of his brother.

O Mohib, those people who work for disunity between Hindus and Muslims,

Are more dangerous than deadly snakes.

Though a small State, Jamkhandi was an example to other princely States in the adoption of a liberal policy and concern for popular welfare. This is shown in the following speech of the Raja Sahib at the time of the integration of States.

Marathi speech translated by Prof. C. B. Tigadi, Karnataka University.

JAMKHANDI RAJA'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF RAJASAHEB PARASHURAM RAO BHAVU SAHEB AT
THE 15TH SESSION OF JAMKHANDI STATE REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY,
ON 29-9-1947

I welcome you all wholeheartedly.

It is a tradition that the ruler of a State has to make introductory remarks at the opening of the session. I therefore wish to speak a few words.

I would like to mention two important events. One the death of my father, Shankar Rao Patvardhan, who died all of a sudden. I am grateful to all the people of the State who have commiserated with us in our sorrow. His death has thrown the very great responsibility of the State's administration on me. However, in the present circumstances the leaders of the people have taken a large part of the burden of the administration of the State. And soon, I am sure, they will take full responsibility for the State's administration. With this idea in my mind I as the ruler of the State who has been entrusted with the burden of State will carry out my responsibilities with confidence with the co-operation of the people of the State.

The second sorrowful event is the death of Shri T. V. Sabade. His assassination was an unfortunate event. He was a very honest and forceful worker and leader in the State, not only of Jamkhandi but throughout the Deccan States. In the present circumstances, in the death of Shri Sabade, we feel the absence of a very able leader who could have directed the State's activities in the interest of the people.

Before I took the reins of the State India had become independent, and this is an important event. But under the Instrument of Accession Act the British Government made the States independent and gave them full freedom to join the Indian Union or to remain independent. In my opinion, *this State's sovereignty is only imaginary and nominal. In fact sovereignty should have been entrusted to the Indian Union. I have accepted the sovereignty of the people. The people of this State is a part of the people of the Indian Union. Naturally, it follows that I have accepted the sovereignty of the Indian Union.*

Now I turn to State's administration under the constitution. Before

I assumed power in the State the content of the 1947 Act, Clause (1), had been published. With the advice of a Minister it was necessary to remove the defects in that Act before it was made applicable. I did so with the advice of the Minister. This explains the difference between the Act and the ordinance of March 1947. At present Ministers handle and look after all important branches of administration in the interest of the people. If, in the interest of the people, there is any need of revising the said Act, I am prepared to do so. In fact, it is my desire that there should be full responsible Government elected on adult franchise within a year. This being the case, I earnestly desire that the people should prepare a plan in this respect, so that I could discuss it with the representatives of my people and do my best to put it into effect.

In the present circumstances, small States like Jamkhandi would find it difficult to function independently. It is gratifying that Kolhapur and other Deccan States have co-operated with us. In fact, Kolhapur helped us very much in respect of whatever correspondence and exchange of views were to take place between us on the one hand and the Indian Union and provincial Government on the other.

The most important question is in respect of the help to be sought for the State's administration. You know that there is going to be full responsible government in the Jamkhandi State. But in the meanwhile I suggest that on the advice of the Ministers and leaders of the people we may take help from Bombay in respect of the High Court and Police. This I suggest only because the problems of administration and other important problems will be settled when the popular government elected on the basis of adult franchise will come into power. Moreover, soon there will be a reorganisation of States on linguistic principles. And the Jamkhandi State will be merged into Karnataka, since 90 % of the people are Kannadigas.

India attained Dominion Status because of the sacrifices of Lokamanya Tilak, Gandhi, Nehru, *etc.* In the same way the sacrifices of leaders in Jamkhandi have borne fruit, which is to be seen in the establishment of full responsible government. Whether in life or in politics high aims are desirable. That is the best government whose aims are pitched high. This aim can be achieved only by democratic methods. Now it is left to the people and their leaders to make use of this instrument. I may say that the popular minister should try to achieve this aim by remaining aloof from party politics, behaving in the most objective manner, and always keeping in mind the interests of the people. In fact, corruption, blackmarket, *etc.*, should be dealt with very severely. And I am sure the minister will deal with these problems on the basis of justice. For this, I suggest that people should elect their representatives only after great care.

The popular ministers must also give protection to minorities as well as help. Although it takes time to establish peasants and workers' democracy, yet it is desirable to give education to them and help them economically. I am very sorry to say that though there are a number of graduates in the State, none comes from among the Harijans, who account for 10% of the population. This imbalance should be overcome. It is the responsibility of you and me. And we should do our best to remove the imbalance as between the different sections of society. Today, I declare that all of our private temples are opened to Harijans. I am sure that you will take the same decision regarding the public temples. By so doing you will be helping Harijans to overcome social and moral obstacles, which will help to create a good atmosphere in which education would give a fillip to their progress.

There is much slackness in the State's administration; it may be due to inadequate pay scales. In this respect I have consulted ministers and granted an increase in pay scales, especially to the lower grade salaried class. Now, it is left to the ministers to increase efficiency and get honest work done from the government servants.

I have reduced my private expenditure to the extent that was possible by reducing the number of elephants, camels, horses, *etc.* Some may feel that the prestige of the State will be reduced. But in the present circumstance where people have not enough to eat it is foolishness and in my opinion a great sin to think of the prestige of the throne. In the same way, I have decided to avoid huge and wasteful expenditure on religious matters. This is so because God is for devotion and not demonstration.

In my opinion it is very wrong to incur expenditure on coronation and therefore I have decided not to have this function at all.

The main source of revenue of Jamkhandi State is land revenue. Therefore ministers should go to villages and introduce reform in farming. Moreover they should encourage industry so as to improve the economic condition of the State.

Fortunately, the days of doing injustice to people are over. But if the ruler desires he can do many good things. I will do my best to follow this line of action.

Both the popular ministers and I have inadequate experience of administration. Therefore it is natural that we may commit mistakes. It is my earnest request to the press and to the intelligent public to point out those mistakes and help us to improve the State's administration. Ministers should also welcome criticism from the public in a most sporting manner.

I do not like to take much of your time. I wholeheartedly thank you for having listened to me with interest. I once again welcome you and wish you all good fortune for the future.—Jai Hind!

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